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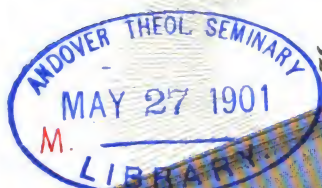
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# The Critical review of theological & philosophical literature

Stewart Dingwall  
Fordyce Salmond



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THE  
CRITICAL REVIEW  
OF  
THEOLOGICAL & PHILOSOPHICAL  
LITERATURE

EDITED BY  
PRINCIPAL S. D. F. SALMOND, D.D., F.E.I.S.

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# Critical Review

OF

## THEOLOGICAL & PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE

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EDITED BY

PRINCIPAL S. D. F. SALMOND, D.D., F.E.I.S.



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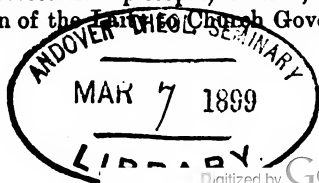
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## Essays in Aid of the Reform of the Church.

*Edited by Charles Gore, D.D., Canon of Westminster. London :  
John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 392.  
Price, 10s. 6d.*

THE motto of this extremely interesting volume of Essays appears to be the saying of Dr Johnson, quoted by the editor in his preface, "Shall the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland have its General Assembly, and the Church of England be denied its Convocation?" The editor and his essayists are however aware that while no one denies that, in the last resort at least, the power to govern lies in the laity of what they are pleased to call the "Presbyterian Kirk," the popular idea is that when an Anglican speaks of the self-government of the Church he means the exclusive rule of the clergy. They see that this idea must be got rid of in fact as well as in name before the reforms they wish for can even be demanded. "It is quite certain," says Canon Gore, "that no English Parliament would grant self-government to the Church while the organ of this self-government is purely or almost purely the clergy." And he goes on to declare that the "necessary preliminary to our approaching Parliament with our great request," i.e., for some measure of self-government, "is to agree upon a scheme for giving constitutional representation and authority to the laity in parishes and dioceses."

The volume contains fifteen Essays of various value and written with very varying degrees of Christian charity. The three most interesting to the general reader are those on "General Outlines of Church Reform," by the editor, Canon Gore; "The Position of the Laity in the Early Church," by the Rev. R. B. Backham; and "Self-Government of the Church," by the Hon. and Rev. Arthur Lytton. In next importance come the Essays on "Parochial Church Councils," by H. J. Torr, on "Legal and Parliamentary Possibilities," by the Hon. Mr Justice Phillimore, and on the "Reform of Patronage," by Clement Y. Sturge, Barrister-at-Law. All three, like those on "Pensions for the Clergy," by Dean Lefroy, and "The Increase of the Episcopate," by Wilfred S. de Winton, describe matters which need to be reformed in the Anglican Church. Five Essays, "The Principles and Conditions of the Scottish Establishment," by Lord Balfour of Burleigh; the "Position of the Laity in the American (Protestant Episcopal) Church," by the Bishop of Vermont; "Relation of the Laity to Church Govern-



ment in the Province of South Africa"; "Functions of the Laity in the Scottish (Episcopal) Church," and "The Constitution of the Church of Ireland" (we suppose that the printer has forgotten to insert in brackets 'Protestant Episcopal') appear to show the Anglican Reformers the thing they are to strive after. Two Essays might have been better omitted—those of Canon Scott-Holland on "Church and State," and of the Headmaster of Berkhamsted School on "Church Reform and Social Reform" had they not been required to reveal that curious Anglican arrogance which may lurk in certain bland sentences in divers of the other Essays.

Canon Gore's essay is perhaps the most noteworthy in the book. He wishes that the Anglican Church, while remaining established and endowed, should attain to some measure of self-government, and he thinks that the example of the Established Church of Scotland shows that some measure of self-government is possible. To attain this there must be a desire and preparation for it both within and without the Church. He sees the desire and the preparation in various movements which have manifested themselves during the reign of our present Queen. There has for example been a great revival of the corporate life of the Church; it is no longer regarded as merely a department of civil administration. This corporate life is manifesting itself in such revivals of corporate activity as diocesan and Church congresses, and it is generally recognised that a real and genuine Church life is embodied in these assemblies. Then "various circumstances have tended to emphasise the distinction between Church and State"—the recent Parish Councils Act which has removed almost the last vestiges of civil authority from church officers and vestries; the Divorce Act which has set the law of the Church and the law of the State in opposition to each other; the dealings of law courts and of Parliament with theological and ritualistic disputes; and the growing disinclination in the Houses of Parliament to interfere in "properly ecclesiastical or spiritual matters." And those movements are accompanied, Canon Gore thinks, by an increasing readiness on the part of the State to recognise the value of the services of the Church.

The desire for some measure of self-government on the part of the Church is only a natural outcome of these tendencies. But as soon as this reasonable aspiration for self-government comes into view, one practical condition of its realisation immediately confronts us with peremptory urgency. And that is that it is vain to seek any measure of self-government which will remain in the hands of the clergy only. If the Anglican Church is ever to be trusted with self-government the people must have their share.

Canon Gore, however, does not regard the giving the laity a

share in the government of the Church as a matter of mere expediency. Following the high example of the Westminster Divines, he bases the right of the laity to their share in the government of the Church on the great New Testament doctrine of the priesthood of believers, and confirms it by citing the position held by the laity in the Church of the early centuries. He traces in brief but interesting fashion the reasons why the laity came to lose their position, and why the clergy monopolised the government. The usurpation was due, he thinks, to the growing apathy and moral unfitness of the great bulk of nominal Christians, who, when imperial persecution gave place to imperial patronage, formed the great body of the members; to the imperial and feudal ideas of successive ages; to the ignorance of the laity in the Middle Ages when all learning was confined to the "clerks"; and to the love of domination and of having their own way on the part of the clergy, which "is a patent fact in history, and in personal experience." He shows that the mediæval and modern Anglican substitute for the rule of the people or lay members of the Church—viz., the supremacy of the civil authorities—is no real substitute, for the imperial rule is always a mere civil function of the nature of police supervision, and can never take the place of the membership of the Church.

The continual appeal of the Anglican movement has been to the early Church. How then can it be excused for so long neglecting to endeavour to restore the laity of its communion to their early position? The reason, Canon Gore thinks, lies in this, that the rights of the laity were not formally recognised in the early Church in the sense that they were not guaranteed by any canons; but he contends that the reason for this is that canonical legislation only began when imperialist influences were giving an aristocratic or monarchical tendency to all the institutions of a previously democratic Church. "The proposal to co-ordinate laity with clergy in the government of parishes, dioceses and provinces is not a revolutionary measure, but demonstrably a return to the original Christian ideal, a 'reversion to type' of the sort at which the Anglican Church at least is always in all things bound to be aiming."

The outline of the scheme of reformation which Canon Gore traces for the Anglican Church scarcely corresponds with his thought of "reversion to type," for it falls far short of that spiritual democracy which he rightly says was an essential feature of the Church of the New Testament. He does not think, for example, that laymen should have any share "in ecclesiastical deliberations which have for their end the determination of doctrinal questions for the purpose of Church

government"; but, on the other hand, he declares that "no change in ecclesiastical formulas or rubrics should be possible without the consent of the laity." These principles safeguarded, Canon Gore would like to see established a proper ecclesiastical legislature with houses of bishops, presbyters and laity. He would begin with the parish and have a parish council regularly constituted with definite and assigned rights—such as the power to restrain unfit appointments to the parish living, the power in case of the immorality or incompetence of the incumbent to apply to the bishop for his removal; the power to determine the destination of a large part of the collections in the parish church, and, lastly, the power to prevent alterations in the accustomed ritual or mode of worship, supposing it to be quite legal. He would further propose diocesan and provincial councils on which laymen are placed who are elected from the inferior councils.

There remains the constituency which has charge of the selection of the lay representatives on the parish councils, and this seems to be a difficulty both with Canon Gore and some of the other essayists.

One would naturally expect that genuine high Churchmen would insist that the constituency must be the regular communicants, but all the essayists who discuss the question seem to be afraid of such a proposal. They regard with some complacency the condition of the Established Church of Scotland, where the parochial constituency includes, besides communicants, "adherents" who, in the opinion of the kirk-session, have certain defined qualifications; but they seem to think that in England the constituency must be still wider and vaguer, and Mr Torr thinks that all parishioners who have been baptised and confirmed, whether they are communicants or not, should be among the electors. On the other hand, the essayists seem to think that all members of the council ought to be communicants.

I have confined myself to Canon Gore's Essay because the others are very much expansions of its various paragraphs, or are statements of the place occupied by the laity in other Episcopal Churches and in the Established Church of Scotland.

It is almost impossible for a humble member of the Catholic Church *Reformed* to criticise sympathetically the book under review. This can be said, however, that he can thoroughly sympathise with the idea that the British Parliament is not a fit body to decide ecclesiastical matters, and can understand that the present condition of the Church of England reveals "the revived spiritual activity in the body of the Church constantly impeded by features in the external structure and arrangements which

a long and chequered past has handed down to it." When it comes, however, to the practical proposals of reform and the question of measuring how far they will successfully remove the evils which are honestly felt and fretted under, and what chance there is that the English people through their Houses of Parliament will aid the Anglican Church in its endeavours to transform itself into that mixture of hierarchy and spiritual democracy, which, according to the essayists, is its proper "reversion to type," it is difficult for an outsider to estimate their value. Sketch plans of reforms somewhat similar to those contained in the Essays have been heard of before in England, and have been baffled by the combined efforts of bishops and Parliament. In fact the proposals bear some resemblance to those contained in two once famous and now forgotten tracts—one by Archbishop Usher, entitled *The Reduction of Episcopacy unto the Form of Synodical Government received in the Ancient Church*, which was in private circulation at least as early as the close of 1640, and was published sometime afterwards; and the other by John Milton, published about the same time. If the proposals of these two pamphlets were carded together, they contain almost all the elements of the proposed reforms of the Essayists. But while it does not seem possible to criticise adequately the ideas of the essayists, one or two things may be said from an outsider's point of view.

The essayists take things too much for granted when they say that Lord Balfour's Essay meets the objection that the "established" position of a Christian body is contradictory to self-government by showing the consistency of the two in Scotland. Those branches of the Catholic Church Reformed which have reverted to what is called the "Presbyterian," or to what may be more properly called the "Conciliar" form of Church government, have never unchurched their neighbours, and would never affirm, as Canon Gore does in the opening sentences of his Essay, that the realisation of the ideal of the Church as "the body of Christ" can only be realised in England through the "only body which can claim to be called the Church of England." Indeed that cry for "undenominationalism," which Canon Scott Holland so arrogantly and offensively scoffs at, is the mute appeal to a Catholicism a great deal deeper and nobler than anything he can dream of. Why "kick against the pricks," when you want to make a fair furrow? Then again Lord Balfour has not told, and indeed space did not allow him to tell, his fellow-essayists everything about the freedom and the self-government of the Scottish Establishment. Perhaps it might be said that there are statutory limitations, hard and fast lines drawn by civil enactment, decisions



entered on the books of the Court of Session and of the House of Lords, which would be required to be reversed before the reality quite corresponds to the picture. But we may pass over that ; for whatever be the limitations to the freedom and self-government of the Scottish Establishment, there is no doubt that it does possess, as a matter of fact, at present, a measure of self-government which would do more than content the views of the essayists. Freedom and self-government are, however, plants of slow growth, and have to be earned by deeds and life as well as by programmes of reform. What Lord Balfour has not taught his admiring pupils is that the comparative freedom of the present Establishment has been won by long contendings, and by one great sacrifice made not much more than half a century ago.

Then again while several of the Essays show the benefits and possibilities of lay participation in the government of the Church in non-established Episcopal Churches, it must be remembered that "the parson's freehold" does not exist there, and that its absence makes a greater difference than can be overcome by Dean Lefroy's State-pension scheme for the clergy of an established Church. In one way of looking at the matter there is no such thing as an established Church of England—I imagine that the Dean of Ripon for one is prepared to admit this—but several thousands of almost independent corporations possessed by privileged persons ; and this fact renders clerical discipline an almost impossible thing, and enables beneficed clergymen to indulge in vagaries of belief and worship which would be tolerated in no Church possessed of the power of self-government. "The parson's freehold" makes the example of non-established Churches of little value for the Church of England.

The most interesting portion of those Essays for the general reader are those which, to use the words of the preface, "meet the common objection to admitting the laity to a share in Church government on the score of Catholic authority, by exhibiting historically the position of the laity in the original constitution of the Church." I have already stated the results of Canon Gore's researches, which are supplemented in the learned Essay of Mr Rackham. Neither the Essay of Mr Rackham nor the paragraphs of Canon Gore contain any facts which we have not known in Scotland for at least three centuries. They are nevertheless startling in their novelty. What is new is that Anglicans have at last found them out. This is an interesting thing, and still more interesting is the declaration that now that they are at last discovered, the appeal which Anglicanism continually makes to the early Church, compels Anglicans at once to begin "to revert to the type." We congratulate Anglicans on the discovery

and on the resolve, and we urge them to persevere in their studies and find out some other essentials of the type to which they are bound to revert.

They have already discovered that the Church of the New Testament and of the early centuries was a spiritual democracy, or, to put it as Canon Gore does, "a hierarchy largely tempered by spiritual democracy." A little further investigation will enable them to see what exactly this "hierarchy" was;—to learn, for example, that, simply because it was so largely tempered by a spiritual democracy, the succession in the "hierarchy" could not have been a merely external thing but must have lain in the living spiritual democracy which so largely "tempered" it. They will discover that the primitive bishops had spiritual or ecclesiastical functions of which they are now deprived, and that the episcopal office, in virtue of the imperialist and feudal influences so justly deprecated by the essayists, has been greatly overlaid with functions which it never possessed in the early days. For example, bishops have been deprived of the exclusive charge of presiding at the celebration of the sacraments; and diocesan functions unknown to the early Church have been imposed upon them. They will find that Mr de Winton's appeal for an increase of the episcopate has been conceived in by far too modest a spirit, and that a bishop must be asked for every parish in England; and that there he ought to be surrounded by his "coronal" of "presbyters" (we keep the Greek word—it is sometimes translated) as Ignatius of Antioch says. It is probable also that Canon Gore will discover that when he says "when men are once set apart for the sacred offices it is the business of the Church as a whole to provide them with the necessities of life," he is still ensnared with those mediæval and feudal ideas he so justly deprecates. That *sacerdotium* involves *beneficium* is a mediæval and not a primitive ideal. If Mr Rackham turns to the *Bul. Cor. Hel.*, vii. 23 ff., he will find an interesting set of grave-stone inscriptions—the records of an early Christian community in the little town of Corycus, which can scarcely be earlier than the fifth, and not later than the sixth, century—one of which notes the burial-place of a master-potter, and another that of a goldsmith, both of whom were presbyters. The power of the laity in the early Church did not depend only on the various facts mentioned by Mr Rackham, such as that they chose the office-bearers and had some indefinite influence over councils, but also on the fact that in the very earliest times none of the office-bearers, and for centuries not all of the office-bearers or clergy, depended on the Church as a whole to provide them with the necessities of life. They were clergy in virtue of their election to office and of their ordination, but they

worked at trades, carried on merchandise and had daily association in all the ordinary affairs of life with the laity. They held what seems to modern and mediæval episcopal Churches a most anomalous position, and one scarcely to be understood. When the type is reverted to, as it is in all Presbyterian Churches, Episcopalians commonly speak of these office-bearers as lay-men, and call them lay-elders and lay-deacons, as if an ecclesiastical stipend were an essential element of ordination, or to put it mediævally, as if there could be no *sacerdotium* without *beneficium*. It is a sign of grace in several of the essayists that they recognise that elders or presbyters and deacons in Presbyterian Churches are ordained. They do not see that this feature in the ecclesiastical system of the early Church knit clergy and laity together in a very thorough and yet a very simple fashion, and brought men, whose life and callings made them feel as laymen do, within the "hierarchy" which ruled, and prevented it becoming a clerical caste. The "reversion to type" to which the Anglican Church is pledged is best illustrated in the ecclesiastical rule of some Scotch country parish, presided over by its bishop, who is surrounded by his "coronal" of presbyters and deacons, one of whom may be a Secretary of State, another a farmer, and a third an artizan—perhaps a goldsmith or a potter as was the case in Corycus. THOMAS M. LINDSAY.

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### **Dynamic Idealism : An Elementary Course in the Metaphysics of Psychology.**

*By Alfred H. Lloyd, Ph.D. Chicago : M'Clurg, 1898. Cr. 8vo.  
\$1.00.*

THE author tells us that "the true thinker must, of course, always pass quite beyond the understanding of ordinary life. He cannot use terms as he finds them used about him. In fact, in a very real sense, his duty is to use them differently, that is, more deeply and widely, with reference to their underlying meanings instead of to their obvious and superficial applications."

Whether he himself uses terms more deeply and widely may be open to question, but certainly he uses them differently; and the result is bewildering. His book, it appears, was first delivered in substance as lectures "before students in philosophy at the University of Michigan," and one hopes that their interest in the subject—not to say their reason—has survived the strain. It is not that the author's style is naturally obscure. When he becomes practical, in the sense of applying his views to some aspect of conduct, there are passages—and even whole chapters—in which he is as terse and clear as could be wished. Nor is it that he

uses many hard or new words. He says justly that he has "tried to avoid serious technicalities." But, for the most part, the difficulty of his language is only surpassed by the eccentricity of his thought. The former, indeed, is the result of the latter. Language is convulsed under the effort to make it express what is so out-of-the-way. Yet the truth involved in the author's central doctrine is neither new nor strange. There is nothing novel in the view that no object is isolated, that it stands related to its whole environment, that its relations are intimate, universal, organic.

Flower in the crannied wall,  
I pluck you out of the crannies.  
I hold you here, root and all, in my hand  
Little flower—but if I could understand  
What you are, root and all, and all in all,  
I should know what God and man is.

But according to our author, "the very essence of meaning, indeed the primary test of reality is relationship. A thing is real in proportion to the measure of the universe that is discoverable in it. Multiplicity of relations is what makes for substantiality." He anticipates the natural objection. Surely "there is a wide difference between saying that things are relations and that things are related. Were they only relations, there could be no real things, no terms of relation, only pure formal relationship. A world of mere relations must be impossible, since there must be things, definite, real, substantial, among which the formal relationship prevails." So it seems to the ordinary mind. But then the ordinary mind has not grasped the fact that "relationship is not formal, but dynamic." Apparently what this means is, that the nature of things and of all things is force, and the same force. Name such force how you please—life, intelligence, will, feeling, mind, matter—it is everywhere, it is everywhere identical, it is the whole of what really is; and by "intrinsic necessity" it is relational. Systems of relation of varied complexity, and together constituting the universe, exhaust the total sum of being. Some remarkable consequences follow. Thus (1) there is no *inorganic*. For "the meaning of the inorganic is simply that life is larger and deeper than has yet been realised; that the living forms which have been recognised are, after all, only organs in an including organic life. Put paradoxically, the meaning of the inorganic is nothing more nor less than that reality is essentially organic." Hence (2) everything is alive. "In the world of related things, or rather of things as relations, there is present necessarily the very spontaneity to self-expression which, as manifest in certain special forms, is called life. The world of change is a living

world." And (3) life implies consciousness. The two, in fact, are identical—recent science itself being witness. For "in simple phrases, life can be present only where there is capacity of a self-interested response to an outer stimulus, that is, only where the stimulus to an action answers to some already developed motive or functional tendency; and consciousness is but the apprehension of, or the interest in, such a stimulus. Without consciousness, life is impossible." Moreover (4) if things are conscious, they must be said to think. "Plants live, it is said; animals are also conscious, although only passively so; but men think, being self-conscious, actively conscious, constructively and relationally conscious. Yet such distinctions, while not without meaning, can only rather hinder than help the understanding. If it is true that wherever there is life there is consciousness, it is also true that wherever there is consciousness there is thought. What is thought in its simplest nature but the use of consciousness for some act of adjustment? In all life, however, even in the very lowest, such a use is manifest. A passive consciousness, a consciousness that is not seeking adjustment, is a contradiction of terms that can be matched only by an unconscious life. Yes, if we will but interest ourselves in principles, freeing our minds for a time from the notions of ordinary life, we can say to ourselves with conviction that even plants are conscious, and that the very animals think." So we get light on the words which face the title-page by way of summary.

"Relationship among things is the criterion neither of a life nor of a mind that exists apart from the substance of the universe. It is, however, the criterion of substance itself, and as the central truth about things it bears this witness: *The universe itself lives; the universe itself thinks.*"

An important question is—how does the author reach his position? He answers—"the special science through which in this book an entrance is to be made into the field of philosophy" is Psychology. But it must be remembered that Psychology is "not, as many have tried to make it, a merely ontological science; nor is it a merely epistemological science: it is distinctly a biological science. It is not interested in the self only as being, in the self as a substantially and independently existing soul; nor yet in the self only as knowing, in the self as mere mind: it is interested in the self as living and doing." Psychology is science of self-expression. This is arbitrary, but letting it pass we ask—what is the *self*? Well, "the soul or self to-day is not some entity, spiritual in character in the sense of being altogether immaterial, but an intimate function of the world in which it finds itself. The self is both in and of the world, responsible to the world and

dependent upon it." It is Aristotle's "entelechy." It is "the fulfilment of the world, the perfection of the body." "In short, the world's *activity*—that is the self, that is the soul." If, then, we study the world's activity—not exclusively, it would seem, as manifested in human beings—we are studying Psychology or the soul; and if this activity is found to express itself in a system of organic relations, we have there "the meaning of the world, the inner truth of the natural universe." Surely a somewhat 'lame and impotent conclusion.' For it begs the very question which Psychology, on its metaphysical side, seeks to determine: *what* is the human soul? Dr Lloyd claims to be "heartily in sympathy with such thinkers to-day as insist that Psychology without metaphysics is useless, if not absurd." He even goes the length of asserting his belief "that real psychology *is* metaphysics." But our quarrel with him is that he is not metaphysical enough: that there is no real depth or grasp in his thought about man, and the mysteries suggested by his personality.

We may take as a conspicuous example his 'Study of Immortality.' He deals with the subject in two places—in the chapter on 'body, mind, and soul,' and in a supplementary appendix. It is—as he sees—forced upon his consideration. For "dynamic Idealism" says that body, mind, and soul are one, not three. "Body, as distinct, is only an abstraction for the soul's manifoldness or differentiation; mind, for the unity of the self; and soul, for the substantial reality." But how can this consist with the hope of immortality? The body dies; and can then the soul live on? The body, however, does not really die. It decays, and the decay at last seems to become absolute. But decay is merely another name for rearrangement or readjustment of relations. "Life is in very truth the deeper meaning of death." Death, the process of decay completed, is only the negative side of a change which the organic, as a living system of relations, necessarily undergoes. "An organism, as some specific portion of matter, large or small," does indeed vanish, "but the organic is immortal." And individuality—does this survive? Assuredly. "Dynamic Idealism, although identifying matter and spirit, still holds that the individual, in respect to just that which makes him substantial, in respect to his relationship, is immortal. The individual's immortality, however, is not in a life in some other place; it is not, as some Christians still imagine, in a Heaven located they know not where, nor, as metempsychosis has put it, in other unsuspected parts of the known universe; it does not depend at all upon a mere change of place. Instead of being an escape, complete or partial, from this world's responsibilities it is the ever-deepening expression of ever-present, of an ever-assertive character." So we are immortal now and here. "Individuals



neither die nor come into being." We live on as a nation does. It dies in one place or seems to die ; but it revives elsewhere, as Greece did in her colonies or in the spirit of Rome. We, too, seem to die, but the organic relations we represent are undying ; and so—with the trifling omission of that personal consciousness to which the fond heart clings—we are immortal.

The author claims for his view that it is scientific and satisfying. He claims that it is significant of what he calls the new era or new dynasty upon which human thought and life are entering. The Platonism which declared the soul immortal on the ground that it is a separate entity—simple and indivisible—has had its day. So has the Christianity which, under Plato's influence, anticipates a future life unshared by the body. He even ventures to claim that his doctrine is alone genuinely Christian. For "Christianity came as a protest against Plato's standpoint. Apart from its theological terms, it was a doctrine of life on earth, of the spiritual as not only in but also of the physical, of the simple and immortal as in some real way not opposed to the physical and mortal, of this world and the other world as not two but one."

There is, of course, truth in this. Christ did teach, what His followers have too much forgotten, that eternal life is a present and actual possession. He did teach, especially by the character of His Resurrection, that the life to come belongs to the whole man—body, mind, and soul ; nor is there in the New Testament a hint of immortality for the soul alone. But it is vain for Dr Lloyd to suggest any real affinity between his doctrine and that of Christ. For did not Christ, by constant implication and by emphatic speech, recognise the persistence of just that personal conscious identity which the new theory would dissipate ? And did He not relate the future of men to the differences evolved by their moral history in a way the new theory seems entirely to ignore ? Moreover, did He not find a place for God as the fountain of life on which men are now and ever dependent, whereas Dr Lloyd takes no account of God at all ? We cannot say, then, that his doctrine is satisfactory, though it may be scientific. It wears an air of profundity, but it is comparatively shallow ; and is so because, with all his talk about the soul, he has failed in his analysis of its deeper nature and needs. When, therefore, we ask for bread, he offers a stone.

And as to his general position, we dare to think that it is but another case of philosophical shipwreck through the craving for an absolute principle of knowledge. Dualism is Dr Lloyd's bugbear. That any thing in science or theology has a Dualistic tendency is its sufficient condemnation. He must find a point of view from which the universe of reality can be thoroughly interpreted. And

perhaps there is such a point—nay, there certainly is. But it is for God alone. We know in part. Our knowledge may be real so far as it goes, and may be always growing. It is, however, at the last and best, confronted by the infinitely unknown. Nor is a philosopher any the less philosophic for meekly recognising the fact.

FRED. J. POWICKE.

### Thomas Reid.

By A. Campbell Fraser. *Famous Scots Series.* Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1898. Pp. 160. Price, 1s. 6d.

### Les Origines de la Psychologie Contemporaine.

Par D. Mercier. Louvain: Institut Supérieur de Philosophie, Louvain, 1897; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. xii. 486. Price, £5.

### Geschichte der Philosophie.

Von Dr W. Windelband, Professor an der Universität zu Strassburg. Zweite verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr, 1898; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Erste Lieferung. 8vo, pp. 144. Price, M.3.

IN writing this short account of Reid, Professor Campbell Fraser has performed a congenial task in a pleasing and instructive way. The human interest of Reid's career is sympathetically conveyed, and the account of his thought is lucid and helpful to the student. It is not every man of mark of whom a not inadequate account could be rendered within the compass of so small a book. But Reid's was a simple life and a comparatively simple philosophy; and the little book leaves an impression of completeness which is not given by some other sketches of philosophical classics, with which it might be compared. Born in 1710 and educated at Aberdeen, Reid passed his whole life in Scotland. His public history is exhausted by the mention of his three appointments—minister of New Machar, near Aberdeen, 1737-1751; regent in King's College, Aberdeen, 1751-1764; and Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow, 1764-1796. He was engaged in no controversies and did no public actions, save bringing out his books and delivering his lectures. Of his uneventful, happy private life, Professor Fraser, with the help of letters and family records, gives a slight but sufficient and pleasing picture. Reid was emphatically a good man, and such have usually but little private history.

Nor, though Reid's collected works form a volume of respectable

bulk, can it be said that his philosophy is of a complex nature "The philosophy of perception and the philosophy of causation—our common sense of extended reality in our first intercourse with it in the senses, and our common-sense conception of 'power' and 'cause' which arises in the presence of the changes amidst which we live and have our being—these were the two poles of Reid's philosophical life." Such is Professor Fraser's judicious remark; and it is true that such of Reid's opinions as are best worth remembering centre round these two subjects, our notion of external reality and our notion of power. The first is the topic of his *Inquiry into the Human Mind*. There he protests against the 'ideal scepticism' of David Hume. The fundamental mistake of this scepticism, he argues, is to assume that the mind first of all finds itself in possession of sensations and afterwards on the basis of these sensations concludes to a belief in external reality. No, says Reid; the belief in external reality is there from the very first. Similarly with the notion of power. We do not get the notion by any inferential process. We know it intuitively as an immediate inner experience. It is not reasonable, as the materialists hold, that we should interpret human causation on the analogy of natural forces. We know nothing directly about the causal meaning of the changes in physical nature. We can only read causal meaning into those changes by virtue of that notion of power which we derive from our inward experience.

Professor Fraser's estimate of the general value and merit of Reid's thinking is, as might be expected, a high one. In this opinion there concurs a no less eminent authority, Professor Pringle-Pattison, whose *Scottish Philosophy* is in large measure devoted to Reid. In that return from Hegelianism to a more personal interpretation of experience, which is so noticeable in present-day thinking, it was inevitable that Reid should gain largely in appreciation. For Reid in his vindication of common sense is above all the champion of personal conviction, that conviction which asserts man's self-identity, his grasp of eternal reality, and his power as an originating cause. To discuss the validity of this appreciation of Reid would raise a wide question and pass beyond the limits of the little work before us. We can only say that whereas formerly Reid was praised too little, we think he is now praised too much. Though this over-praise springs from a sound principle, the emphasis on personal experience, it seems to have been carried further than a candid criticism would justify.

There is just one point which may be mentioned in support of this opinion, the more appropriately as Professor Fraser has devoted his last chapter to it, we mean the influence of Reid upon his immediate successors. That influence was, upon any showing,

inconsiderable. Reid was succeeded by Dugald Stewart, who assimilated him, and then by Thomas Brown, who attacked him. "After Brown, philosophy in Scotland was for a time dormant—superseded by Combe and phrenology." Various explanations of this fact may doubtless be given, but we fear it is due, in some measure at least, to the unprogressive quality of Reid's system. This may be illustrated by the main argument of his first and freshest work, the *Inquiry into the Human Mind*. The question then, as we have said, is how do we get our notion of and instinctive belief in external reality. Reid's answer is very simple: God gives it us. Out of sensation, he argues, we could never get the real objects which we believe to be the cause of it. Sensation and real object are totally dissimilar, as dissimilar as pain is to the point of a sword. Seeing no other alternative, he attributes to the divine intervention both the belief in external reality and its specific content in the minds of men. "The inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding." Such is the motto of Reid's "Inquiry." Now this conclusion is calculated to paralyse philosophic curiosity. It supplies a ready-made answer to every problem which looks insoluble. It puts an end to all attempts to show how the human spirit co-operates in the construction of its world. It also led Reid into some strange psychological paradoxes; for example, that a blind man's conception of the external world is practically identical with that of one who sees. For, he says, we do not get that conception from sensation, and except in the matter of sensation the blind and the seeing are on the same level. On a fair perusal it is manifest that the aim of Reid's inquiry is preponderantly religious. It is a form of religion which does not detract from his character as a man, though it does from his character as a philosopher. For there is one kind of religion which kills philosophy and another which gives it life. We are inclined to think that Reid's is of the former kind; and that is why he was not a vitalising influence in the minds of those after him who were trying to understand experience.

Professor Mercier, who teaches at the Roman Catholic University of Louvain, has already published several philosophical works and has others in preparation. His activity is typical of the vigour with which the Neo-Thomist thinkers, to whom he belongs, are pushing their views in the Roman Catholic world. They have other writers no less active than Professor Mercier; the *Revue Néo-Scolastique* represents their point of view; they claim to be the chief intellectual force in Belgium and to possess considerable influence in France, Germany, and Italy. Their opinions accordingly invite study from those who are interested in the development of Roman Catholic thought. Indeed the work before us commands

attention less by virtue of its contribution to psychology than by the information it gives of the progress of liberal opinions within a Church which is not supposed to be friendly to them.

A great part of the book is naturally devoted to history and criticism. The author describes the rise of modern psychology in Descartes. A fair statement and criticism of the Cartesian principles is given, and it is shown how they developed into occasionalism and Spinozism. Then follows a statement of contemporary psychology as it is taught by Herbert Spencer, Fouillée, and Wundt. In the central chapter of his book entitled *Psychologie et Anthropologie* the author sets forth his own position, which is, he claims, that of Aristotle and the Doctors of the School. "The essence of the human soul is not to think, *i.e.* to exercise the act of thought, nor even to have the power of thinking or knowing, even in the most rudimentary sense of the term; the primordial function of the soul is to inform the substance of the body, to "animate" it, *i.e.* to make it live, to organise it, and to render it apt to exercise the functions of the sensuous life proportionately to the development of the organism." From the standpoint of this dualistic view of man's nature the author in successive chapters criticises idealism, mechanical materialism, and positivism.

The last chapter, which is also the most interesting, gives a brief history of scholasticism after its culmination in the thirteenth century, and an account of its revival at the present day under the patronage of Leo XIII. The author protests strongly that there is no bigotry in the Neo-Thomist movement. It accepts gladly all the help procurable from the study of experience and history. "We claim our part in Plato, Descartes, Leibniz, Kant, Fichte, Hegel, and Wundt as fully perhaps and certainly as sincerely as those who count us as their enemies." "There is not a Catholic philosopher who would not be ready to sacrifice a theory centuries old on the very day when it was proved to contradict an observed fact. For we also are accustomed to take observation as starting-point, as the main-spring of research, source of truth, and sovereign mistress of knowledge." These are words of enlightenment and progress. It is to be hoped that such principles will continue to spread through the body of the Roman Church and to find favour with the chiefs of its government.

We have also the first instalment of the second edition of Professor Windelband's valuable history of philosophy. A period of eight years has elapsed since its first appearance, and during that interval it has been translated into English. It is generally agreed that the first portion of the work is the best, and for this reason probably the author has confined himself in the main to changes in

the literary expression. Against the later sections of the first edition a good deal of adverse criticism was directed. For that reason it seems advisable to wait for the later instalments before offering further comment on this second edition.

HENRY STURT.

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### La Morale Chrétienne.

*Par A. Gretillat, Professeur (1894) de Théologie à la Faculté Indépendante de Neuchâtel. Neuchâtel : Attinger frères, 1898 ; London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. Tome premier, 8vo, pp. 559. Price, F.8.50.*

It is a matter for congratulation that the lamented Professor Gretillat left his last work practically ready for the press, and that the promised publication of another volume of his *Christian Ethics* will complete (in six volumes) the System of Theology which was his life-work and will remain as his monument.

The Protestant and evangelical theologians of French Switzerland occupy a respectable and interesting place in the theological literature of the day. They appear to the present writer to compare favourably with the 'mediating' theologians of Germany. Their attempts to reconcile traditional views with modern knowledge and scientific methods seem to be marked by more tact, and by an instinctive sense of where to stop. The German 'Vermittler' has often offended against our sense of probability, and even tickled our sense of humour, by his laborious special pleadings ; and by the exaggerated seriousness of his efforts, with an over-strained verbal logic, to find a place in the 'system' for every detail of the orthodox tradition. The Swiss Protestants who write in French present a pleasing combination of German depth and thoroughness with the moderation and felicity characteristic of French writers. In literary quality, also, the works of this school stand high among theological writings ; and their perfect lucidity, and a certain lightness of touch, make them delightful reading.

The Swiss professors, however, are more distinguished by freshness and independence of thought than by learning. To this rule Gretillat was no exception. For his knowledge even of standard German and English writers he evidently depended upon others, while showing the quickness of his race in his apprehension of the sense and bearing of every theory. Not being overweighed with learning, the school enjoys the compensating advantages of ease and simplicity in thought and expression. The Swiss have a practical interest in all their speculations, like the English ; and, in their theological studies, a sincere and undisguised piety. They are in

no sense theory-ridden. Vinet has left many disciples. His followers, like him, take a line of their own : never startling, their thought is perhaps the more truly original, and its outcome is a restrained and sober, if sometimes rather colourless, eclecticism.

M. Gretillat was well fitted for the task which he set before himself, for he possessed an admirably systematic mind. And the present work, although perhaps too slight in its treatment, and not sufficiently exhaustive of details, to be accepted as a text-book in Ethics for students of theology, yet by its correct determination of method, its sound and logical divisions, and its clear view of the mutual relations of Ethics and Theology in the scientific encyclopædia, almost deserves that position.

His view of Ethics will be sufficiently indicated by quoting his definition of it as a science "imperative, not descriptive." It is, he says, essentially not the analysis of what is or has been, but the analysis of an ideal. There is such a thing as a science of human nature—of actual human custom, actual human motive ; but this, although the claim has been made for it to be the true 'scientific ethics,' and although for all forms of Determinism it is the whole of ethical science, is not for M. Gretillat in the strict sense, or by itself, ethical science at all. It is a subsidiary department of Ethics. The proper subject of Ethics, however, is not what is, but what 'ought to be.' Ethical science, like moral life and thought, of which it is the corrected and systematised expression, rises continually from experience towards an ideal, from what is towards what ought to be : it is the progressive determination of an ideal. Rejecting the misleading associations of the words *ἠθος* and *mos*, which always tend to bind down ethics or moral science to a historical and psychological analysis of custom and motive, M. Gretillat accepted M. Secretan's definition of the purpose of Ethics—"Préciser les traits d'un idéal, montrer en quelle mesure et par quels moyens il est possible de s'y conformer" : "Nous prenons le terme de morale au sens consacré par l'usage, comme un ensemble de préceptes ou de conseils." He denied to a determinist account of human life the right to use the name of Ethics ; such a science will be a branch of physics, a prolongation of physiology or psychology, a philosophy of history or a Dogmatic, according to the elevation of its point of view : 'Le mode impératif, essentiel à notre discipline, y fera complètement défaut . . . Nier la liberté, identifier le possible avec le réel, définir ce qui est comme l'expression absolue de ce qui doit être, c'est nier non seulement l'ordre moral, mais la science moral.' Accordingly he stated thus his definition of Ethics : "La science morale sera donc essentiellement impérative et subsidiairement seulement descriptive ; l'objet de cette science n'est, selon nous, le fait, que pour autant qu'il est la réalisation normale

*de l'idée ou de la loi ; ce qui est, en tant que manifestation de ce qui doit être.*"

From this point of view M. Gretillat drew the distinction between Ethics and Dogmatic Theology. Ethics and Theology seem to overlap to some extent ; a part of their subject-matter they have in common. The human conscience, first of all, with its ideal is regarded by Theology as being of Divine creation, and the reflection of the Divine character. The character of Christ, again, is the subject both of Ethics and of Theology—appearing to the latter in the light of a Divine Revelation. Once more, human moral life is considered by Theology as in a general way the work of God, and, historically, as the fruit of Divine revelations. In particular, the lives of Christians are so regarded by Christian theology. M. Gretillat did not call attention to the first named points of contact, but he noticed the identity of subject-matter in Ethics and in that part of Theology which is called Soteriology. He made the distinction that in its treatment of this subject-matter, that is of Christian life, Dogmatic Theology is descriptive, Ethics imperative : "*Le caractère de l'une de ces disciplines est historique et descriptif, celui de l'autre, impératif*" (p. 99 ; cf. p. 115).

The distinction, however, thus justly drawn, raises the question, in what sense Ethics can be included as a department of Theology at all ; in other words, whether there be such a thing as "theological Ethics." The fact of Theology being concerned in part with the subject-matter of Ethics does not decide the question, as Gretillat admitted in distinguishing Ethics from Dogmatic. The truth is that Theology concerns itself with the subjects and is affected by the results of all the sciences : the doctrine, for example, of God's operations in nature requires a generally correct (or scientific) view of natural facts ; but astronomy, geology, and biology are not on that account included as parts of theology. And although the contribution of ethical science to theology is even more significant and vital, still Ethics is not a branch of theology. M. Gretillat showed his apprehension of this fact when he distinguished Ethics from Dogmatic Theology ; although inconsistently, as it would seem, he still included Ethics in 'Systematic Theology.' The distinction between 'Systematic' and 'Dogmatic' Theology is surely meaningless. Dogmatic Theology is theology proper. And theology, while concerned in its own way with human moral life, and vitally indebted to ethical science, is not therefore itself Ethics, nor is Ethics a part of it.

It is prejudicial to any science, when theological considerations *à priori* are allowed to interfere with its independent development ; while on the other hand scientific (or true) knowledge must be in every sphere favourable to a true theology. If, however, the



inclusion of Ethics as such in theology be a confusion of thought, and the conception of 'theological ethics' an illegitimate conception (since there is really no such discipline), it must be admitted that M. Gretillat did not permit extraneous considerations to disturb the ethical enquiry; and that while he conceived the ideal in a religious, and, specifically, in a Christian spirit, he rested his arguments and criticisms on ethical grounds; and in seeking to establish Theism as the postulate of morality proceeded from the necessary nature of moral obligation. Apart from its inclusion in a so-called 'System of Theology,' *La Morale Chrétienne* may claim to be considered as an independent study of Ethics, unbiassed by dogmatic prejudice.

Coming to the *division* of the subject, M. Gretillat unhesitatingly rejected the time-honoured rubric of "duties, virtues, and goods," as being not only illogical but misleading. The distinction in question was, he said, a purely abstract one: it was not a real division of the subject-matter, but consisted only in looking at the same subject-matter from different points of view. A treatment framed on these lines could not fail to repeat itself. Take for example any single virtue or duty, such as 'the love of God.' 'C'est une vertu, sans doute, puisque c'est une disposition intérieure et une force morale. Mais c'est aussi un devoir, puisque c'est une vertu à acquérir, à faire valoir, à augmenter, à reconquérir; et c'est en même temps un bien, en tant que cette vertu ne se présente jamais que produite par un acte moral antérieur' (p. 102). To isolate "duty," "virtue," or "good" is not only to produce confusion of thought, but to countenance error: to speak of duty apart from an internal disposition is externalism; virtue, again, is never to be regarded as a mere psychological fact, for it is never a merely natural endowment, but always in one aspect a result, in another aspect an ideal, of moral effort (duty); while that only is a moral "good" which is at the same time a moral state and a productive moral energy ('*Tout bien moral, tout produit d'une force morale, à moins de se convertir en capital mort, doit aussitôt se transformer en vertu, en force morale nouvelle*').

M. Gretillat accordingly proposed a new arrangement of ethical discussion. If Ethics be the rules of an art, or the analysis of an ideal, its first question must be the question of the end of life—the general question of the conditions to which a conception of that end must conform, and the approximate determination of that ideal. The fundamental part of Ethics, then, is "Teleology," and so M. Gretillat named the first section of his work, which is the section completed in the present volume.

Under the head of Teleology, various theories of morals are passed in review. The so-called "naturalistic" explanations of

moral ideas as the result of a process of psychological evolution are regarded as not being in the proper sense *ethical* theories at all. Ethics, as already explained, is understood to be an account of the *end* of human life which it is wholly beyond the province of psychology or of any other branch of natural history to supply : to that problem any hypothesis of the formation of ethical ideas from non-ethical elements is strictly irrelevant. Optimism and pessimism, in like manner, as conclusions drawn from a balancing of pleasure and pain have no direct ethical interest, except it be on a eudaimonistic view of the end of life. Eudaimonism itself, however, falls to be examined as an ethical theory ; the conclusion at which M. Gretillat arrives is that the End it proposes does not possess those features which can on general grounds (*à priori*) be determined as necessarily belonging to the End of man. It is next asked whether the end of life may be intellectual achievement or æsthetic satisfaction ; and the twofold enquiry leads to a searching and timely criticism of contemporary ethical programmes—those namely of the devotees of pure science and of the ‘ Art for Art’s sake ’ school.

It must be admitted that in approaching the ethics of philosophical Idealism M. Gretillat came to the part of his task for which he possessed the least equipment, and in which he achieved the least success. He conceived it to be necessary in the interest of religion to contest the “ independence ” of Ethics. In defence of the absoluteness and authority of the moral law he disputed the autonomy of the conscience. How, he asked (p. 201), can a self-imposed law have an absolute obligation ? And again he described the principle of an ideal “ self-realisation of Reason ” as the inane and barren assertion of the law of identity, and as reducing morality to the futile and unethical precept, “ Be what you are ” (p. 221) ; or alleged that the doctrine of a self-imposed end of human nature meant a simple identification of nature and end, and thus the abandonment of the ethical standpoint altogether (p. 235). But such criticisms grossly beg the question, and ignore the essential characteristics of human spiritual life.

It is a dangerous line of argument that seeks to base religious belief on a denial of the rights of conscience. The truth is that the relation of religion and morality is a twofold relation. An absolute morality postulates religion ; but, also, the idea of God is the reflection of the moral idea. M. Gretillat, indeed, arbitrarily confines the name of religion to the acceptance of a moral relation to God (p. 262) ; it would be truer to say that religion in itself is the sense of a *natural* relation to supreme Power, which needs an instant and continued elevation and purification ; and that the history of the idea of God is the history of its progressive moralisation, of the gradual correction of unworthy elements in it—the history (let us

rather say) of the Divine Spirit's own action in conscience upon men's thoughts of Him and attitude towards Him. M. Gretillat affirms that man's end is to live for the ends of God. How, then, do we know what those ends are? What voice shall tell us but the voice of conscience? We shall not make ethics religious by erecting an antagonism between the Ideal of Reason and the Law of God. Rather we shall only lower the ethical sanction and lose the true knowledge of God if we draw an abstract distinction between two which are really one. We are not taking the best way to enthrone Conscience as the Voice of God, in first denying that Conscience has any inherent right to speak.

Nor is Ethics any the less independent because it is Christian. All true Ethics now is Christian Ethics. Christ, to the theologian, is the disclosure of the Character of God; Christ's moral ideas, His way of life, His character, are also, inevitably, a part of the data of Ethics. But this great possession of the Character of Christ does not, as M. Gretillat seems to suggest (p. 57), alter essentially the task of ethical science. We may believe that the moral ideal was realised in Him—that is, in a perfect spirit and intention. In another aspect the ideal is still to be realised—namely, in applying His spirit to all the details and particulars of human relations: a work in which there is ample room, as for moral effort, so also for ethical reflection. Again, even in the sense in which the ideal was realised by Christ, His example is not yet perfectly understood by us. It is a familiar truth, that the Character of Christ though given to us is not yet apprehended by us. That apprehension is our ethical task; and it is a corollary of the belief in Christ's Divinity that the Example of Christ will only be perfectly appreciated in that moment when the (ethical) analysis of the moral ideal is completely performed—for the two are one. Meanwhile the Character of Christ remains the moral inheritance of humanity, as do also, in their lower degree, other examples of virtue. But if there were no more room for independent ethical reflection because the Example of Christ is before us, then Ethics would become—what M. Gretillat insisted that it is not—a 'descriptive' science; for it would simply describe the Character of Christ. This, however, as it has been already said, is not so easy: to describe Christ would be to have apprehended the ideal. The truth is that Ethics while essentially idealistic or 'imperative' has also, as M. Gretillat admits, its descriptive side ('subsidiarement descriptive') and rises towards the ideal on a foundation and on a steadily growing structure of experience; and it is perhaps in this sense that we may hold at once that Ethics is independent and progressive, and that it rests upon a Christian basis; and may accept such an affirmation as the following of a Christian basis for ethical science: "*L'Ethique chrétienne . . .*

resterait incomplète enfin, privée de toute sanction tirée de l'expérience, et suspecte d'idéalisme, si elle n'avait pas à nous présenter le bien déjà réalisé en la personne de Christ et en celle de ces disciples . . . étant donné d'ailleurs que tout bien moral actuellement acquis crée incontinent et incessamment pour l'agent moral des obligations toujours nouvelles et toujours plus étendues" (p. 57). It is in respect of His humanity that the character of Christ falls within the scope and subject-matter of Ethics; His Divinity belonging to Theology.

We may cite in support of this general view of the subject M. Gretillat's excellent statements on the relation of non-Christian to Christian morality. He will not admit (to put it in a summary way) a difference in kind between Christian morality and that which is not Christian. This would imply that moral obligation does not lie with its full binding force upon those outside the Christian pale; it would countenance the extreme into which some theologians have fallen in holding that 'natural' goodness is not real goodness, and no better than specious sin—a doctrine which violates moral feeling by leaving no room outside Christianity for moral distinctions or for a recognition of degrees of virtue and vice: finally, this view admits the possibility of contradiction between the Christian ideal and the natural dictates of conscience. On the other hand, Gretillat rejects equally the view (Schleiermacher's) that the contents of Christian and pre-Christian morality are the same, and they only differ in respect of the form or means by which they are established—by 'nature' that is, or by revelation. The view he himself suggests, of 'natural' and Christian morality, is that they are stages of development. There are stages or degrees in morality, which differ, according as the ideal is more or less completely revealed, more or less completely recognised; in another sense they are the same, as it is one ideal which is gradually disclosed. Our Lord in many sayings fully recognised the reality of natural goodness and its value as a preparation for His higher teaching. There is thus an integral connection between the lower and the higher revelations of God and of the moral ideal. Natural moral knowledge (as St Paul affirmed) imposes a real responsibility; although on the other hand, according to the words of our Lord, responsibility is proportionate to knowledge. Natural morality shares the imperfection of the religion to which it belongs; and Christian morality fulfils and corrects that of nature. "Le dilemme posé par Schleiermacher—ou les deux morales sont égales, et alors l'une est superflue, ou elles sont différentes et alors contradictoires—n'épuise pas toutes les possibilités. Elles peuvent être différentes, mais graduées, l'une étant préparatoire à l'autre qui est accomplie et parfaite. *Oui, la*

*morale est absolue, mais la révélation de la morale ne l'est pas.*" Christian and natural morality can never come into conflict unless either the latter pretend to be sufficient, which it can only do by lowering the requirements of goodness to man's capacity and thus really contradicting conscience itself; or a mistaken interpretation of Christian morals deny in some way the rights and obligations of human nature (pp. 47-56).

The section called 'Teleology' includes further two sub-sections—the Doctrine of the Moral Law and the Doctrine of Duties. The former analyses the process of thought by which the ideal presents itself to the moral subject as law, and follows the relation of the subject to that law ('marche pédagogique de la loi') through the various phases usually signalised in works of this kind—namely, (1) life without Law, whether (a) in an ideal state of innocence and in the childhood of Christ or (b) in the relative innocence of the pagans, the patriarchs, and generally of the childhood of the world; (2) life under Law, (a) as ideally possible and as realised in Christ, (b) in an actual state of sin, in which the Law may be perverted into an evil influence, yet is truly necessary; (3) life in Law, in which there is no longer a division of actual and ideal, because the ideal is realised, and the will is in harmony with the Law, and a law to itself. By a Doctrine of Duties in this place the author explains that he does not intend the discussion of particular duties (which would anticipate his coming section of Ethology) but an analysis of the general conception of duty—general rules for the application of the law to particular cases, and general questions about the nature of duty. Under this head, accordingly, he treats such questions as the possibility of a collision of duties; the admissibility of the notion of supererogation; 'things indifferent,' and so on.

Such are the main contents of the present volume. The second chief section is not concluded when the work breaks off. After Teleology comes Anthropology—the science of the moral subject. This is the 'descriptive' part of Ethics: '*La science morale est réaliste, en ce qu'elle part forcément de la réalité présente et actuelle, de forces réelles mises à la disposition d'agents actuels*' (p. 27). "Anthropology" includes the discussion of the question of freedom, and is in short what has elsewhere been called the Psychology of Ethics.

Last will appear Ethology, the doctrine of particular duties—of the realisation by the individual subject (Anthropology) of the moral end (Teleology). Already, however, in the present volume the question has more than once been raised whether a science of conduct be possible, or desirable. As every one knows, many of the very best people do good without much reflection, and as it were instinctively; on the other hand it is possible to know

duty most correctly without doing it. The moral judgment nevertheless remains a psychological fact; and it is surely desirable to order and systematise moral judgments. Other sciences have their germ in common sense; yet the scientific ordering and correction of knowledge is necessary. There is an 'instinctive' or unscientific physics, an instinctive chemistry, an instinctive mechanics; yet the mind demands, and practical utility requires, the full development of those sciences. So scientific ethics is of use not only, as it obviously is, for teaching morals, but for practical life as well; and well-considered ethical thought on the part of the few may be most useful even to the many who do not think. There is, of course, an abuse of ethical reflection; and this raises the question of the right method of scientific ethics. It must not be purely abstract; for its whole subject is real conduct, actual practice. Neither must it be too detailed; for then it would fall into mere empiricism, and incur all the dangers of casuistry. Casuistry, says M. Gretillat, materialises and externalises morals; it creates difficulties which good instincts and intentions would have spontaneously overcome; it burdens the conscience with over-regulation, while it does not touch real selfishness. Casuistry has always likewise favoured the erection of human authority over reason and conscience (p. 67); but moral science can never take the place of the action of the individual conscience, and ought not to do so (p. 350). No authority, whether scientific or hierarchical, can do the work which each man must perform for himself in guiding his personal life and determining personal duty. Moral theory must therefore avoid too much detail, and the moral teacher decline the rôle of the director of souls (pp. 58, 64, 349).

A. HALLIDAY DOUGLAS.

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### **Jesus Christ and His Surroundings.**

*By the Rev. Norman L. Walker, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 240. Price, 3s. 6d.*

### **In the Day of the Cross.**

*A Course of Sermons, by the Rev. W. M. Clow, B.D., Edinburgh. London: Sands & Co., 1898. 8vo, pp. vii. 309. Price, 3s. 6d.*

### **The Range of Christian Experience.**

*Twenty-eighth Fernley Lecture, by Richard Waddy Moss, Classical Tutor, Didsbury College. London: Charles H. Kelly, 1898. 8vo, pp. xii. 114. Price, 2s. 6d.*

IN his *Jesus Christ and His Surroundings*, Dr Walker has given a successful picture of the various agencies and influences with

which our Lord was brought into contact. If there is in his volume no distinctively fresh contribution to a study which is most important, he has shown a good deal of ingenuity in his choice of subjects, and considerable art in the manner in which he groups them round the central Personality. And the student of our Lord's Life will find very useful the way in which the Gospel incidents are marshalled to bring out the various points discussed. Of course in his preface he disarms criticism by warning us not to expect, and in his pages we certainly do not find, any discussion of the problems which emerge in connection with a study of the background of the Life of Christ. It is a purely descriptive account of the surroundings of the earthly life of Jesus ; and, though the plan of the author brings him face to face with such subjects as Christ's relation to the 'world of spirits,' to 'sin,' 'sorrow,' and 'death,' he attempts no more than the grouping of the incidents which bear on them, and the obvious evangelical lessons which they suggest. Such difficult tracks as Christ's relation to the spirit world, with its problems of angelology and demoniacal possession, and the references in the Gospels to His Cross and Passion, are passed through as if they were perfectly plain sailing, as from the author's standpoint they are. And he shows no consciousness of synoptic variations or textual difficulties : but that does not detract from the interest of the book as a popular and picturesque narrative. It is eminently readable, and one could wish that the theme with which it deals were as free from thorny difficulties to every student of the Gospels as it is to Dr Walker. The scope of the study may be gathered from some of the headings of the chapters, which deal with the relation of Jesus to 'The Natural World,' 'The Outlying Races,' 'The Church and State of His Day,' the 'Poor,' the 'Rich,' 'Children,' 'Inquirers,' &c. Perhaps the most admirable chapter is the opening one in which, with much felicity, he touches on our Lord's relation to the world of Nature. He also deals wisely with His attitude to the religious factions of His time, though the statement that "as He did not proceed to set up a new Church in Judaea, so He did not address Himself to the teaching of a new system of theology" (p. 103), would need more proof than is given to it. It is a fresh thought that the faith of 'the common people' in Jesus, the sympathy of the masses, kept the synagogues open to Him, and secured Him liberty of speech even within the precincts of the temple. When questions of sociology are met with, they are touched upon with sobriety and good sense. In these and many respects Dr Walker's book, if not even an attempt at a scientific treatment of a great subject, will, from its practical and popular cast, serve a useful purpose.

Mr Clow's volume, *In the Day of the Cross*, consisting, as he entitles it, of "a course of sermons on the men and women and some of the notable things of the day of the Crucifixion of Jesus," is a good piece of work. It essays a difficult task, and inevitably suggests comparison with a similar work of a former generation, Dr Hanna's *Last Day of our Lord's Passion*. The comparison is the more inevitable because the last-named work is alive and suggestive still. The feature which strikes one most in these sermons is what one might call their business-like character. Mr Clow always goes direct to the point he is making for, and gathers effective illustrations on his way, from literature and art, and his observation of life, which is keen and sagacious. So it is that each of the sermons keeps moving, and one feels that, when preached, they must have had that essential quality of all preaching, a genuine human interest. The method of the sermons is similar throughout. Each discourse puts points, and there is no lingering—rather little sometimes—on any one of them. The division is usually threefold, and Mr Clow has been at pains so to entitle his heads as to make them memorable. For example, in the sermon on the text, "His blood be on us and on our children," there are the arresting divisions—(1) The Cry of the Condemned; (2) The Cry of the Convicted; (3) The Cry of the Redeemed. Mr Clow is always content to take the divisions of the subject which suggest themselves naturally. His preaching is strong on the ethical side, as in the sermon on "Envy's Evil Work"; strong on the dramatic side, as witness the studies in character of Caiaphas, Pilate, and Herod the Tetrarch, who are treated respectively as the *ecclesiastic*, the *agnostic*, and the *worldling*; and strong also on the emotional side, as in the sermons on the part played by women in the day of the Cross. There is a firm grasp of modern ideas in such sermons as "Jesus and the Individual," and a clear recognition of Christian truths represented by such incidents as the "Rent Veil." If one were to be critical of pulpit work so practical and useful, one might say that the *modernising* is somewhat overdone, and that the grace and feeling of some paragraphs is marred by a certain abruptness of style which jars occasionally. Also that while the topical arrangement and division of the discourses is memorable and often ingenious, one sometimes feels that the theme might be trusted to teach its own lesson without the effort to say what it does teach. But these are slight points, and turn on what one's ideal of a sermon is. Few preachers know better than Mr Clow how to bring the themes of pulpit instruction into close touch with every side of life; and of the men and women and events of the day of the Cross, he has certainly omitted no incident that could be brought to teach that "in the Christian



view of the world, the day of the Cross is the high day of the world's history."

Richard Waddy Moss's volume, entitled *The Range of Christian Experience*, the 'Fernley Lecture' for 1898,—and which the author describes "as suggestive and practical rather than exhaustive and complete," is a very interesting essay to show that "Christian experience is as manifold as is human temperament on the one hand, or the gifts of God's grace on the other." It is a volume full of vigour and vitality. It starts with the thought that Christianity must be estimated "by its effective concern for the whole of man." The first chapter is a thoughtful, and, in respect of biblical study, a thorough discussion of the Christian regulation of the body; and, basing his investigation on the place given to this subject in the New Testament epistles, Mr Moss shows that the Christian religion seems to require, and certainly secures, that the body should neither be over-indulged nor over-restrained. Similarly, in the second chapter, he shows that in connection with the regulation of the Mind, "the Christian religion, when rightly viewed, proves favourable to culture." The most effective part of this discussion is that in which he works out the thought, by copious references to modern biography, that there is a tendency on the part of non-religious thinking to melancholy, and that "the finest thinking owes generally its inspiration, its guidance, or its issue to religion" (p. 26). A striking chapter is devoted to the purpose of showing that religion is the "co-ordinating power," which controls human instincts, and can alone make of each man a self-governed unity. This leads to a discussion of the question whether the religious instinct is universal, and, in this connection, Darwin's testimony, and the change of view of G. J. Romanes are turned to good account as showing that "the heart requires a God." If health is, as Martineau says, "the condition of the equilibrium of the instincts," then Mr Moss shows that the religious instinct "must be duly equilibrated with the others," and the result will be the spiritual peace of the New Testament. Taking Spencer's view of life as correspondence with surroundings, he next works out the thought that correspondence with *nature*, with *human influences*, and with *God*, are essential to the life of the soul. There is, in this connection, a very thorough discussion of altruism as "defensible only on religious considerations." Recent efforts to defend altruism on grounds of evolution are shown to have failed: for "evolution works by stern and ruthless laws, and to mate evolution with compassion is the unholy and most alien of wedlocks" (p. 65). Religion rationalises duty, and supplies the needful incitements to it. Christianity with its inspiring doctrine of the 'substituted self' is then

shown to have supplied the secret of victory over "a man's standing and worst trouble," otherwise unconquerable. Finally it is argued that "Philosophy alone cannot but fail to quiet and strengthen the human spirit," and that the resolute imitation of Christ through the union of human volition and Divine Grace constitutes "the ultimate limit of the range of Christian experience." From this outline it will be seen that the 'Fernley Lecture' for 1898 covers a wide field, and the various subjects which open up are dealt with in a practical and suggestive manner. Probably it may be felt that the work somewhat lacks unity, that the subjects dealt with in the successive chapters are not *obviously* related to one another. But as an indication of "a few of the directions in which thought may be profitably turned" on the subject of the range of Christian experience this essay is a timely, and certainly a very interesting contribution to a subject of pressing importance. It serves to deepen in one's mind the conviction that the postulates of religion cannot be set aside in the treatment of the great problems of Ethics.

DAVID PURVES.

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### **Die Engel in der altchristlichen Kunst.**

*Von Georg Stuhlfauth. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. viii. 264.*

### **Jonas auf den Denkmälern des christlichen Altertums.**

*Von Dr Otto Mitius. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. vi. 114.*

THESE two monographs are the third and fourth parts of Ficker's *Archäologische Studien zum christlichen Altertum u. Mittelalter*, and they maintain the same high standard of excellence as the first and second parts previously written by the same authors.

The first of these is a critical study of the manner in which angels are represented in early Christian art. The fundamental principle which guides the author in his treatment of the subject is, that as art is a crystallisation of the beliefs and spirit of its age, so Christian art must be studied in the light of contemporary literature, more especially the poetry, fiction and apocrypha of its date. He therefore begins by an introductory chapter on the testimony of the later Jewish and earlier Christian writings as to the beliefs entertained concerning these heavenly messengers, in reference (1) to their nature, and (2) to their personal appearance.

In dealing with the first of these subjects he gives a comprehensive digest of its complex and difficult literature, the only noteworthy omission in which is that he does not refer to the position

occupied by the angels in the Ophite and other Gnostic writings, such as the account of the Diagramma given in Origen, *contra Celsum*, vi., or the references to them in many passages in *Pistê Sophia*, or Hippolytus, &c. With this exception most of the other authorities have been carefully studied and utilised, more especially the systematic treatise on the Heavenly Hierarchy which bears the name of Dionysius the Areopagite.

With regard to the personal appearance of the angels as described in the literature he gives all the available details. They appear as men, usually as young and *always* beardless, at least in the early periods. In later times, as in the ivory tablet described by Westwood (tenth century), bearded angels occasionally appear, but even here they are exceptional. He examines in detail the instances recorded of bearded angels in early Christian art, and comes to the conclusion that some of these are not really angels, and the few others are the workmanship of ignorant or rude artists, unintelligently done. In this connexion it is suggestive to find that, until near the close of the fourth century, angels are represented without wings, and so unmistakably human in appearance, that there is often a difficulty in identifying them except from the position they occupy in the composition. Among the Jewish authors certain celestial beings, such as Cherubim and Seraphim, are described as being winged (possibly the idea was derived from the forms familiar in early Babylonian and Assyrian art), but with few exceptions the great mass of angels, those who are so numerous that according to the *Yalkut hadash* there is not even an herb upon which an angel does not rest, are not described as winged. Certainly, however, the angel in the Apocalypse is said to be winged, and on a Mithraic talisman, probably of the second century, Michael is depicted as a four-winged figure. D'Agincourt figures by some mistake (vol. v. pl. vii. 3) a winged Raphael in an early representation of the fish-incident in Tobit, said to be from the Priscilla Catacomb, but in the almost identical picture of the Tobias scene in the catacomb of SS. Thraso and Saturninus the angel is not winged. A third century representation of the three Hebrew children from the catacomb of St Soteris shows the angel as beardless and wingless.

Probably the first appearance of an angel in Christian art is in the fresco of the Annunciation in the catacomb of St Priscilla, which dates from about the middle of the third century. The subject of this picture is doubted by Schultze and others; but its resemblance to the almost contemporary representation of this scene in the catacomb of SS. Peter and Marcellinus points to the correctness of Bottari's identification. Here also the angel is wingless.

In the second part of this work the author reviews in detail the various scenes represented in Christian art in which angels are portrayed, and traces the development of the angelic form from its first appearance to its later modification. For example, he tells us that the first place in which the three heavenly visitants to Abraham (Genesis xviii. 2), are represented as winged is in the Cottonian Bible in the British Museum, and this he believes to be copied from the mosaic of this scene at Ravenna, in which, however, the angels are wingless. In connexion with the visit of the Magi to Bethlehem he notes that in one early representation there are only two, in another there are four, and in another six wise men ; and apparently it was not until the fourth century that the number was made to correspond with that of their gifts. He also traces the evolution in the apocryphal literature whereby the guiding star became an angel, and shows that there was a similar development in art.

As to the cause of the sudden change in representation about the end of the fourth century he believes that it may be correlated with the adoption about that time of the four living creatures of Ezekiel as symbols of the Evangelists. This first appears in a mosaic in S. Pudenziana at Rome about A.D. 392, and he thinks that the winged man, the emblem of S. Matthew, was taken by later artists as their type of an angel. He treats at some length of Schultze's theory that there was an intermediate period when angels were represented as bearded, and rejects the hypothesis.

The work is well worthy of study by those interested in the subject. It suffers for lack of an index, and the multiplicity of contractions very much interferes with the comfort of the reader.

The work of Dr Mitius on Jonah, dealing with a more limited subject, is an exhaustive study of the representation of the various episodes of the Jonah cycle in early Christian art. The method is the same, first a prefatory study of the Biblical and patristic references, followed by a discussion of the archaeological literature of the subject. The popularity of this theme is probably to be accounted for because of Our Lord's references to the first great incident in Jonah's life as typical of His own death and resurrection, and to the second as an example to the men of His generation who had not received His message as the Ninevites received that of Jonah. After these preliminary chapters he takes in order the different monumental representatives of the chief incidents in the history of the prophet ; reviewing first the catacomb frescoes, then the scenes as presented on sarcophagi, on glass, lamps, ivories, and the miniature illustrations of manuscripts. He refers to the attempts of Baur and Trumbull to correlate the Jonah story with the Babylonian legend of Oannes, which he dismisses by referring to the works

of Reuss and König on that subject. The earliest figures which he identifies as being true Jonah pictures are, first, the remains of the ship scene in the tomb of St Januarius in the catacomb of Prætextatus, dating from the latter half of the second century, and second, the much better preserved picture in the sacrament chapel in the catacomb of St Callixtus. This he describes minutely and shows that neither the allegorical explanation given by De Rossi nor the Pauline identification of Schultze is satisfactory, and from my memory of the scene I have little doubt that his interpretation of this most striking picture is correct.

Some of the representations of this episode have probably been influenced, as our author indicates, by memories on the part of the artist of certain mythological scenes connected with the histories of Poseidon, or of Hesione, but in most cases the incidents of the Biblical story are fairly closely followed.

The later scenes of Jonah's life, especially his resting under the gourd, are also favourite subjects of art. Sometimes this is portrayed in connexion with the earlier incident. In some of these, from the attitude of the figure, the reposing Jonah seems to be intended as a symbol of rest, as the first episode is in some places evidently used as a type of death and resurrection. The gourd is represented generally as a colocynth with its characteristic fruit, but sometimes in fourth century copies as ivy, recalling the well-known Jerome-Augustine controversy. Appended is a full list of all the Jonah figures which the author has been able to find with a reference in each case to the work in which it has been described or copied. Altogether, the treatment of the subject is so complete that it leaves nothing to be desired by the student of Christian Archæology.

ALEX. MACALISTER.

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### **Die Berufsbegabung der Alttestamentlichen Propheten.**

*Von Friedrich Giesebrecht, D. und Professor der Theologie zu Greifswald. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1897. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 188. Price, M.4.40.*

A MONOGRAPH on the inspiration of the prophets from the pen of Dr Giesebrecht is sure of a cordial welcome from all students of the religion of Israel. To some it may even be a surprise to learn that such a question has any interest for a leading German critic, and still more to find in him a firm believer in the supernatural origin of Hebrew prophecy. Those who have watched recent developments of critical opinion will not altogether share that surprise. There have been of late some signs of a reaction, in the

most liberal circles of criticism, against the rationalistic estimate of prophecy which Kuenen did so much to popularise. Writers like Wellhausen, Smend, and Duhm have made it clear that the conception of the prophet as essentially an advanced religious thinker, and exponent of ethical monotheism, fails to satisfy their minds. They look upon prediction—or at least the prevision of a sweeping national judgment—as a primary fact of pre-exilic prophecy, not to be analysed into a syllogism with the theory of retribution as its major premiss and the prophet's perception of the sinfulness of Israel as the minor. That admission indicates a radical change of standpoint with regard to the whole problem of prophecy, and Smend, at least, does not hesitate to affirm that the foreknowledge of the prophets is a divine mystery and has its source in divine illumination. Giesebrecht is on the whole in agreement with these writers, although he perhaps goes further than any of them in the recognition of a direct divine influence on the mind of the prophet. At all events he has done more than any of them to expound his position, and clear up the issues between conflicting theories; and in so doing he has rendered an immense service to the study of the Old Testament. The value of the book does not lie either in its novelty or its finality. There is perhaps no new principle here applied for the first time to the elucidation of prophecy, while on the other hand the book is far too suggestive to be the last word on the subject. But it brings the investigation of a difficult set of questions up to date, and conducts it with a fulness and accuracy of learning, a soundness of judgment, and a downright disinterested love of truth which are conspicuous even in a department of scholarship where such qualities have fortunately not been rare.

There are three features of prophecy which attract attention whenever its supernatural character comes up for discussion: first, the predictions; second, the visionary experiences recorded by the prophets; and third, their absolute confidence in themselves as the spokesmen and representatives of the Almighty. Although they are not kept separate in Giesebrecht's concise and closely reasoned argument, it may be convenient to state his principal conclusions under these three heads.

1. Giesebrecht strongly dissents from the view that prediction is an unimportant or secondary feature of Old Testament prophecy. "Historically considered, it is cutting the heart out of prophecy to eliminate the predictive element" (p. 6). More than that, he maintains that to a remarkable extent the predictions were fulfilled. A survey of prophecy from Amos to Malachi (pp. 7-12) brings to light "a most significant confirmation of the prophetic word by history." Not indeed that every vaticination came true; "in general the rule may be laid down that the more specific the

object and character of a prediction are, the less surely can its fulfilment be established. Still there are special predictions that have been realised, and---what is of prime importance---the great crises and evolutionary epochs of the history were correctly prognosticated by the prophets. The question arises: how is this striking fact to be explained?" (p. 12). It would occupy too much space to follow the author in his criticism of the various expedients adopted to reconcile the facts with the assumptions of rationalism on the one hand or supernaturalism on the other. The correspondence between the prophecies and the events is too close to be explained by mere human foresight, and yet not close enough to satisfy those who identify the prophetic utterances with the infallible word of God. The state of the case suggests that the predictions are due to the co-operation of two factors, one human and sharing in the limitations of all human faculties, and the other divine; the main problem being to determine as nearly as possible the nature of both these elements, and the manner in which each is conditioned by the other. The point that may be most interesting to English readers is the idea (not new, but little heard of in this country) that Old Testament prophecy has a "natural basis" in a certain faculty of divination or presentiment (*Ahnungsvermögen*), which plays an important part amongst the less developed races of mankind (p. 14). The considerations urged in favour of this view are briefly these: (1) the concreteness and absoluteness of the predictions preclude the supposition that they are deduced from the moral intuition of the prophets; (2) they are not infallible, and therefore cannot have been in each separate case immediately communicated by God; (3) the mingling of superhuman knowledge with illusion is most simply to be explained by the hypothesis of a natural capacity with which God endowed His prophets; and (4) the existence of some such capacity is proved by many authentic facts of history and private biography. The examples cited under this last head (pp. 74 ff.) may not appear very convincing to some minds; and Giesebrecht admits that they fall far short of the precision and certainty of the Old Testament predictions. Still the evidence has satisfied many competent enquirers, and it cannot be denied that if there really be such a faculty among the unexplored capacities of the human spirit, it would explain many of the phenomena of Hebrew prophecy. But while this is an indispensable part of the prophets' "*Berufsbegabung*" it is by no means the whole of it. In a weighty passage (81 ff.) Giesebrecht protests against a one-sided depreciation of the *ethical* factor in prophecy, which he finds in the statements of Smend. If it is a mistake to reduce the presage of judgment on Israel to an inference from the verdict on its moral condition, it is equally a

mistake to suppose that the denunciation of Israel's sin was an afterthought suggested by the presentiment of its fate. The logical consequence of this view would be, that the calls to repentance so often uttered by the prophets were not seriously meant, inasmuch as the speakers were convinced that no genuine repentance would ever take place. Such a view, as Giesebrecht justly observes, is contradicted by the whole tenor of the prophetic writings. If the prophets knew beforehand that their appeals would be unavailing, why did they waste so many words upon them? What could they mean by the prophecies uttered conditionally, or by holding out alternatives for the people's choice? (83). It is rather the combination of the two elements, the visionary and the ethical, that makes the true prophet (85). Each has its independent source in the mind of the prophet, and it is a question to be considered in each separate case which was prior in his consciousness. But "from the moment when the presentiment of the ruin of the state took possession of his mind, the fusion of both elements was accomplished, and the prophet knew intuitively that the catastrophe was a judgment, and could be nothing else than a judgment" (86). Later on (pp. 91 ff.), it is shown how in various ways the moral and religious insight of the true prophet clarified his natural presentiments, and saved him from the aberrations and illusions to which the false prophets were liable.

2. In dealing with the prophetic visions and auditions, Giesebrecht again follows a *via media*, avoiding, of course, the crass supernaturalism of König (who takes the visions, &c., to have been real perceptions of external facts through the organs of sight and hearing), and avoiding also the commoner opinion that the narratives are conscious constructions of the artistic imagination. He regards them as modified survivals of the ecstatic manifestations which marked the early stages of prophecy in Israel (pp. 37 f.). The complete ecstasy was a cataleptic condition in which the consciousness was entirely submerged, whereas the canonical prophets retain full possession of their mental powers throughout their visionary states, and only their intercourse with the outer world through the senses is interrupted. With regard to the visions in particular, Giesebrecht is disposed to recognise a real ecstatic foundation in most of the recorded instances (even in Ezekiel and Zechariah), although in later prophecy there is an increasing tendency to put more into the description than the actual vision could possibly have contained. At the same time it is rightly pointed out that the pre-exilic prophets relate comparatively few visions, and these few mostly connected with their entrance on the prophetic career. The inaugural vision had a special significance to the prophet's own mind, and may have been



necessary as a divine token of his call to the sacred office. But once assured of his vocation, he usually received the word of the Lord in the normal exercise of his thinking powers; and it is not to be supposed that visions were the ordinary form in which divine truth entered his mind. The case of the audition is precisely parallel. The extensive use of the formulae *נאום יהוה* and *כה אמר יהוה* is mostly rhetorical and a part of the traditional prophetic style; and what they express is merely the prophet's certainty that the words he utters are suggested to him by the Lord. It is of course not denied that real auditions sometimes occur even in the maturer stages of a prophet's experience (*e.g.* Isa. v. 9., xxii. 14, &c.). This general conclusion is no doubt correct, though it might be worth considering whether the *ne'ûm* is necessarily to be identified with the *ipsissima verba* of the spoken oracle. It is a conceivable view that the actual audition was a mysterious inarticulate sound which the prophet was left to interpret and translate into intelligible language (see Duhm on Isa. xxviii. 19). In that case some of the arguments on pp. 40 ff. would have to be modified.

3. The last point is the most obscure and difficult of all—the prophet's inward consciousness of a unique and intimate relation to God. This consciousness reveals itself less in particular phrases than in the whole bearing of these men in the discharge of their commission—most remarkably in their identification not only of their own words, but of their actions and feelings with the words and acts and feelings, of God (pp. 87 f.). The ground of it, however, appears to be their conviction that they know directly and infallibly the mind of the Lord, that they have His word, and can distinguish it from their own natural thoughts. On what does this sublime self-consciousness of the prophets rest? Partly, perhaps, as Giesebrecht allows, on their ecstatic conditions; these, being inward processes not controlled by the prophet's volition, were naturally ascribed to the direct agency of the divine spirit. But the rarity of such states shows us that the prophetic certainty must have had a broader basis than this. "Here we are truly in presence of a mystery which eludes our closer observation and analysis. We can only substantiate the fact of a singularly elevated consciousness of union with God, and we are compelled to postulate an adequate basis for this consciousness. Speaking generally, the indications given in the prophetic writings, and especially the inaugural visions, lead us to conceive of this relationship after the analogy of the communion between the pious soul and God. The fellowship, once established, was doubtlessly ordinarily maintained by prayer, in which the most personal concerns of the suppliant were laid before God" (p. 89). These sentences may convey some general idea of Giesebrecht's position, though to represent it fully

it would be necessary to quote the whole passage. It will be seen that his view is similar to that of Oehler and Riehm, who find the nearest analogies to the religious consciousness of the prophets in (1) the inward witness of the Holy Spirit and (2) the assurance of the answer to definite prayers which many Christians receive. Riehm and Giesebrecht, indeed, appear to be very much at one in their whole conception of prophecy, and it is difficult to see the point of the criticism on p. 80, if it be really intended for Riehm as well as Schwartzkopf, as it seems to be. How far the analogies suggested really carry us is too large a question to be entered upon here.

There are many other things in this instructive and masterly study which one would have wished to direct attention to, had space permitted. But these the reader will do best to discover for himself. It is a book full of good matter, and there are few who will rise from its perusal without having learned something of value. I must conclude with the briefest mention of the two supplementary dissertations, which occupy a third of the volume; one on "The Spirit of Jahweh" (pp. 123-159), and the other on "The Predictions of Ezekiel" (pp. 160-186). The pages on the Spirit are an important contribution to Old Testament theology, and certainly among the best that have been written on the subject. If any one thing might be instanced as specially noticeable it might be the exposition of the prophet's doctrine of the spirit, and in particular, the explanation suggested for Jeremiah's silence with regard to the Spirit. It is to be hoped that the section on Ezekiel will do something to clear away the vacillation which characterises nearly all expositions of that difficult prophet. While there are few who care to take all his statements literally, few if any have ventured to pronounce all his prophetic experiences to be pure inventions. Giesebrecht, of course, does neither the one thing nor the other, but he seeks to apply a consistent method to the exegesis of the peculiar incidents of his career. The results are likely to commend themselves to all who wish to do justice to Ezekiel's veracity, and at the same time to hold a reasonable view of the nature of prophetic inspiration.

JOHN SKINNER.

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### **Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar.**

*As edited and enlarged by E. Kautzsch. Translated from the twenty-fifth German edition by the late Rev. G. W. Collins, M.A. The translation revised and adjusted to the twenty-sixth edition by A. E. Cowley, M.A. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1898. Demy 8vo, pp. xx. 598. Price, 21s.*

THREE English editions of Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar lie before the present reviewer. The first is a slim tall octavo of 175 pages,

printed in double columns "translated from the eleventh German edition by T. J. Conant" in 1839, and reprinted for Thomas Ward & Co. of London. The second is a smaller and shorter octavo of 415 pages "from the twentieth German edition," improved by E. Rœdiger, and translated by B. Davies, LL.D., dated 1869. The third, bearing the date of the present year (1898), is the subject of this review.

The progress of Hebrew scholarship during the last fifty years may be measured pretty accurately by the contrast between Conant's edition of 1839 and Cowley's of 1898. How much work has been spent upon Gesenius' book in the interval may be guessed from the following *dicta* taken from Conant:

(1) '[The Assyrian] language was not of the parent stock called Semitish' (*sic*) (p. 1, note).

(2) 'In tenses . . . [the Hebrew verb] is poor, having only the Praeter (*sic*) and the Future' (p. 46).

(3) 'This Future with Vav conversive or *Futurum conversum* may be regarded as originally a true compound tense with an auxiliary verb [וָהָיָה (shortened to וָ), *fui*]' (p. 51).

It is hardly necessary to say that the edition of 1898 is fully abreast of modern research on the three points just mentioned, but it may be well to add that the Grammar as a whole is thoroughly modern. The chapter on the Semitic Languages in general is brief, but thoroughly good, the treatment of the 'tenses' is both modern and careful, and 'Waw Consecutive' is treated with a happy absence of doubtful theories. An interesting contrast of old and new scholarship may be quoted from the beginning of the book.

## 1839.

In the oldest written monuments of this language, *contained in the Pentateuch*, we find it as *perfect* as it ever became in its structure, and we have no historical documents of an earlier date, by which we can investigate its origin and formation (Conant, p. 4).

## 1898.

In the whole series of the ancient Hebrew writings, as found in the Old Testament, and also in *non-biblical monuments* . . . the language (to judge from its *consonantal* formation) remains, as regards its general character, and apart from slight changes in form and differences in style . . . at about the same stage of development (Cowley, p. 11).

(The italics are my own; how cautious and yet how precise and comprehensive is the modern statement as compared with the old!)

And yet though Gesenius' Grammar has experienced such thorough revision, it still remains his in arrangement (largely) and in spirit, and the edition of 1898 can be readily compared with

that of 1839. There are two main differences: Cowley's edition (1) is, as I have said, abreast of the scholarship of the present day; (2) is not a grammar for beginners.

Gesenius' grammar, as it stood in 1839, was, though full in treatment, adapted for the use of promising beginners, and accordingly Conant added exercises to his edition. In this he was followed by Davies in the somewhat fuller edition of 1869. But exercises are rightly absent from "Collins-Cowley," for the book is now no longer an Introduction to Hebrew, but a standard reference grammar. It is the book for the student who has mastered A. B. Davidson's *Introductory Grammar* (or some similar work), and is proceeding to a comprehensive course of reading in the Hebrew Bible.

The new Gesenius has several qualities which peculiarly fit it to be a book of reference.

(1) It is clear in arrangement and terse in language.

(2) It abounds in useful references to recent philological literature.

(3) It puts before the reader with brevity and clearness alternative views of disputed points.

(4) It is full in its selection of examples, *e.g.*, even so late a book as *Chronicles* receives proper attention.

(5) It gives warning wherever the Massoretic text is doubtful. (According to p. 21, note, "Observation has more and more led to the belief that the original text of the Old Testament is corrupted to a greater degree than was formerly supposed.")

(6) There is a good and full syntax.

In conclusion it may be said that the translation seems to be well executed. (Is "the third *line*" at the top of p. 3 right?) Hebrew students will feel that they owe a great debt to Mr Cowley for his laborious and successful labours, while they will regret that Mr Collins did not survive to see the reward of a work which must have cost years of somewhat monotonous toil.

W. E. BARNES.

*P.S.*—In a new edition might not the Index of passages be made more complete, especially by the addition of omitted references to *Chronicles*?

**1. A Critical Examination of Butler's Analogy.**

*By the Rev. Henry Hughes, M.A., author of "The Theory of Inference," "Religious Faith," &c. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. 276. Price, 6s.*

**2. Bible Characters: Gideon to Absalom.**

*By Alexander Whyte, D.D., author of "Bunyan Characters," &c. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1898. Post 8vo, pp. 245. Price, 3s. 6d.*

**3. Die Neutestamentliche Lehre von der Seligkeit und Ihre Bedeutung für die Gegenwart. Erster Theil. Jesu Lehre vom Reiche Gottes.**

*Von Lic. Arthur Titius, Privatdocent der Theologie in Berlin. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1895; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. ix. 199. Price, M.3.60.*

**4. Christ the Substitute. A Series of Studies in Christian Doctrine based upon the Conception of God's Universal Fatherhood.**

*By E. Reeves Palmer, M.A., author of "The Development of Revelation," &c. London: John Snow & Co., 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 418. Price, 7s. 6d.*

**5. Shall all be Saved? What is meant by the Restitution of All Things? (Acts iii. 21.). These Questions so much discussed of late, answered from Scripture itself.**

*By John Forbes, D.D., LL.D., Emeritus Prof. of Oriental Languages, Aberdeen, author of "Symmetrical Structure of Scripture," &c., &c. Aberdeen: John Rae Smith; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 32.*

READERS of this Review must now be tolerably well acquainted with the works of Mr Hughes, and ought to be in a position to know pretty well what to expect from his pen. In the volume for 1891, *Natural and Supernatural Morals* was reviewed by Professor Wenley, in 1895 *The Theory of Inference* by Professor Iverach, and in 1897 *Religious Faith* by Professor Macintosh. In all these works a certain freshness of thinking was recognised, accompanied by so much wrong-headedness, especially in the way of

distribution and subdivision of his subjects, that the result generally fell far short of the expectations which had been raised. In the present work we have perhaps more of the excellences and fewer of the defects referred to than in any of Mr Hughes' previous writings. The book is avowedly a hostile criticism of Butler, though couched in respectful and sympathetic language. In his Preface Mr Hughes distinctly says that his main object is to assist Butler in a graceful descent from his high position as a trusted leader of religious thought. The Analogy is full of dialectical and theological mistakes, and though it may be valued for its spirit, yet as an argument it must be dethroned. Our author proceeds to state with studied fairness and detailed accuracy the main arguments of Butler's great work. He shows how Butler attempted to establish a substantial analogical probability of the doctrine of a future judgment or natural religion, and how, from the analogy of our being instrumental in saving one another from the natural consequences of vice and folly, he endeavours to illustrate the reasonableness of the revealed doctrine of the mediatorial work of Christ. After criticising in detail Butler's attempt to state and defend the doctrines of a future life, of reward and punishment, of the moral government of God and probation for moral improvement, Mr Hughes concludes that the so-called argument from analogy affords no evidence of such a futurity as religion speaks of, and that on these grounds the probability of a future just recompensing of present conduct is very small, and that no proof is given that the total advantage accruing to virtue will exceed the total advantage accruing to vice. The spirit of Butler's discussion is admirable, but the argument is quite inconclusive. But if the Analogy fails in its First Part, it is even more evidently open to objection, according to Mr Hughes, in its Second Part. Butler's argument in favour of the possibility of a revelation which is based on miracle, and his defence of miracles, are unsatisfactory and ineffectual. In contrast to Butler's employment of miracles as *a posteriori* evidence of the truth of Christian doctrines, Mr Hughes sets forth in an admirable manner the real function of the miraculous. "The worker of miracles inspires confidence in his teaching, only in so far as he is supposed, by reason of extraordinary power based upon moral worth, to be a specially-informed and trusted agent of the Most High God. . . . The evidential relation of miracle to doctrinal belief is thus virtually that of authority. Christian miracle is a guarantee that the teaching of its workers is authoritative" (p. 216). The treatise before us closes with an admirable and instructive chapter on "Butler as a theologian" (pp. 249-276). Butler's grave defect as a theologian resulted mainly from his failing to distinguish religious morality, which is a result of revelation, from mere natural morality. He

also made the mistake of endeavouring to persuade men to adopt the practice of religion from prudential motives of probable advantage, which is distinctly in opposition to the spirit of the New Testament. By importing the principle of natural law into the spiritual world, he virtually denies the supernatural, and derogates from the sovereignty of God as the God of revelation. The book is written in a clear, though not very bright or brilliant, style, and the reasoning of the critic is quite easily followed.

Dr Whyte's book is a second series of lectures on Scripture Characters, beginning with Gideon and ending with Absalom. The earlier volume dealt with the history of men and women in the first six books of the Bible, from Adam to Achan. In this volume Dr Whyte deals with persons and incidents in Israelitish history down to the close of Solomon's reign. We have here twenty-one lectures, all of them written in the most interesting and racy manner conceivable. What strikes the reader at once is the remarkable variety of topics, and the wonderful richness of present-day application which characterises all these sketches. In every lecture there is abundant evidence of the writer's power in the subtle analysing of characters—the analysis, however, in every instance being of such a type that it is the truth of it rather than the subtlety of it that rivets the attention of the reader. There is exquisite beauty in the eulogies on Ruth and Hannah, and we have a warm and generous appreciation of what lends such singular grace to the lives of these two noble Hebrew women. Equally powerful is the scathing exposure of the selfishness and shallowness of Michal, Saul's daughter. Four lectures are devoted to David, as he appears in his virtues, in his vices, in his graces, and in his services—surely a very admirable distribution of the materials which form the life-story of the great King of Israel. This sketch of David strikes us as singularly fair; and it is so difficult to be fair in estimating so many-sided a character as that of David. Dr Whyte seems here not only to give a record of the facts reported in the Old Testament history, but to apportion praise and blame, and to exhibit the conspicuous merits and the equally conspicuous faults of the man and the monarch, quite in the spirit and after the mind of the inspired historian. In the lecture on Saul, the obscurity in which his character is involved, and some of the strange anomalies of his life, which have puzzled so many, are most acutely traced back, in part at least, to the apparent absence of all interest in spiritual things which seems to have characterised the family of Kish. Their evident ignorance of Samuel, who was head and centre of the religious life of all Israel, their interest in the otherwise unknown seer simply as one who might find for them their lost asses, indicates a depth of worldliness

that may account for much. In the lecture on Eli, Dr Whyte has some excellent and true remarks on the beautiful personal qualities of the aged priest as shown in his treatment of Samuel. The beauty of Eli's conduct did not lie in the absence of all envy of the consecrated youth, as Robertson of Brighton so earnestly and powerfully insists, but in his noble refusal to give expression to it in his action.

In the treatise of Licentiate Titius we have the first part of an important and comprehensive work. Our author undertakes to deal with the New Testament idea of salvation, but in the present instalment of his work he discusses only Jesus' doctrine of the Kingdom of God. In a short but interesting and well arranged introduction, pp. 1-18, he inquires into the significance of the primitive Christian view of the Kingdom of God, the scope and method of its treatment, and the time of its manifestation. He regards it as of primary importance to reach an understanding of Jesus' doctrine of the kingdom as a whole, and rightly condemns the practice of laying stress upon isolated and occasional sayings which ought to be taken simply as illustrating certain features of the general representations which were of predominant interest to the speaker for the time being. It is also to be borne in mind that it is the completed kingdom in all the richness and perfection of its spirituality that is described, and not that kingdom in any of its more or less imperfect stages of development. Consequently the treatise appropriately opens with a main division treating of the Kingdom of Glory in which the Kingdom of God is distinguished from the world kingdom as essentially spiritual and as the kingdom of heaven, and the idea of eternal life is set forth as the central thought and content of the kingdom. This is followed by a second division on Jesus' doctrine of the kingdom as a whole, showing the inner concentration and distinctive place and value of its several parts. Here we have fruitful and suggestive discussions on the divine government of the world, the meaning and place of miracle in this government, the relation of the eternal to the natural life (under which all the leading ethical and social questions are introduced), the righteousness of the kingdom, and the fellowship of God enjoyed in it in promise and in possession. In a third division, our author discusses the significance of the death of Jesus for the kingdom of God, from the point of view of the parousia, this death bringing to men eternal life and the divine fellowship through the communication of the Holy Spirit and the continued intercourse of the Exalted Saviour with his own disciples, who constitute the church or community of Jesus Christ. In the closing division we have an admirable systematic sketch of Jesus' doctrine of the Kingdom of God from the point of view of salvation,



in which the full spiritual significance of that doctrine is very clearly set forth, as well as the relations which it bears to the Jewish, and especially the Jewish Apocalyptic, view preceding, and to the more fully developed and systematized Christian doctrine of later times. The whole work is characterised by thoroughness of grasp and by a singular facility in combining widely scattered materials into a consistent and systematic presentation of the Lord's teaching about salvation. The exegetical discussions are fair, and the conclusions drawn are natural and unforced. In no single work on this subject have the historical and systematic qualities, so necessary for a discussion of the kind, been so apparent, with the result that we have here just what we want, not a mere examination of separate passages from the gospels, but a systematic statement of Jesus' doctrine, sufficiently supported and illustrated from the original sources. It may be very warmly commended to the careful consideration of every student of New Testament Theology.

Mr Palmer professes to be a Calvinist such as Calvin would probably have been had he lived in these days. The modifications, however, which this hypothesis of a nineteenth century Calvinism is made the vehicle of introducing into the Calvinistic system as we actually have it sent down to us from its author are, to use the words of Mr Palmer himself, "very considerable." First of all, Calvin's starting-point was wrong; and so it is proposed to substitute for the idea of the Sovereignty of God from which Calvin started, that of the Fatherhood of God. Mr Palmer has much that is true to say about God's Fatherhood and man's Sonship, and much of this is beautifully and suggestively expressed. Taking the Fatherhood of God as his theological starting-point, he makes the substitution of Christ the central idea of his theological system. It has to be observed, however, that his view of the doctrine of substitution is quite different from that of the orthodox Calvinist. Against the accepted doctrine he brings no less than five objections. It limits the substitutionary work to the atonement, takes an erroneous view of the atonement, is artificial and inadequate, misses the real problem of salvation, and, most serious defect of all, is incompatible with the Fatherhood. His own theory is this: Jesus Christ is the Substitute to man for the original head and representative of the race. He undoes for humanity all that the original man should not have done but did, and does for humanity all that the original man should have done but did not, and so makes possible and actual the salvation and restoration of mankind. This substitution to man rather than instead of man, includes every part of Christ's redemptive work, from His incarnation upon earth to His eternal life in heaven. The Son of Man,

therefore, repents, works righteousness, makes atonement and rises into the new life. He dies not instead of men, but for them, so that they like Him may also die to sin. Mr Palmer also rejects the Protestant doctrine of Justification. To justify is not to declare but to make righteous. Justification is the positive result of the new birth, the awakening of the new life in the soul ; and Sanctification is the growth and development of that new life to its ultimate perfection. This distinction is parallel to the choice of righteousness and the fulfilment of righteousness is the substitutory life of Christ. In his discussion of the doctrine of Election, Mr Palmer criticises the statement of it in the Westminster Assembly's Catechism, and gives a rendering of the idea of Election from the standpoint of Fatherhood as opposed to that of Sovereignty, which is in direct opposition to all the teaching of Augustine and Calvin. Apart from the peculiarities pointed out, there is much in this work that is instructive, and fitted to be useful to the theological student and to the preacher.

Like everything else that Dr Forbes has written, this little treatise which discusses the question, *Shall all be saved ?* is fresh and stimulating and full of ingenuity. It is needless to say that the venerable author treats his subject in a profoundly reverent manner, and that the problem of the restitution of all things is discussed from the standpoint of the Christian revelation. First of all, our author puts out of the way the famous passage in St Peter's Epistle about the Spirits in Prison. He will not for a moment allow that this passage has any bearing upon the question of probation after death. Those preached to were dead in Peter's day, but not when they were preached to, and they were preached to by Christ through the instrumentality of Noah. Dr Forbes accepts heartily the natural interpretation of our Lord's solemn parables in Matt. xxv., &c., and strongly emphasises these passages in the gospels which speak of the difficulty of salvation and the comparative smallness of the number who are able to enter into the kingdom. In the judgment there will be two groups distinguished and only two, and then it will be well with the righteous and ill with the wicked. The standard of probation is pitched very high so that few can attain to it, and their rank is described as correspondingly high, they are kings and priests to God (Rev. i. 6, v. 10). But what of the great number that fall short ? Dr Forbes thinks he finds an answer in Rev. vii. and xiv., in the distinction there made between the two classes that inhabit the renovated earth. Of the first class of servants of God who are sealed, there is a definite number, 144,000, and these constitute the true Israel, they have the Father's name in their foreheads,

they only can sing the harpers' song, and they were purchased from among men to be the first fruits unto God and the Lamb. They are inhabitants of the New Jerusalem long before any others are received. The other class described in ch. vii. 9-17, is not numbered, sealed or named, and forms a great multitude which no man can number, of all nations, and kindreds, and peoples and tongues. They had passed through all those terrible judgments described in vv. 1-8, which the avenging angels were not allowed to begin until the sealing of the 144,000 had been completed. They were thus made to pass through *the great tribulation*, that tribulation and anguish which shall be on every soul of man that doeth evil (Rom. ii. 9), and only after this are their robes washed white in the blood of the Lamb. It is the redemption of this multitude which seems hinted at when it is said that the leaves of the trees on the banks of the river of life are for the healing of the nations (Rev. xxii. 2). The deliverance of this multitude brings about the death of death when Death and Hades are cast into the lake of fire. There is no more curse, no more death, the last enemy is destroyed, and God is all in all. But the final state and class to which each individual belongs is determined at the moment of death. "Hades or Hell fire forms a gracious means of leading sinners to repentance and entire hatred of sin until its last dregs are burnt out of their souls. They will then be transferred into some of those many mansions in His Father's house of which the Saviour speaks to be trained up and gradually prepared against the Judgment of the last day for a secondary place in the New Jerusalem." Here we have the doctrine of the restitution of all things set forth, with many important modifications and new details, which are certainly highly interesting and seem in some respects extremely plausible; but, whether the interpretation given to Rev. vii. will commend itself to the expert exegetes of that difficult book of scripture, is, I fear, more than doubtful.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

### **Beiträge zur Israelitischen und jüdischen Religionsgeschichte.**

*Von Dr Ernst Sellin, Privatdozent in Erlangen. Heft. 2.: Israels Güter und Ideale. Leipzig: Deichert; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. Ss. viii. 314. 8vo. Mk. 6.*

THOUGH this work bears a modest title, and is presented merely as the second instalment of a larger whole, it is really so important a "contribution" to the history of the religion of Israel that it might well have been published as an independent treatise, possessing high value in itself. Its general purport may be described as an attempt

to answer the question : How did the chosen people, after God had revealed Himself to them, regard their daily life as a means of communion with Him? In what gifts and good things did they recognise His favours ; and on the other hand, in what ills did they read His displeasure? This, it will be observed, is not an inquiry regarding communion of man with God in worship, at set times and special seasons, but rather an investigation into the relation and intercourse between the human soul and God, through the medium of those joys and sorrows which constitute the vicissitudes of life. In such a discussion, three main questions arise and demand an answer : What position did an Israelite who believed in Jahvé assume in relation to the common gifts of life? What other good things did he recognise beside these? Further, did he know Jahvé as the highest good, and if so, how was this consciousness developed? It will at once be obvious that there may be a wide interval between the words proclaimed at Sinai, "I am Jahvé thy God," and the utterances of Psalmists who were brought to recognise God as their highest good.

Before entering on the actual treatment of his theme, the author carefully defines his attitude to the Old Testament Scriptures. His position may briefly be indicated as that of a sober and reverent critic who accepts many of the results presented by others regarding the date and authorship of certain books, and their composite character, but who can give good reason for standing midway between the extremes of pure conservatism and radical rejection of old beliefs.

As the whole subject is treated historically, the work falls into two main divisions, which successively deal with the good things and ideals of ancient Israel, and the reaction, under the prophets, against the secularising tendency of the people. The latter portion is decidedly the more interesting, but particularly the two closing chapters,—on the new ideal of life presented by the prophets, and the dawn of the consciousness that God is the highest good of the individual. The reverent spirit pervading the whole lends an additional charm in the study of a subject highly attractive in itself.

JAMES KENNEDY.

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**Die israelitische Vorstellung vom Königreiche Gottes, als Voraussetzung der Verkündigung und Lehre Jesu, in geschichtlichem Ueberblicke dargestellt.**

*Von Dr Georg Schnedermann, Professor in Leipzig. Leipzig : Deichert ; London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, ss. viii. u. 54. M.1.*

IN this brief treatise, Professor Schnedermann continues his examination of a subject which has long been engaging the  
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attention of theologians. In a previous publication, already noticed in this Review,<sup>1</sup> the teaching of Jesus regarding the Kingdom of God was carefully examined; in this further instalment, the writer has been working back in the history of Israel, through the ages before the times of Jesus, and endeavouring to trace the origin and development of this grand idea, especially with the view of determining, as far as possible, the influence of earlier conceptions upon the teaching of Jesus. He was delighted to find that the outcome of his investigations could be presented much more briefly than he had anticipated; but his readers also will be pleased to have these results set forth here in clear and compact form.

The main conclusion reached is that the Christian conception of the Kingdom of God was gradually developed from the primary view taken of Israel as a nation with God as their King. In tracing the genesis and growth of this idea through successive stages in Old Testament history, occasional reference is made to other writers whose opinions are acutely criticised. As we might expect, much of this special attention is shown to Ritschl and his followers, who rather too strongly emphasise certain aspects in the idea of the Kingdom of God, to the neglect of others, and thereby give currency to erroneous views. Careful examination is made of various points which naturally emerge in the course of investigation, such as the question regarding the probable thoughts of reflective Israelites regarding God as King, before the monarchy had been set up, and concerning the views of later Israelites after the kingdom had actually been established in the persons of Saul, David, and Solomon. In taking exception to the opinions expressed by other writers, admirable tone and temper are displayed.

JAMES KENNEDY.

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### **Das Evangelium des Paulus.**

*Dargestellt von C. Holsten. Teil II. Paulinische Theologie nebst einem Anhang: "Die Gedankengänge der paulinischen Briefe" herausgegeben und mit einem Abriss von Holsten's Leben eingeleitet von D. Paul Mehlhorn, mit dem Bildniss Holsten's. Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1898; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xxvi. 173. Price, M.5.*

THIS work crowns the research of a life. Holsten's first book on Paul was published in 1868, five years before Pfeiderer's Paulinism, the second followed in 1880, and now we have this the third and

<sup>1</sup> *Critical Review*, Vol. vi. p. 78.

last. It is the harmonious development of the earlier writings and rests largely upon them. If much of it seems almost commonplace to-day we must remember that Holsten was first in the field with ideas that are now widely spread. The sketch to be briefly summarised in its more important points founds only on the four great epistles.

The religious consciousness of Paul was rooted in the Hellenised Jewish consciousness of his time. He took over from it certain fundamental views of God and the world, and the forms of his thought were Jewish. But its chief content was Christian. Here Paul was absolutely dependent on Jesus and conditioned by Him. Yet it was hardly the Jesus of the synoptic tradition that was thus influential. For Paul indeed Christ only lived that He might die on the cross and be raised again. It was as a persecutor that Paul became acquainted with the Petrine gospel, and what first kept him from faith was this very death on the cross. As a Pharisee he could not object in principle to the Resurrection or the subsequent appearances. He could only deny that they had happened in the case of Jesus. Neither could he refuse the idea of a propitiatory death. He could only appeal to the Old Testament as excluding the conception of a crucified Messiah. But Jesus and a possible atonement through Him took possession of his thoughts and there crept into his heart a great longing to believe. The wonderful personality of Jesus had fascinated him against his will. The certainty that the Crucified was alive, which came to him on the way to Damascus, arose from the fact that He had appeared in life to him. The for him undoubted appearance overcame all logical objections. He was satisfied that Jesus was alive, and this wrought his conversion. He could only conclude that this new life was the result of a resurrection from the dead effected by the omnipotence of God, and that therefore Jesus was the Messiah so long foretold. And now one puzzling question after another thronged his mind. Before all else he had to consider how the death on the cross could be conceived as an act of God and an end of the divine saving will. That it was so was the certainty which grounded all, the original presupposition of the train of thought that now began in the mind of Paul.

The words of Jesus at the Supper and the Gospel of Peter, both of which spoke of an expiatory death, had made the cross generally conceivable to Paul. If Jesus was the Messiah then He was sinless and therefore His death was not the result of His own guilt. The death was a vicarious expiation by which the believer was freed from punishment. But did this forgiveness make him a sharer in salvation? Salvation was a consequence of righteousness. Were those who were forgiven righteous? Certainly not in the Jewish

sense, certainly in the Pauline. The death was only necessary if righteousness could not be obtained by the works of the law. And if the death was for our salvation it must bring with it righteousness as the positive condition of salvation. Therewith the Jewish conception of righteousness passes over into the Pauline one of justification, *justitia* becomes *justificatio*, though the word *δικαιοσύνη* remains. For the new conception Paul coined the expression *δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ*. Without question this is not a subjective attribute of God but a condition wrought out for man by God. It is not an inherent subjective quality in man, but an objective state in which we live and abide in the view of God who orders the world. The direct consequence of the objectivity of the righteousness is a pure receptivity on man's part. That righteousness which is the condition of life can only be received by us. This act of receptivity is faith in its narrower and technical sense. The object of saving faith for Paul is the Messiah as crucified. Faith is faith in the God who, on the ground of the crucifixion of Christ, endured out of love for sinful men, graciously forgives sinners their guilt, and on the basis of the forgiveness reckons them as righteous. Faith is the inner relation of the religious ego to a spiritual object, to a revelation, a promise of God, which does not address itself to the will and demand any outward act, but appears to the consciousness and demands recognition. We believe with the heart. Faith is pure inwardness. It is related to something of which I am inwardly convinced, while works relate to something which ought to be. Faith carries what we think and know into the spirit, from the head to the heart. The object of faith is purely spiritual and ideal, and faith is the unquestioning inward recognition of it and certainty regarding it. Faith is not a kind of precarious knowledge but the completest certainty. Faith is first a theoretical knowing, then a certainty, and finally a devoted trust and thus a living spiritual force. It is a union in the soul of knowledge, feeling and will. It is the soul's appropriation of the salvation of God, and as actual righteousness is never attained by us here we can never do anything else than exercise this faith, can never rest on aught else than the satisfaction of Christ. From all this the universality of the righteousness follows. If it has been given to sinners in spite of their sin, it must be given to all. If righteousness is only through faith, then it must be for all who believe.

Paul had concluded from the fact of the Messiah's death and from the impossibility of its being needless that righteousness could not be achieved by the law. But this impossibility could only be grounded on the fact that in spite of the law man necessarily remains a sinner. The Jewish consciousness recognised the universality of sin but not its necessity. Sin and righteousness issued

from the freedom of man. By the word "flesh" was expressed essentially the idea of transitoriness and weakness. But with Paul the word has a wider meaning. It includes all that is ungodlike in man's nature, and lust is the necessary outcome of the flesh. The ultimate ground of the sinfulness of the flesh is not clear in Paul's thought. To the question, "Was Adam sinful because he was flesh, or was flesh sinful because Adam sinned?" Paul seems to have no definite answer. We may infer from a comparison of passages that he would have taken the first view, but he did not draw the consequence that then the sin went back to the Creator. But is there no power in man's nature which can overcome the flesh and its lusts? There cannot be or sin were no longer a necessity. Only the Spirit of God has the desired power and the natural man wants this absolutely. It is given to the believer as a gift of God. Apart from Christ man cannot but sin. Paul thinks of sin or *ἁμαρτία* as something in the nature of man, not as an act of conscious will. It is that evil inclination of man which lies at the basis of every sinful act. And this is rooted in the flesh. There is no *ἁμαρτία* without *σάρξ*, and no *σάρξ* without *ἁμαρτία*. Man has freedom of will, indeed, but not freedom of action. Man in himself, without Christ, is, as far as ethical action is concerned, determined to sin. The formula for his case is *non posse non peccare*. *παράβασις* is always *ἁμαρτία*, but *ἁμαρτία* first becomes *παράβασις* when there is conscious breach of a command. Sin without consciousness of itself is not guilt. Sin that has passed into transgression and guilt ends in death.

But this involves a change in the conception of the Messiah. The Messiah must have been sinless, yet if He was flesh like other men, He must have sinned. So two contrary demands were made upon Paul. Christ must not have a body of flesh if He was to be sinless, and He must have such a body if He was to die. That the Messiah might be sinless, Paul thought of Him as the heavenly man created by God at the first, according to the Alexandrian theology, the image of God, His son, the possessor of a spiritual body. As this created heavenly man Christ was naturally pre-existent. This man was sent by God to the earth. The pre-existent Christ assumed a body of flesh and became the man Jesus. As heavenly man and sinless, He became sin through His assumption of the flesh. But subjectively He never became a sinner, as He had power through the Spirit of God, the ruling force in His nature, to overcome the lusts of the flesh. And thus was He able to die on the cross as He could not have done in the spirit. In Jesus the Christ received a body whose substance was the flesh of sin, and when the body of Jesus was brought to the cross sin was slain. As the heavenly man without flesh, Christ is the spiritual



archetype of man and the Saviour of all, without regard to fleshly distinctions. Further, what actually befel in Christ is directly but ideally accomplished in every believer. We see prefigured in Him what is the law of life for all, and this thought completes in a genuinely religious spirit the doctrine of righteousness and of substitution. Paul's conception of the cross thus transformed the historic Jesus into a dogmatic personality. For Paul the nature of the Christ must always correspond to His work.

It is not possible here to follow Holsten any further in his development of the apostle's thought, and for what follows, as well as for many suggestive and ingenious details necessarily omitted from this summary, the reader must be referred to the book itself. He will learn much, both when he agrees and when he differs. The reading of such an account of Paul's doctrine suggests many questions. Here is an acute exegesis, the work of an undoubted scholar, yet how strangely it must strike the ordinary man. Some things it brings out as orthodoxy does, others it renders quite differently. And those who have studied many such interpretations, and noticed how at points here and there all along the line they differed at once from orthodoxy and from one another, will find certain suggestions inevitably arising in their minds. Are not those who profess to care nothing for the apostolic authority sometimes unconsciously influenced by the desire to have so great a doctor of the Church on their side of this question or that? Do those who imagine themselves to rest on the Pauline authority not really allegorise a little? Do they not unconsciously refuse to make Paul believe anything that does not seem credible to them, picking and choosing and altering, and at best only dimly suspicious of what they do? A book like this raises many questions. Paul argued with his readers, and expected adhesion to his arguments. But if we are not convinced by his arguments or cannot accept all his premises, what then? There are previous questions he never dreams of asking. What if we should find ourselves irresistibly driven to ask them? Again, criticism works with the category of development, and men naturally ask whether that must not find a place in the New Testament. There has of course been a development in the Church beyond the apprehension of the new revelation achieved by the early believers, but how far back can we go with that? Criticism, too, explains things by their environment, and this has suggested further questions. Is Paulinism then the product of a particular time, and impossible of reproduction in all its details at any other? Is it not a bridge from the old to the new? Mr Somerville in his Cunningham Lectures does far more justice than Holsten to the fact that Paul's views were

the transcript of a religious experience. The latter tends too much to the idea that Paul's system was evolved in his mind by sheer logic from the barest of premises. Both books illustrate constantly what has been said above. To convince us that Paul held a certain view is one thing, to convince us of its truth is quite another. We must wait for the ideal exposition till we have learned to separate clearly between Paul's questions and ours, recognising which of ours he has not asked, and which he has not answered even indirectly. Perhaps it may then be found that orthodox and heretical alike have laid too great stress upon the supposed systematic character of Paul's thought. Of course a certain school has long made much of the fragmentary and occasional character of Paul's writings and has eked them out by a so-called tradition. This is obviously not to rest on Paul's authority, and on such a method of interpretation it is not hard to make a writer mean anything you please. But there is another aspect of the matter to which one feels that less than justice has been done. Paul had something of the poet in him, and he was a man of moods. He expressed himself strongly on occasion, and would have been surprised and even indignant had one sought to fix him down to a literal interpretation of all he had written. He would have bidden us think of the context of feeling. He did indeed love arguments, but they were generally *ad hominem*, and often the man addressed was himself. But he was a mystic in the first place, and a logician only in the second.

The present writer studied under Holsten for a semester, and a closing word of a more personal kind may be allowed. This book, while giving a faithful representation of the author's views on the matter in hand, only very partially reveals his personality. Much that was most interesting in Holsten's lectures occurred in his extempore comments and explanations. Unfortunately the German student never seems to think of taking down such things and there is nothing of that kind here. Holsten was an admirable scholar. He had been a schoolmaster before he became a professor, and he prided himself upon basing everything on an impregnable grammatical foundation. But he was no dryasdust, as even a stranger may gather from the biographical sketch which accompanies this his last book. There was about him a very genuine religious enthusiasm, and he cherished a positive hero-worship for Paul. He was greatly fascinated by the logical character of Paul's thinking, the fearlessness with which he followed principles to their consequences, and shunned the miserable compromises of weaker men. His work was perhaps somewhat marred by an undue confidence in himself and in the truth of what he had made his own by arduous inquiry. But these are not the failings of a little mind, and all that he did had the

decisive merits of originality and insight. His earlier work was influential. Latterly, one fancied, he stood more alone. Though not a pupil of Baur's he stood in the direct line of succession to him, and we appreciate his work most when we think of the advances he made towards what we should count truer views. He was open to new influences, capable of new convictions, but always building on the first principles from which he had started. In his personal relations he ever showed himself kind of heart and he has still a place in the affections of those who have listened to his voice and watched him, now proud and exultant, now stirred beyond the wont of common men, moved even to tears. Others may be content to think of him as one of the many fine scholars and religious teachers for whom we have had to thank Germany in our time.

WILLIAM JOHNSTON.

### **Kurzer Handkommentar zum Alten Testament.**

*Das Buch Hiob. Von D. B. Duhm. 8vo, pp. xvi. 212. Price, M.4.80; to subscribers, M.3.60.*

*Die Fünf Megillot, (Hohelied, Ruth, Klagelieder, Prediger, Esther). Von K. Budde, A. Bertholet, D. G. Wildeboer. Freiburg i. B., Leipzig, und Tübingen: J.C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. xxiv. 202. Price, M.4.0; to subscribers, M.2.70.*

THE plan of this series was described in the July number of the *Critical Review*, and is faithfully adhered to in the volumes before us; for instance, the tabular analysis of Job furnishes a most useful index to Professor Duhm's views as to the composition of the book. He finds in it, apart from later glosses, four main classes of material. The Prologue and Epilogue are taken from a popular work, *Volksbuch*, composed before the publication of Deuteronomy, and referred to in Ezek. xiv. 14 ff. The discussion between Job and his friends, and the speeches of Jehovah are, substantially, by a Palestinian author of the first half of the fifth century. The Elihu speeches and some connected passages, e.g. viii. 14-19, are by a much later writer. A large number of passages have been added by other writers, notably xii. (most of), xxiv., xxviii., xl. 15—xli.

The general character of the analysis is similar to that of Professor Siegfried in Dr Haupt's *Sacred Books of the O. T.*, which it resembles in many of its details. Siegfried also discovers four main classes of material, the discussion and part of the Jehovah speeches; the Elihu speeches, &c.; and two other classes of additions, which four correspond to three of Duhm's. Siegfried, how-

ever, accepts the Prologue and Epilogue as part of the original book. Duhm's view removes the difficulties caused by regarding these narratives as the work of the author of this discussion, and yet explains why they are presupposed in the discussion. The author is not responsible for the narratives, they do not express his views, but he did not feel at liberty to set them aside. Perhaps, however, the needs of the situation would be equally met by a theory that the author composed these sections on the basis of a well-known popular narrative, the main features of which he felt constrained to reproduce.

Duhm decisively, almost contemptuously, rejects the recent proposals to rehabilitate the Elihu speeches, made by such distinguished scholars as Budde and Cornill. "The author of these speeches cannot be seriously compared as a thinker and poet with the author of the original poem . . . they are strikingly empty . . . their secondary character, *Unechtheit*, is universally known and recognised, and the last attempt to establish their genuineness merely serves to convince every intelligent reader that they are *not* genuine." We shall look with interest for some notice of this volume by Budde or Cornill.

Duhm's analysis simplifies the problem as to the purpose and teaching of the book. The original poem is a protest against the current doctrine of retribution, for which it cannot discover any substitute. Job merely finds an anodyne, as it were, in the immensity and mystery of Nature. The reason of misfortune remains a riddle. The Elihu speeches and other additions are mostly attempts to adapt the book to orthodox Jewish teaching.

Duhm partly accepts Bickell's theory as to the metre of Job.

By means of an emendation, partly adopted from Bickell, xix. 25-27 is translated thus :

"I know that I have a *Goel*,  
And a survivor upon the dust (of my grave),  
Another will arise as my witness,  
And will set up his sign,  
Out of my body, I shall see *Eloah*,  
Whom I shall see—for myself !  
And my eyes shall see him, and no stranger (shall),  
My reins fail in my bosom."

The sign is some miracle to be wrought on his grave in token of his innocence ; he contemplates rising, like Samuel, 1 Sam. xxviii., to witness his own vindication, and to obtain that vision of God approving and acquitting him, for which he yearned. Duhm regards these verses as original, and not, like Siegfried, as secondary.

In the *Fünf Megillot*, the section on Canticles is specially

important, because therein Professor Budde applies his theory of the nature of the book to its exposition. Earlier critics had suggested that this book was a collection of songs; but the particular view in question originated in J. G. Wetzstein's accounts of a Syrian custom, according to which, during the first week after marriage the young couple play at king and queen, and are addressed as such by a mock court, in a series of songs similar to those in Canticles. Hence Canticles has been supposed to be a collection of songs sung on such occasions. This view has been adopted by Cornill, Kautzsch, and others, but its chief champion is Budde. A crucial test of a theory is the possibility of applying it to continuous exposition. In this volume he succeeds, without obviously strained interpretation, in explaining the text according to his theory. Thus the commentary is an answer to C. Bruston's criticism, apparently endorsed by Driver, that Budde's theory "cannot be carried through consistently without considerable violence to the text." Similar criticisms would apply to the various elaborate explanations of the book as a drama.

Canticles has enjoyed a unique history; its songs have, as Budde tells us, been bawled out in taverns as drinking songs by hilarious second century Jews; and it has been used as an allegory of the relations of Jehovah and Israel, and of Christ and the Church. It would be strange if the text had not suffered in the course of such a history. Moreover, Budde does not contend that we have exactly a single cycle of songs used on such an occasion; more than one such cycle has probably been laid under contribution; and there have been redactions, in the course of which, passages have been omitted. Omissions would naturally be made in the transition from epithalamium to allegory. Budde dates the book in the third or second century B.C.

The section on *Lamentations* is also by Budde. He rejects the theory that iv., v. are Maccabæan; but also denies that any part of the book is by Jeremiah. He ascribes ii. and iv. to an eye-witness of the sack of Jerusalem, probably a member of Zedekiah's court; v. was composed about 550; i. not earlier than 430; and iii. in the third century B.C.

*Ruth* is by Lic. A. Bertholet. Although he accepts a historical basis to the extent of an alliance between David's family and Moab, he regards the book as a work of the times of Ezra and Nehemiah, composed as a protest against their prohibition of marriage with foreigners. The closing genealogy is a later addition.

Professor Wildeboer is responsible for *Ecclesiastes* and *Esther*. He dates *Ecclesiastes* about B.C. 200, in substantial agreement with most modern critics. In discussing the composition of the book, he sets aside the ingenious theory of Bickell that its incoherence

is due to the accidental transposition of the leaves of a MS.; and the various theories held by Dr Paul Haupt and others, that Ecclesiastes has been largely added to by editors to render it a less dangerous and more edifying work. He defends its integrity, even accepting the Epilogue. Its lack of sequence and consistency is explained by supposing that it is a kind of commonplace book in which the author recorded his varying moods and contradictory impressions of life. Similar views have been advocated by Nowack and Plumptre, and in a measure by Cheyne. Nevertheless, the very striking reconstruction of the text and of its redaction by Dr Paul Haupt, makes one hesitate to accept even such weighty authority for its integrity.

Wildeboer dates *Esther* after B.C. 135; and sees in the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes the suggestion of the massacre planned by Haman. The view taken of the origin of the book is somewhat startling. The account it gives of the establishment of the Feast of Purim is quite wrong. This feast was borrowed—according to our author, and Jensen, whom he follows—by the exiled Jews from their Persian and Babylonian neighbours. It was originally a New Year's Feast of the Babylonians, with which the Jews combined elements from the Persian New Year's Feast of "All Souls." The story of Esther is a metamorphosis of a Babylonian myth, in which Merodach (Mordecai) and Ishtar (Esther) contend against and overthrow the Elamite deities Humman (Haman) and Vashti. Mythology and folklore reveal stranger transformations. Professor Gwatkin used to be fond of relating how the history of George of Cappadocia, peculating pork-contractor and Arian bishop of Alexandria, became the legend of St George and the Dragon. Nevertheless, it is difficult to believe that the coherent and dramatic story in Esther is an adaptation of a myth, with which it has little but names in common, even though much of the myth seems a deduction from our book.

W. H. BENNETT.

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### Die Auslegung des Hohenliedes in der jüdischen Gemeinde und der griechischen Kirche.

Von Lic. Wilhelm Riedel, Privatdocent der Theologie in Kiel.  
Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf. (Georg Böhme); London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898.  
Pp. 120. Price, M.2.40.

IN order to vindicate the canonicity of the Song of Solomon the Jews early interpreted it in an allegorical fashion, explaining it mostly of the relation between Jehovah and Israel. Of this in-

terpretation the Targum and the Midrash Rabba on the book give us a good idea. The former, which was written not earlier than the sixth or seventh century A.D., is neither a literal translation, nor a mere paraphrase, but a commentary. The Song celebrates the love of God to His chosen people and the love of the people to God. From i. 2 to iii. 6 it refers to the deliverance from Egypt and the giving of the law; from iii. 7—v. 1, to the building of the temple by Solomon; from v. 2—vii. 12, to the first exile and the return, to the rising under the Maccabees, and the second exile; and in vii. 13—viii., to the last conflict with the heathen world and the final glory. The Midrash Rabba, written in the eighth or ninth century, is a compilation of all the interpretations known to the author. The Song must be interpreted to the glory of Israel; in it God lauds us and we laud Him. As a rule "Solomon" must be understood as being God, and the bride is the Jewish people. Any interpretation that follows this principle is admissible; for God's word has not one meaning, but an infinite number.

Hippolytus is the first Christian exegete of the Song. He simply Christianizes the Jewish interpretation: the bridegroom is Christ and the bride is the Church. Origen admits a historical sense of the Song, but it is only the allegorical interpretation that brings out its real meaning. Solomon is Christ; his companions are either the angels, or the prophets and patriarchs, or the teachers of the Church. In his Homilies the bride is usually the Church, but sometimes the individual Christian soul. In his Commentaries it is otherwise: in these the latter interpretation is the most common. The maidens accompanying the bride are the catechumens; the daughters of Jerusalem are the unbelieving Israelites; the Song celebrates the union of the heavenly bridegroom with His Church, or of the Logos with the soul. Gregory of Nyssa admits only an allegorical sense; this sense is a sacred riddle, which it is often difficult to read, and which only the perfect and pure soul can understand. The bride is usually the soul of the individual perfect Christian, though in certain sections (*e.g.* iv. 1-11) it is the Church. The bridegroom is generally the Logos, but sometimes God. Chap. ii. 8 refers to the incarnation. Later expositors simply followed in the footsteps of Origen and Gregory. The crown in iii. 11 is the crown of thorns; Cyril of Alexandria finds a reference in viii. 1 to the *θεοτόκος*; Philo of Carpasia explains v. 1-6 of the death and resurrection of Christ; the golden ornaments of the bride in i. 11 are the holy martyrs, the silver studs are their wounds; vii. 4 must be understood of the Lord's Supper. Theodore of Mopsuestia is the only theologian of importance who opposed this allegorical interpre-

tation; according to him the Song was composed by Solomon in praise of his Egyptian bride. For this (along with other heresies) he was condemned by the fifth Ecumenical Council; but his interpretation has been adopted not only by the Nestorians, but also by the Ethiopian Church, which allows the Song to be read only by the older priests. It was not adopted however by his own friends and pupils. Theodoret argued energetically against it. In respect of the interpretation of the Song there was no fundamental difference between the schools of Alexandria and Antioch. Those who did not accept the allegorical interpretation were regarded as heretics. In the nineteenth canon of the Concilium Quinisextum the exegesis of the orthodox fathers was declared binding upon all in the future. Henceforth Greek expositors had simply to reproduce the earlier interpretations.

DAVID EATON.

### Serubbabel.

*Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der messianischen Erwartung und der Entstehung des Judenthums. Von Lic. Dr Ernst Sellin, a.o. Professor der evangelischen Theologie in Wien. Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf. (Georg Böhme), 1898; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. vi. 216. Price, M.4.50.*

THIS is an attempt to fill up the gaps in our knowledge of the first post-exilic century, and thereby to throw fresh light upon the history of Messianic expectation and the origin of Judaism. In a short introduction Dr Sellin states the problem to be solved, and gives his own solution. He raises three questions: (1) How comes it that out of the exiles who returned in 538/36, and who had certainly a divine law and influential priests, but neither a law regulating everything nor a hierarchy, there arose the legal community of Ezra and Nehemiah? (2) The contemporaries of Deutero-Isaiah and Zechariah looked joyously and hopefully into the future; how comes it that so many of the Psalmists despair of everything earthly, and occasionally almost of God's mercy? (3) How comes it that the two so heterogeneous streams of legalism and heart piety flow peacefully in the common bed of Judaism? There is only one satisfactory answer to these questions. At the instigation of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, Zerubbabel was raised to the throne of Judah, and thus the Messianic Kingdom was begun; but he was speedily overthrown by the Persians, and died a martyr death for his people; Jerusalem was again laid waste; the temple was desecrated, and Messianic



hope was extinguished. On the one hand, despair because of this divine judgment, and on the other the ray of hope that a single religious genius (Deutero-Isaiah) cast into this dark night, explain fully (along with the commonly assigned causes) the origin of Judaism.

Chap. i. treats of Messianic expectation in Haggai and Zechariah. The Jews who returned from Babylon in 538/36 under Sheshbazzar (who is a different person from Zerubbabel) were full of Messianic hopes; they immediately built an altar, but refrained from rebuilding the temple, probably because they thought that the seventy years spoken of by Jeremiah were not yet elapsed. There were prophets among them, however, who laid more stress on signs of the times, whereby God spoke more clearly than by these numbers. Two historical events in particular inspired these prophets: (1) About 521/20 an important change occurred in the government of Judah: Zerubbabel, a descendant of David, became satrap. (2) The accession of Darius in 521 to the Persian throne led to a general rebellion throughout the empire; though this rebellion was soon crushed, it must have caused great excitement among the Palestinian Jews, so many of whose brethren were in Babylon. These two events led to a fresh outburst of prophecy. Both Haggai and Zechariah insist primarily on the rebuilding of the temple; when that is accomplished, a new glorious era will begin for Judah: (a) Jehovah will take up His abode in Zion. (b) The people will be gathered together in Palestine out of all lands. (c) The nations that have sinned against Jehovah and His people will be destroyed; all others will become His servants. (d) The land of Judah will be of marvellous fertility, and its inhabitants will enjoy great prosperity. (e) As soon as Zerubbabel has completed the temple, he will ascend the throne of David; he is chosen of God to be the Messiah. This is the most important of their expectations. Messianic hope in the wide sense, *i.e.* faith in an everlasting Kingdom of the House of David, is very ancient. Ezekiel shows that it was not crushed by the exile, and it revived as Cyrus advanced against Babylon. When the latter was at the height of his career, Zerubbabel was born (say in 540) to Shealtiel, the eldest son of Jehoiachin. What wonder if, whether in old or new strains, such words as Isa. ix. 6 ff. resounded among the people. The young prince received the Babylonian name "Zer-Babili," "seed or sprout of Babylon." He was probably brought back as a child in 538/36, and was made satrap when twenty years old. Most daring expectations became alive among the people; the prophets appealed to him to rebuild the temple; if he does so, great honour awaits him: he is the divinely chosen king of the new kingdom, which is to extend far and wide among the nations. Haggai

(ii. 23) only hints at this dignity. Zechariah, however, speaks plainly. He assures him that, in spite of difficulties, he will succeed in building the temple (iv. 9), and announces that he is to be king. The vision in iii. 1 ff. is meant to remove the people's fear that owing to their great guilt their representative, the high priest, cannot draw near to God. This acceptance of the priesthood is a pledge of something greater, viz., that Zerubbabel is to be king (v. 8). A comparison of vi. 12-13 with iv. 9 shows that the *Zemach* is Zerubbabel, of whom also Haggai ii. 23 uses the expression "my servant". A precious stone is put in Joshua's charge; when the fit time comes, it is to be engraved and inserted in the king's diadem (v. 9). Verses 6-10 of chap. iv. stood originally between iii. 9 and 10. After Jehovah has said that He Himself will engrave the name *Zemach* in the precious stone, and remove the previous iniquity of the land, the prophet proceeds: "This is the word of the Lord unto Zerubbabel, &c." The great mountain of v. 7 is Persia; the closing words of that verse ("noble, noble is he") are the shoutings of the people to their crowned king; v. 10 means that they shall rejoice when they see Zerubbabel put the crown on his own head, as his reward for building the temple. Then follow iii. 10 and iv. 11 ff. We thus obtain two chapters that hang well together: the high-priesthood and the kingdom are divinely sanctioned; Joshua has received the clean mitre, and Zerubbabel the right to the precious stone of the crown; hence iv. 14: "These are the two sons of oil that stand before the Lord of the whole earth." In vi. 9 ff. Zechariah becomes even more explicit. He is commanded to take of the gold and silver given by brethren from Babylon, and make a crown for Zerubbabel; he is also to announce to these brethren God's purpose: *Zemach* is to be king; Joshua is to be high priest at his right hand; and they that are far off (the Babylonian Jews) will come and help to build the temple. This crown is meanwhile, like the precious stone, committed to the charge of the high priest. The zeal of the people in building the temple shows the great effect produced upon them by the prophet's message.

Chap. ii. treats of Messianic expectation in the pre-exilic prophets, especially in such passages as Hosea ii. 1 ff., iii. 5; Amos. ix. 11; Isa. iv. 2 ff., ix. 1-6, xi. 1-10; Micah v. 1-3; Jer. xxiii. 5 f., xxx. 4-9, 18-22, xxxiii. 14-26. Some of these passages are pre-exilic; they are all earlier than Haggai and Zechariah; several of them were interpolated as the exile was drawing to a close, or immediately after the Return, with distinct reference to Zerubbabel. It was then that Messianic expectation first laid hold alike of the prophets and the mass of the people.

In chap. iii. Dr Sellin sets forth the traces he has found in

history of an elevation of Zerubbabel to the throne and of his consequent overthrow. The dedication of the temple in 516 is the last event for many years of which we have authentic information. It is followed by a gap of sixty or seventy years. How are we to fill up this gap? Immediately after 516 the troubles of Darius began afresh; and these furnished an opportunity for the elevation of the satrap, which soon came to a violent end. This, it is true, is mere conjecture; but there are certain evidences that make it exceedingly probable: (1) The removal of the Davidic line from the governorship. Zerubbabel is the last Jewish satrap of David's house. Was this not the consequence of a rebellion? (2) The building of the wall by Nehemiah. Neh. i. 1 ff. takes us down to 445. Of what calamity befalling Jerusalem does Hanani there speak? He cannot refer to the destruction of the wall built by Ezra, for, notwithstanding Ezra vii. 7 and Neh. i. 2, Nehemiah's first visit to Jerusalem was prior to that of Ezra. Nor can he refer to the destruction of Jerusalem, 150 years before, by the Babylonians; Nehemiah is evidently mourning over some far more recent desolation. The true answer is as follows: Zerubbabel had succeeded in rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem; these had again been destroyed by Israel's foes; in the interval the Jews had not been able to repair the breaches, and their condition remained deplorable. (3) The letter of Rehum to the King of Persia, Ezra iv. 7 ff., which is not inserted in its right place. Whether referring to Ezra or, as Dr Sellin thinks, to Nehemiah, it is genuine. Rehum, the satrap of Samaria, is also satrap of Judea. He complains to the king that Jerusalem is being rebuilt. If the king will consult the archives of his fathers (Xerxes and Darius), he will find that it has been a rebellious city, and has had to be destroyed. It were well, therefore, to put a stop to this new enterprise. He cannot be referring to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians, but to a rebellion by the returned Jews against Persia, in consequence of which the city was again laid waste. (4) Nehemiah and Ezra found a kind of temple in Jerusalem, but in such a condition as proves that some great calamity had befallen it, since its rebuilding by Zerubbabel. (5) The reaction of the Priests' Code against Messianic expectation. This Code, introduced by Ezra and Nehemiah, completely ignores Messianic expectation. How could such a code have been accepted by the people, had not their hopes been utterly disappointed by some great catastrophe. (6) The position of the prophets in the community after Zerubbabel. The prophets, who had been the leaders in the Messianic movement, fell into discredit among the people. If one would prophesy, he must do so, for the most

part, anonymously. The elder prophets were not disavowed, but they were turned into teachers of the law. Thus, while we have no direct proof that Zerubbabel was raised to the throne, we have many evidences that, during the interval of seventy years, a fearful catastrophe had befallen the land, the temple, the people, and, in particular, David's house, burying under it the Messianic hope. Are we not justified in bringing this catastrophe into connexion with the elevation of Zerubbabel to the throne, which Haggai and Zechariah lead us to expect?

The rest of the treatise deals with various "sources," which are intelligible only on the assumption that Zerubbabel was raised to the throne and afterwards died a martyr's death. Micah iv. 8-14, Lam. iv. 17 to v. 22, and Isa. lxiii. to lxvi., which are all post-exilic, find at least their most adequate explanation on this assumption. But Isa. xl.-lv. is the strongest confirmation of this hypothesis. It is impossible to give more than a brief summary of Dr Sellin's conclusions: (1) These chapters are a unity. The author of these chapters is also the author of the sections treating of the servant of the Lord, and himself incorporated them in his book. (2) The book as a whole was written in Jerusalem; but the author had lived and written in Babylon, from which he had returned after the edict of Cyrus. Many passages in chaps. xl.-xlviii. speak of the deliverance through Cyrus as still future; but these are quotations from his own earlier predictions, inserted by him in the present book for a certain purpose. (3) He wrote the book in its present form between 515 and 500 for the purpose of comforting the people. But not in respect of their captivity in Babylon. Judah is despairing of its divine election; it has powerful enemies on all sides; Zion is depopulated and despised; the people are still scattered in the world; a special calamity has befallen the servant of the Lord; certain predictions have not been fulfilled. And how does he comfort them? Not by announcing a return from Babylon; but by asserting (a) that Jehovah is the one living God; (b) He will soon come Himself to His people, whom He has chosen for Himself by bringing them back from exile; (c) Israel will then be gathered together from among all peoples; and (d) the nations will then enter into the kingdom of God, and be subject to Israel. These are the "new" things he has to declare to them. They are only relatively "new"; absolutely "new," however, is all that he says regarding the servant of the Lord. Who is this servant? So far as he is not the people, but a definite individual, he can only be one person, viz., Zerubbabel. Deutero-Isaiah is a contemporary of Haggai and Zechariah, in whom Zerubbabel is called by God "my servant"; in what he says of the servant there is occasionally a play on the name, Zemach; what is said of

his activity and vocation suits a prince like Zerubbabel far better than a prophet, priest or teacher of the law. This is especially true of the account given of his suffering in chap. liii. It reminds us of what we know from history as to the way in which Persia dealt with rebel satraps. Moreover, the consequences ascribed to his sufferings suggest a prince or king suffering for his people. It is true also of what is said of his exaltation and glory (vv. 10-12). Was not this servant a prince? could such things be looked for in the future of one who had simply been a prophet or teacher of the law? Note also how, in two passages (xlix. 7, lii. 15), mention is made of the effect produced by his activity and death, and by what follows these, upon kings. Does not the servant belong to the same category as these? The idea that the servant will rule among the nations is found also in xlii. 6, and more especially in lv. 4, which does not refer to David, but to the descendant of David, whom Jeremiah and Ezekiel looked for, and in whom the new covenant with the people will be established. It is thus that Deutero-Isaiah comforts his contemporaries. Through the overthrow of Zerubbabel all their hopes seemed blasted. It was the sharpest crisis through which the religion of Israel had passed. But Deutero-Isaiah rises superior to this despair. His watchword is: the vocation of the servant is not ended; he lives, he is triumphing, he is the bearer of a covenant between God and His people that will never pass away; because of his wounds Israel is healed; he will see an innumerable seed; he will also enlighten the Gentiles and will call them into his kingdom.

In a concluding chapter Dr Sellin discusses the witness of the Psalter to the fate of Zerubbabel. Ps. cxxxii. belongs to the time immediately after the completion of the new temple; the anointed in vv. 10 and 17 must be Zerubbabel. In such Psalms as xx., xxi., lxi. and lxiii., it is he that is spoken of as king; Psalms xlv. and lxxii. probably belong to the same time; Ps. lxxxix. consists of two parts: vv. 1-18 are a hymn in praise of God's grace and faithfulness in maintaining His covenant with David; while vv. 19-52, which are by a later author, can only refer to the overthrow of Zerubbabel. There are also Psalms, treating of the suffering servant of God, which become fully intelligible only on the assumption of the terrible suffering of *one* righteous person. In Ps. xxii. in particular there are both direct and indirect testimonies to the suffering of Zerubbabel. There are also allusions to his sufferings in the Book of Job.

Whatever may be thought of Dr Sellin's conclusions, his treatise is exceedingly interesting. He himself thinks he has certainly established two points: Zerubbabel was raised to the dignity of

king; and between him and Nehemiah-Ezra Jerusalem was laid waste and the temple desecrated. He also thinks it very probable that Zerubbabel is the individual servant of the Lord in Deutero-Isaiah, and that he died a martyr's death. DAVID EATON.

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**Das neu gefundene hebräische Stück des Sirach. Der Glossator des griechischen Sirach und seine Stellung in der Geschichte der jüdischen Theologie.**

*Von Dr A. Schlatter, Prof. in Berlin. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 191. Price, M.3.60.*

**De la Place faite aux Légendes Locales par les Livres Historiques de la Bible.**

*Par Maurice Vernes. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. 51.*

**Studies in Hebrew Synonyms.**

*By James Kennedy. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. x. 140. Price, 5s.*

PROFESSOR SCHLATTER of Berlin has edited the Hebrew fragment of Sirach for the benefit of German scholars. He gives the Hebrew, Greek and German in parallel columns. He has laboured under the disadvantage of not having the MS. before him, but his first column is not simply a reproduction of Cowley and Neubauer's edition. He has exercised his critical judgment throughout, and compared the text and margin of the English edition with the Syriac, Greek and Latin versions, for the purpose of arriving at the most likely readings. Suggestions of his own are put within square brackets. Dr Schlatter's notes will be found to be valuable. Each verse is examined and commented on. The state of the MS. affords plenty of scope for conjecture. In a considerable number of instances Dr Schlatter approves of the readings of the English editors. Sometimes he thinks better of those of Smend, who has also had the opportunity of examining the MS. Some of Cowley and Neubauer's translations are "impossible," others "have no sense." In the fine description of the sun in xl. 1-5, where the R.V. vaguely speaks of the sun "breathing out fiery vapours," C. and N. make out the Hebrew to mean, "a tongue of light smiteth the inhabited (country)." Schlatter "can have no faith in the tongue of light"; better admit at once that the whole thing is

uncertain. In the description of the moon in v. 8, where the R.V. makes her "the instrument of the hosts on high," C. and N. by operating upon the uncertain Hebrew get in the idea of "a host of rain-vessels on high." This excites Schlatter's wonder. "That the heavenly host consists of angels or stars, not of vessels, is certain." The German scholar's acute criticisms and plausible conjectures should help us in some degree to get nearer the actual meaning of this important "find."

The Greek text of Sirach is accompanied in a number of MSS. by interesting glosses in the form of verses written in the style of Sirach himself, and all manifestly by the same writer. In the second half of the present book Schlatter reproduces the whole series of these glossarial verses, translates them, and then writes an essay on the underlying ideas. Internal evidence leads him to the conclusion that the verses are pre-Christian and the work of a disciple of Aristobulus of Alexandria. Schlatter asks us, however, to "allow the Christian impression of these verses to work upon us with full force." It is remarkable that they contain almost all the essential words (*Kernworte*) of Christianity, *πίστις, γνώσις, μετάνοια, ἐλπίς, ὑπομονή, δικαιοσύνη, ἀλήθεια, υἱοὶ θεοῦ, πνεῦμα ἅγιον*, &c. In the view of the unknown writer the fear of God is not the end of piety, love is the highest attainment.

"The fear of the Lord is the gift of the Lord,  
For it leads to the paths of love."

Points of contact with Apostolic teaching are numerous; here are the Pauline "acceptance" and "rejection," "the lower parts of the earth," &c., and the fundamental scheme of John's testimony, consisting of the *λόγος*, light, life and love. Nevertheless the difference between the writer's ideas and those of the New Testament are clearly recognisable. "There is no Christianity," says Dr Schlatter, "without Christ. Where His word and the result of His life rule the course of thought and volition, there is Christianity. Not one of the glosses's verses has a clear relation to Jesus or to any New Testament saying." Still the unknown writer probably had an important place in the development of synagogue theology. Sirach's book would never have been preserved, still less would it have gained any relation to the Canon, if it had not been prized by the school of Aristobulus. "Extended by the glosses of a disciple of this circle, Sirach came into the Church of Alexandria and thence to Rome."

We have often wondered whether M. Vernes takes himself seriously. We have never been quite able to view him in that light. He is one of the foremost of French orientalists, but his historical

ideas are very singular. He declares that he is only applying to the history of Israel the same methods which have yielded satisfactory results in other lands (34), but to us his theories seem to be unique. He thinks that Hebrew history is largely composed from tomb-stones and imagination. A man's career begins at his grave. "The monuments are with us unto this day," local imagination does all the rest. When this faculty has had full play, "faith affirms in virtue of a dogmatic principle." Deborah, who was buried at Bethel (Gen. xxxv. 8), was merely a highly respectable nurse. But out of her grave sprang another Deborah, whom all the world knows. She is a product of the creative imagination working upon a tomb. "It is here," says the proud discoverer, "that our thesis triumphs in a manner almost insolent." We agree. M. Vernes states linguistic reasons for holding that the Song of Deborah was written in the fourth or third century B.C. It is nothing to him that all the critics, from Ewald to Moore, are dead against him. Kuenen may say of the Song that "form and contents alike prove that it is rightly ascribed by all competent judges to a contemporary." Moore may speak of it as "written by one who had witnessed the event." Such ideas "repose on a gross misunderstanding." Again, "the legend of Samuel is known; it occupies a great place in Jewish history, but it seems in the last analysis to rest solely upon the existence of a tomb at Ramah to the North of Jerusalem" (26). Saul had two tombs—two points of attachment for local imagination. Round one of them grew the story of the sons of Rizpah—*pauvres diables*, says the kind historian. The guardians of the other tomb also had their tales. Finally a compromise was effected, and local jealousies appeased, when the king's bones were removed—in imagination, of course—from Jabesh-gilead to Zela in Benjamin. We might remind M. Vernes that the first Emperor of the French also has two tombs. But is the public and private life of Napoleon the product of *l'imagination créatrice* of French professors?

In writing a book on Hebrew Synonyms Mr Kennedy enters a field which has been cultivated a good deal in recent years, though there is still no standard work on the subject. Mr Kennedy speaks of "the gains to Biblical science which may be derived from the careful observation of the way in which even single words are employed by the writers of the Hebrew Scriptures." The scope of his own work is somewhat limited. He seems to avoid all abstract terms and everything that more strictly belongs to the sphere of Biblical theology. He has sections upon twelve groups of nouns signifying *wall, lion, sheep, fool, coal, flood, oil, rain, rock, rod, ashes, and dust*; adjectives for *old, weary, and poor*; and verbs meaning



to flee, wash, and pour out. That some benefit is to be derived from such a study is beyond doubt. Take, *e.g.*, the terms for *fool*, to which ten pages are devoted. No word is of more frequent occurrence in the Wisdom literature. Here the Hebrews made unusually sharp distinctions, and it is always some "gain to Biblical science" to observe whether the person designated is a prating fool, a stubborn fool, a wicked fool, or a blundering fool—*בָּכִיל*, *אִיִּל*, *נָבֵל*, or *סָבֵל*. Mr Kennedy's whole work is very carefully done, and among the many Hebrew words not a jot or tittle has failed. His method is logical. Having made a sufficiently exhaustive induction of passages containing a certain word, and inferred from them the usual meaning of the word, he concludes with what we may call "riders," or applications of the result gained to the exposition of difficult passages containing the same word. The method is in general sound, but it has its limitations. It may always happen that the passages not included in the induction, but explained by the deductive method may be just the exceptions to the rule. Mere logic never makes good exegesis. Take the word *יַיִךְ*, oil. Having come to the conclusion that this term always signifies oil "not yet adapted for use by man in any way," Mr Kennedy gives us the rider that it is "clearly inadmissible" to explain Zechariah's two olive-branches—called *שְׁנֵי בְנֵי הַיַּיִךְ*, the two sons of oil—as *the two anointed ones*, the king and the priest. "Most expositors" do so, but they are wrong. Here is the right exegesis: "we rather seem called to think of the olive-branches as angelic mediators appointed for the abundant ministration of divine grace which finally manifests itself in the form of 'light and leading.'" That must be admitted to be sufficiently vague, whereas the meaning rejected has at least the merit of being profoundly interesting. Again, having defined *מִשְׁעָנָה* as "a staff properly so called, constantly employed as a means of support, especially for the aged and infirm, but even for younger persons who are weak," Mr Kennedy comes in due course to Elisha's staff, and remarks that the prophet's habit of carrying one "may safely warrant the conclusion that this man of God was not exceptionally vigorous." Like one of Shakespeare's folk Mr Kennedy is apt to be too "verbal." Instead of drawing an inference of this kind, he should have revised his definition, and admitted that a "something to lean upon" may be carried by the most vigorous. What conclusion would Mr Kennedy draw from the fact that in Psalm xxiii. 4, a *מִשְׁעָנָה* is carried by Jehovah? In twelve cases out of thirteen *מַבֵּל* certainly refers to Noah's flood; therefore, says Mr Kennedy, the thirteenth case, in Psalm xxix. 10, refers to the same event. This by no means

follows ; Ewald says "the word cannot be used here in the sense of the tradition." Mr Kennedy never touches any of the problems of higher criticism. But he proves a remarkably bold textual critic. He finds the Massoretic text often wrong, and "erroneous readings introduced by copyists are often of high antiquity." Indeed one of his objects in writing this book is to get "reliable guidance in recovering the true text of the Hebrew Scriptures, which, through the failings of transcribers, and from other natural causes, has in varying degree become corrupt, and hence at least obscure." The study of synonyms may serve to put matters right. Take, for example, the words עָפָר and אֵפֶר. The one, we learn, always means "dust," the other "ashes." When, therefore, the Textus Receptus makes Malachi declare that *the wicked shall be ashes under the soles of your feet* (iv. 3), Mr Kennedy says "the correct reading must surely be עָפָר, dust." Jeremiah calls Israel to *gird on sackcloth and wallow in the ashes* (vi. 26), but "ashes are by no means so plentiful as dust, and we must therefore read אֵפֶר." Ezekiel announces that the wailing men of Tyre *shall cast up ashes on their heads, and in the dust shall they wallow* (xxvii. 30). Here "we may somewhat confidently correct the text": what the prophet of course said was that the wailers would throw dust upon their heads, and wallow in ashes. The copyists have evidently been very careless. The present critic, however, confesses that he has no belief in textual emendations of this kind. Why blame the poor copyists? It is possible that the prophets themselves were not adepts at synonyms.

J. STRACHAN.

### **Der Prolog des vierten Evangeliums. Sein polemisch-apologetischer Zweck.**

*Von D. W. Baldensperger, Giessen. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. 171. Price, 4s. 6d.*

BALDENSPPERGER's aim in this most interesting and ably reasoned publication is to show that the dominant purpose of the writer of the Fourth Gospel, was to dissipate the errors of those who believed in John the Baptist rather than in Jesus. No sooner is this declared to be the purpose of the writer than we immediately ask, Were there at the close of the first or beginning of the second century any number of persons who believed in the Messiahship of the Baptist, or who were so influenced by his teaching and that of his followers as to be divided in their allegiance to Jesus? Were there many such and was their influence of such importance as to evoke so

splendid a plea for the Messiahship of Jesus? The germs of opinion or of ignorance which might eventuate in the formation of a society indifferent to the claims of Jesus and resting rather in the Baptist's teaching, are visible in the group of disciples whom Paul found at Ephesus, and who had not so much as heard whether there were any Holy Ghost (Acts xix. 1-7). How this strange and significant development maintained itself, how it found nutriment in various Jewish ideas and customs, how it appealed to the prevailing thoughts and religious disposition, Baldensperger with care and learning illustrates. He also shows how the followers of John equally with the followers of Jesus might adopt the designation of Christians, and how the two parties might live in amity. The real essential difference of the two faiths emerged when in some great city, possibly Ephesus, numbers of John's disciples were absorbed in the Christian Church. Of this period of conflict the Gospel and the Epistles of John are the surviving documents.

A good deal of the chapter entitled '*Der historische Hintergrund*' needs underpropping. The sects adopting the Baptist as their master are shadowy and obscure. Baldensperger with great ingenuity fills in the vague outlines; but of historical evidence does not adduce as much as is desirable. From the Clementine Recognitions he quotes: "*unus ex discipulis Johannis affirmabat Christum Johannem fuisse et non Jesum*"; and if this could be supposed to reflect an opinion still held at the date of the Clementines, we should be able to infer the existence of a sect of John's disciples. As it is we can only say that this portion of Church history requires further illumination. Meanwhile something may be gathered from the Gospel itself. If its opposition to such a belief in the Baptist be definite, then unquestionably that belief must have existed.

For this aim of the Gospel Baldensperger makes out a good case. He is not the first to suggest that the object of the writer was to refute the believers in John, by demonstrating that Jesus was the Christ. Grotius, in the introduction to his annotations on the Gospel, expresses the opinion that it was written to refute Judaizers, Gnostics, and those who preferred to be called "*Johannis Baptistae sectatores quam Jesu*." And on i. 15 his note is: "*Ipsius Johannis publica confessione eos refellit qui Johannem omisso Jesu sectabantur deque ejus nomine dici se volebant*." Unquestionably this idea of the object of the book is a key that unlocks some closed passages in the Gospel. Verses 6-8 of the Prologue have, even after plausible explanations, been felt to be abrupt and have sometimes been considered parenthetical. According to Baldensperger they are the hinge of the whole. They introduce the argument and explain why the Logos has been so

described as the first verses describe Him. The Baptist is set in contrast with Him that his infirmity may appear. The Baptist 'became'; the Logos 'was'; the Baptist was sent *from* God, but the Logos was 'with' God; the Baptist is emphatically designed 'a man': the Logos 'was God.' And carrying this idea through the entire Prologue and through the Gospel Baldensperger certainly succeeds in shedding light into many dark corners. To give the detailed interpretation would be to reproduce the volume, and yet it is by the cumulative force of passage after passage, and allusion after allusion, that the impression is deepened that Baldensperger has made good his point. No doubt he may here and there fall into the snare of overdoing his thesis. It is easy, when once you have postulated this polemic purpose, to find evidence for it in every positive statement by merely manipulating judiciously the emphasis. Thus when the people who had been fed exclaim, 'This is of a truth the prophet'; by merely laying the emphasis on the pronoun you can construe the expression into a repudiation of the claims of John. But in the main Baldensperger is judicious and careful, and if he does not make good his case certainly so presents it as to demand consideration.

Baldensperger, although he may be guilty of here and there over-pressing his point, does not spoil his case by any attempt to read the Gospel as if no dangers threatened the Church save that which might arise from the followers of the Baptist. He does not find himself bound to interpret every statement of the Gospel by a reference to this one particular heresy. He believes that in view of errors arising within the Church regarding the actual claims of Jesus, and especially regarding his relations to the Baptist, some disciple, now unknown, proposed to himself the task of establishing the wavering in their faith. And in order the more effectually to accomplish his object, he found no better means than to publish his book "under the auspices of an eye-witness of the life of Jesus," and to appeal for the correctness of his representation to the beloved disciple himself. The writer, himself engaged in the strife, could not expect to be listened to, nor could his book make much impression as a mere party polemic written in the height of the conflict. It was essential to its success that it should not appear as arising out of the pressing needs of the present. This view of the authorship both detracts from the value of the Gospel and weakens the whole position of Baldensperger. Those whom it concerned must have been singularly simple persons if they could not detect the difference between a genuine apostolic production and a gospel thus sprung upon them to suit their opponents and the exigencies of controversy. Modern critics seem not only to adopt a very superior attitude towards the writers and officials of

the Early Church, in which perhaps they are justified, but to deny them even that small modicum of sense which happily the majority of men possess. Baldensperger's publication should, however, be read, not only for the sake of its main thesis, but also because it contains some acute and sound exegesis. MARCUS DODS.

### **Was Christ born at Bethlehem? A Study on the Credibility of St Luke.**

*By W. M. Ramsay, M.A., D.C.L. Hodder & Stoughton, 1898.  
Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 280. Price, 5s.*

Few scholars of modern times have attacked the problems of New Testament criticism with such *élan* as Professor Ramsay. No scholar, not even Lightfoot, has done more to lay sure foundations for the interpretation of the life and writings of St Paul. He has rehabilitated the character of St Luke as an historian; and, almost without referring to them, has shown the inadequacy of the assaults upon his trustworthiness. Every student of the New Testament feels himself enriched by Professor Ramsay's writings, and every fresh utterance of his is awaited with eagerness.

His present treatise will not disappoint. It contains a great deal of critical wisdom, and sheds much-needed light on the general principles which should guide the critic, and on the temper and attitude of mind he should maintain. But of course it is especially important as a bold acceptance of the challenge to judge St Luke's trustworthiness as an historian by the crucial passage, Luke ii. 1-4. This passage has been freely declared to contain "a blunder, or rather a complication of blunders; and if that be so, the entire story must be relegated to the realm of mythology, and the writer who mistakes fable for fact, and tries to prop up his mistake by an error of the grossest kind, can retain no credit as an historical authority."

In dealing with the credibility of St Luke, Professor Ramsay is careful to distinguish between slips in matters of a trivial kind and mistakes in essential facts. Error in the statement of matters of real moment for the narrative prevents us from using the author as a first-rate authority. "We cannot pardon any positive blunder in the really important points." We cannot argue that although he has erred in this or that essential matter of fact we may believe the rest of his narrative, when there is no clear evidence against him. If, on the other hand, we find that the serious errors charged against him are not proved, then we are justified in accepting his statements, even when entirely uncorroborated by other writers. His ascertained trustworthiness as an historian compels us to accept his single testi-

mony, recognising that in a period of history so obscure as that of the first century there are likely to be difficulties in historical writers which can only be solved by the discovery of fresh material.

That St Luke is an historian of the first rank Professor Ramsay, both elsewhere and here again, demonstrates. He rebukes writers of the type of Baur, Zeller, and Renan. "They argued that Luke was an able and beautiful but not very well-informed author, who lived long after the events which he records, at a time when all actors in those events had died, and when accurate knowledge of facts was difficult to acquire." Ramsay shows that on the contrary Luke's references to Asia Minor and Greece have a marked and peculiar individuality which is utterly unlike the vague style of a later author, narrating the events of a past age with the purpose of showing their bearing on the questions of his own day. In the first ninety pages of his book Professor Ramsay gives us an argument for Luke's trustworthiness which will not easily be demolished, and an understanding of the historian and his attitude, characteristics, and purpose which forms the best introduction to a perusal of his writings.

Approaching the crucial question of the census the arguments against its historicity are detailed: that it is a demonstrated fact that Augustus never ordered any general enrolment or census to be made of the whole Roman world; that even if he had done so, such an order could not have extended to Palestine which was an independent kingdom; that even if a census had been made in Palestine, that did not necessitate the journey of Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem, since the Roman method of enrolment was to count the population at their actual residence; that no census was ever held in Judaea until A.D. 6-7; and that Quirinius never governed Syria during the life of Herod.

In regard to the first difficulty Professor Ramsay bases his solution and his defence of Luke on the discovery, made independently in 1893 by Mr Kenyon, Dr Wilcken and Dr Viereck, that periodical enrolments were made in Egypt under the Roman Empire, and that the period was of fourteen years. The same Greek term, *Apographai*, is used in the Egyptian documents and in Luke to indicate the census. Among the Egyptian papyri now being deciphered by Mr Grenfell and others actual census papers are being from time to time discovered which put this beyond doubt. The periodic years are from those documents found to be B.C. 23, B.C. 9, A.D. 6, 20, 34, and so on. These documents also show that in some parts at least of the empire the enrolment and numbering of the population according to their households was a distinct and separate process from the census and valuation, which previously was considered to be the only properly Roman kind of census.

"The system of periodic enrolments in Egypt is quite different from the system of rating and valuation." Consequently the periodic enrolment papers contain no statistics about property ; "they are dated according to the year of the reigning emperor ; they state accurately and exactly which periodic enrolment they are intended for ; and they always use the phrase 'enrolment-by-household' ἀπογραφὴ κατ' οἰκίαν." The probabilities are in favour of the supposition that this system was initiated by Augustus. Professor Ramsay seems to us to establish this part of his contention unassailably. The only point to which objection may be taken is his assertion that Luke, by using the present tense ἀπογράφεσθαι in ii. 1, means that Augustus ordered enrolments to be regularly taken. It seems to us that such a statement is quite beside Luke's purpose ; and, moreover, if this be the meaning of the words, αὕτη of v. 2 is left without a reference ; whereas if the 'decree' refers to the particular order for that one enrolment αὕτη is in an intelligible and natural construction. The present tense can be otherwise explained, see Plummer *in loc.*

But was this system which appears to have prevailed in Egypt extended to the empire generally, and particularly to Syria ? Here again Professor Ramsay in our opinion makes good his point, and shows that it is at least highly probable that the same system prevailed in Syria and that as there was an enrolment in A.D. 7, the preceding one would fall in B.C. 8-7 during the Government of Saturninus. From this census it is not at all likely that the dominions of Herod would be exempt because at that time he had lost the favour of Augustus ; but it is quite likely that he would beg for delay. Professor Ramsay, by a review of the circumstances in which Herod was placed, makes it appear highly probable both that he should appeal to Rome for delay and that delay should be granted. This delay would bring the actual enrolment down to the year 7 or 6 B.C. The other data given by Luke afford, in Professor Ramsay's judgment, "reasonable confidence that 6 B.C. was the year of Christ's birth."

That Quirinius was governor of Syria in that year is not contended. From 7-4 B.C. that office was held by Quinctilius Varus. "In this difficulty I see no outlet in any direction, whether favourable or unfavourable, to Luke, except in the supposition that the foreign relations of Syria, with the command of its armies, were entrusted for a time to Quirinius, with a view to his conducting the difficult and responsible war against the Homonadenses, while the internal administration of the province was left to Saturninus or to Varus (according to the period when we place the mission of Quirinius)." But Professor Ramsay does not very satisfactorily answer the question, why in this case did Luke not name Varus,

the ordinary governor, instead of the extraordinary officer? This, of course, is the hinge of the difficulty, why is Quirinius called governor at that date? And it would have been desirable for Professor Ramsay to furnish us with a more adequate explanation. What he offers is really no better than, if so good as, the old idea that Quirinius was appointed by Augustus to see to the enrolment in Palestine. Mr Rushforth (*Latin Historical Inscriptions*, p. 25) says that the census in a province was ordinarily carried out by officials of equestrian rank on the governor's staff, to whom special districts were assigned. And M'Clellan (*New Testament*, i. 398) shows that *ἡγεμονεύειν* could be, and was used of such officials, and supposes that the name of Quirinius appears in Luke rather than that of Varus, "partly because of the closer connexion of the Procuratorial office with all purposes of the census, and partly because of the fame of Quirinius in the later Legatine Governorship for taxing in A.D. 6." But whether Ramsay can be followed in every particular or not, he has made a great contribution towards the solution of one of the hardest historical problems of the New Testament.

MARCUS DODS.

### **The Poetry and the Religion of the Psalms.**

*By James Robertson, D.D., Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Glasgow. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons, 1898. 8vo, pp. xvi. 360. Price, 12s.*

IN this volume, which embodies the *Croall Lectures* of 1893-4, Professor Robertson examines the dates of the Psalms, the religious feelings of which they are the expression, and the character of the religion of Israel under the monarchy. The first Lecture is introductory; in the second the author gives a survey of the historical criticism of the Psalms, with particular reference to critics of the past century. In Lecture III. he states the principal arguments which have led recent critics to treat the Psalms all but entirely as a product of post-exilic Judaism. In Lectures IV.-VI. he traces the external and internal evidence, tending to show that at least the beginnings of Hebrew psalmody must be assigned to the pre-exilic age, and even to an early period in it. Lectures VII. and VIII. are devoted to showing that in pre-exilic times the poetic faculty was sufficiently cultivated among the Hebrews for lyrics such as those of the Psalter to be possible, and also that there was no lack of occasions of historical and national significance adequate to call out the national feeling observable in the Psalms. Lecture IX. meets the objection derived from the difficulty of assigning specific historical occasions for individual Psalms, by pointing to the large



subjective and idealizing element characteristic of the Psalms, which is unfavourable to references to specific events. Lecture X. examines the conceptions found in the Psalter respecting the nature and attributes of God and the moral distinctions of human society, with the object of showing that they are of a character which might have arisen in pre-exilic times. Lecture XI. contains a discussion of the question who the speaker in the Psalms is, with special reference to Smend's theory that the 'I' of the Psalms is throughout the personified Jewish community. In Lecture XII. the author arrives at the last of the three questions started in Lecture VII. (p. 149), and adduces grounds for the conclusion that there was scope and possibility in pre-exilic times for a personal religion such as finds expression in the Psalms. Lecture XIII. is headed, 'David the Psalmist,' and its aim is to show that the circumstances of David's life, taken in conjunction with his character, literary and religious, are sufficient to account for many Psalms in the collection. The brief concluding Lecture re-affirms what may be said to be the main thesis of the entire volume, the contention, viz., that there existed in pre-exilic Israel a vital personal religion, such as is witnessed to by at least the more general of the Psalms.

Professor Robertson sets himself to oppose the critics: but he cannot altogether disown a critical method; and in the end his conclusions do not always differ greatly from those in which at least some critics have expressed themselves. At the outset (p. 47) he rejects the titles altogether as "authoritative or reliable indications of the authorship and occasions of composition of the Psalms to which they are attached": he also (p. 140) admits the possibility of there being Maccabean Psalms in the collection. The titles being thus discarded, and the Psalter—as even such a moderate critic as Professor Davison admits<sup>1</sup>—being in all its parts a post-exilic compilation, Professor Robertson has to look about for other grounds in order to determine whether it contains any Psalms of pre-exilic origin. It may be at once conceded that, for a variety of reasons, it is probable that Hebrew psalmody had its origin in pre-exilic times, and that our Psalter contains pre-exilic compositions. Professor Robertson devotes two Lectures or more to this subject; and yet at the end he only arrives at what was admitted long ago by Robertson Smith (*O.T.J.C.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 220, 222), and has been admitted since by other critics, as Kautzsch (*Abriß*, p. 206 f.; ed. 2, p. 127), and, in particular, by a critic as "advanced" as Budde, who writes<sup>2</sup>: "I regard the refusal to admit the existence of exilic or pre-exilic elements in the Psalms as due to an exaggerated reaction against the traditional view; and as I cannot abandon the idea of a historico-

<sup>1</sup> *Praises of Israel*, p. 30 (compiled between 450 and 175 B.C.).

<sup>2</sup> *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1892, No. 10, p. 252.

organic growth of Hebrew psalmody, I *must* assume that much of pre-exilic origin has passed over in flesh and blood into the post-exilic psalter." Budde adds that his position does not require him to point out what these pre-exilic elements are. More than Budde admits is, however, not contended for—or, at any rate, not proved—by Professor Robertson; for he nowhere goes so far as to specify in detail the Psalms which he considers to be pre-exilic. Many of Professor Robertson's remarks on Smend's theory are just: the theory is applicable probably more widely than Professor Robertson would be willing to allow; but in Smend's hands it is certainly extended very unnaturally. This also, however, has been fully recognised by other 'critics,' as Robertson Smith (*O.T.J.C.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 189), Budde (*l.c.*, p. 253), and Kautzsch (*Abriss*, p. 209; ed. 2, p. 132). The differences between Professor Robertson and critics are thus not as great as readers of his volume might be tempted to suppose.

On the existence of *Davidic* Psalms in the Psalter Professor Robertson proves very little. The titles, as we have seen, he discredits himself; even the heading 'Of David,' belonging to the original collection, does not, he declares, necessarily denote authorship (p. 136): the basis for any belief whatever in Davidic Psalms thus disappears. It is true, Ps. xviii. is attested independently by 2 Sam. xxii.; but 2 Sam. xxi.-xxiv. forms manifestly an appendix, and cannot claim to be the work of the well-informed author of the main narrative of 2 Sam. ix.-xx., 1 Kings i.-ii.; and, moreover, that the author of the title did not *know* the occasion of David's life to which he assigned the song is apparent from the vague terms which he used to describe it. Professor Robertson's treatment of Am. vi. 5 (p. 108 f., 339) is very unsatisfactory. What critics say of this passage is not that it implies that David's 'poetry was entirely secular and his music sensuous,' but that it states nothing about David's poetry at all; and in saying of the nobles of Samaria that "like David they devise for themselves—to be used, namely, at their banquets—instruments of song," that it refers to his music in a connexion which (in spite of what is urged on p. 108 f.) certainly suggests secular and not sacred music; the passage is not indeed *inconsistent* with David's having composed sacred music, but it cannot be appealed to *in proof of it*. The tradition which the Chronicler, in his usual manner, has evidently enlarged and embellished is that David applied music (including, as in such a connexion is certainly probable, song) as it had not been applied before to the service of the sanctuary. It is extremely difficult to think that this tradition is without basis in fact; but then (though no reader of Professor Robertson's pages would suspect it) there are critics who fully admit this: see, for instance, Robertson Smith, *O.T.J.C.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 223 ("we have every right therefore to conclude

that the talents of Israel's most gifted singer were not withheld from the service of Jehovah"—a sentence which might have been written by Professor Robertson himself), Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 192, Cornill, *Eint.* § 41, 7. When, however, we proceed to ask what specific Psalms may on the basis of this tradition be attributed to David, we are at once met by a difficulty; for hardly any liturgical Psalm, or Psalm adapted in the first instance for use in the services of the Temple, is ascribed in the Psalter (as Professor Robertson also admits, p. 136) to David: on the basis of the tradition which finds expression in the Chronicles, almost the only Psalm which we should be justified in ascribing to him would thus be the 24th. Nor do other considerations carry us further. Professor Robertson (p. 193 ff.) endeavours to show that the sanctity of Jerusalem dated from the days of Melchizedek: but when he has finished his argument, he writes (p. 199): "all this does not prove that Ps. cx. was written by David, or that it referred primarily to David in person." Elsewhere he argues that, David being a poet, and also a man of religious temper, and of susceptible emotions, who passed through a series of varied experiences, there was scope in his life for many of the Psalms attributed to him (p. 342). This, however, establishes very little. For, firstly, Professor Robertson does not enter into particulars, and consequently finds himself able to ignore altogether the incongruities of character, expression, and (especially) of situation, which in a number of Psalms seem to many conclusive evidence that David did not write them; and, secondly, as regards the remainder, the abstract fact that David *might* have written them is not proof that he *did* write them. Indeed, if the titles are of unknown origin (p. 67) and of unknown value, why should we look specially to David at all as their author? The rhetoric on pp. 349-351 does not prove more. It may be readily acknowledged that there is "a broad humanity in the Psalms"; but the grounds on which (p. 350) David suddenly appears as its spokesman are far from apparent. Altogether, Professor Robertson's treatment of the question of Davidic Psalms leaves much to be desired in respect of both definiteness and cogency.

Professor Robertson, in his eagerness to gain a point against the critics, is not always at the pains of acquainting himself properly with their arguments. It may, for example, be an arguable point whether the reasons which lead many critics to deny the authenticity of the closing verses of Amos are conclusive or not; but it is an entire mistake to call them 'arbitrary' (p. 187): they rest upon real facts, and they are altogether more substantial than the reader of Professor Robertson's description (*cf.* p. 109) would suppose. There are again grounds entirely independent of the difficulty to a

theory for doubting whether the songs in the historical books, referred to on pp. 147 f., 324, are really by the authors to whom they are attributed. The difficulty in Hannah's song, for instance, does not consist in its not containing more precise reference to Hannah's situation, but in its containing references *unsuitable* to it: it presupposes, viz., the monarchy, besides bearing purely literary marks of a much later date. The argument against Davidic Psalms derived from David's lament over Saul and Jonathan does not consist in any supposed impossibility of the same person being capable of writing secular and sacred poetry, but in the absence of any religious feeling on an occasion which, in a man of deep religious instincts, might naturally have been expected to elicit it. Who, however, would ever expect to find an expression of religious sentiment in the comic poem quoted on p. 331 as a parallel?

It is a defect in Professor Robertson's writings that his conclusions are apt to be in excess of what his premises justify, the fact being not, perhaps, always perceived by his readers in consequence of a certain vagueness of statement, which enables him, when he has actually proved a little, to argue and express himself as if he had proved a great deal. What he has *proved* about the existence in our Psalter of pre-exilic Psalms does not warrant him in speaking of them as familiarly and comprehensively as he does in his present volume. The great majority of Psalms are manifestly, upon various grounds, exilic or post-exilic; a minority, it may be freely admitted, with other critics, spring probably from pre-exilic times. A very few may even, perhaps, be Davidic; but it is impossible to think that Professor Robertson has done anything to neutralise the objections urged, for instance, by Robertson Smith (*O.T.J.C.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 215 ff.) against the supposition that the great bulk of the Psalms, assigned by their titles to David, are really his. The admission—or contention—that we possess pre-exilic Psalms is one from which—at least as it is handled by Professor Robertson—no conclusions of any value can be drawn. It is not sufficient to say that a part, or even (p. 123) “a considerable amount,” of Hebrew psalmody is pre-exilic: the Psalms differ often materially in character; and before any inferences can be drawn from such a statement, we must know specifically *which* Psalms may, with reasonable probability, be set down as pre-exilic. Is, for instance, the 8th, or the 19th, or the 22nd, or the 51st pre-exilic? If tangible grounds could be adduced for concluding these Psalms specifically to be pre-exilic—and still more if such grounds could be adduced for regarding them as Davidic—certain conclusions as to the theology or personal religion of the age in which they were written could be formed; but Professor Robertson adduces no specific grounds whatever: he nowhere even commits himself to a list of the Psalms

which he regards as pre-exilic ; still less does he state the reasons why he regards any particular Psalm as pre-exilic (except partially in the case of the royal Psalms). Thus at a point where precision is imperatively needed, he loses himself in generalities, and his reader is lost in them at the same time. It must, however, be clearly understood that unless his contention can be made more precise, it is of no value for the history either of the literature or of the religion of Israel. *Some* Psalms, let it be granted, are pre-exilic ; others are manifestly not pre-exilic : if any conclusions of importance are to be deduced from the former fact, it is clearly necessary that we should be informed distinctly *what* Psalms belong to the pre-exilic category. It is highly probable that the personal religion of the pre-exilic age has been underrated by some writers ; but even if that be the case, the *proof* of the fact must be deduced from those historical and prophetic writings, which, without reasonable question, belong to that age, not from the Psalms, of which only a minority can in any case be placed in it, and even those only in so far as they are in conformity, both literary and theological, with the fixed standard supplied by the prophets and historical books. The claim of the Psalms to a place in the pre-exilic age must, in other words, be established *in individual cases* much more securely than has been done in Professor Robertson's volume before any conclusions as to the history or character of the religion of Israel in that period can be drawn from them. S. R. DRIVER.

### Die christliche Lehre von der Sünde.

*Eine Untersuchung zur systematischen Theologie.* Von Lic. Dr Carl Clemen, Privatdozent an der Universität Halle-Wittenberg. *Erster Theil. Die biblische Lehre.* Göttingen : Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1897 ; London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. vi. 272. Price, 6s.

### Die Bekehrung Johannes Calvins.

Von Lic. A. Lang, Domprediger in Halle a. S. Leipzig : A. Deichert, 1897 ; London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. vi. 57. Price, M.1.35.

IN Dr Clemen's interesting and able work, we have the first instalment of a large and serious undertaking. The author proposes to himself the task of treating in detail the Christian doctrine of sin, in accordance with the universally approved method of theological monographs, presenting first of all the Biblical doctrine, then the ecclesiastical doctrine, and, finally, the critical or systematic

doctrine, as it should appear in a scientific dogmatic treatise. It is evident that a thorough and satisfactory treatment of each of these three departments—biblical, ecclesiastical, and critical—cannot be given to each of the several dogmas of the Christian system in a single comprehensive treatise, and is possible only when a single dogma is treated monographically, as Ritschl has done with the doctrine of Reconciliation and Justification, and as Clemen proposes to do with the doctrine of Sin. The fundamental importance of the questions calling for discussion under the general subject of sin is sufficient reason for the selection of this doctrine for such minute and detailed investigation. The problems to be solved are of universal human interest, and are precisely such as need all the elucidation that Scripture, ecclesiastical decisions, and critical study can afford. Since the appearance of Julius Müller's great work, the first edition of which was issued in 1839 and the sixth in 1889, no attempt has been made to utilise the results of later exegetical, historical, and doctrinal investigations of particular points in the orderly treatment of the whole question. It is quite time that such an attempt should be made, and we therefore heartily welcome the beginning of the execution of this task by so well-equipped and thoroughly competent a theologian as the author of the present work.

Dr Clemen has already made a reputation for himself as a New Testament critic, by his works on the Chronology and on the Integrity of Paul's Epistles. In these works he has shown himself thoroughly independent, but, at the same time, painstaking and reverent. In the introduction to the treatise now before us, our author discusses from the critic's standpoint the chronological succession of the sources for the biblical doctrine of sin. In regard especially to Old Testament statements regarding sin, it is of great importance to understand clearly to what period the various books or portions of books in which these statements occur belong. Clemen, at the very outset, indicates his general agreement with the school of Old Testament criticism, with which the name of Wellhausen is commonly associated. We have, pp. 8-18, a very clear and summary sketch of what he considers the chronological arrangement of biblical writings and fragments inserted in these, beginning with the Song of Lamech and ending with 2 Peter, which he classes with the latest of the New Testament Apocrypha in or after A.D. 150. With great wisdom, however, Dr Clemen has refused to link the fortunes of his systematic work with the critical opinions of any one particular school. In some cases a purely ephemeral interest has been given to doctrinal treatises, which were made to stand or fall with critical theories and opinions about questions more or less debatable. Clemen has rightly made his summaries of doctrinal results at the close of each of his sections

altogether independent of particular views on points of literary history, so that, if only legitimately drawn from the whole statement of canonical scripture, they may be accepted by those who do not share in the critical opinions of the author.

The subject is well distributed. Instead of giving a general account of the representations of sin as they appear at different stages in the history of revelation, our author takes up in succession *The Fact of Sin*, *The Origin of Sin*, and *The Consequences of Sin*, each of these divisions being subdivided, and the Scripture statements bearing on each point being carefully collected and their meaning thoroughly discussed. Of the precise nature of sin no definite idea is afforded by the names given to it in the Old Testament and in the New. These indicate generally an offence, without showing the nature of the offence, or the party against whom it is committed. They apply to wrong-doing against men as well as to offences against God. Clemen quotes with approval the words of Dr Robertson Smith: "The Hebrew idea of sin, in its earlier stages, includes any act that puts a man in the wrong with those who have power to make him rue it." Yet even in ancient Israel there is evidently present some standard according to which human conduct is estimated as good or bad. In the days of the Judges and in the earlier years of the kingdom this standard was the time-honoured national custom of which God is the vindicator. By the prophets a purer doctrine was introduced of the direct interference of God in the affairs of men, and, instead of several divine attributes, we have Jehovah with an ethical character, who cannot but hate sin, and who can hate nothing but sin. In this way the standpoint represented by the oldest part of the law book was prepared for, and sin was defined as transgression of the law of God. Jesus introduced no new ethical principle, but in part abolished the law by fulfilling it; while Paul and his followers measured sin according to the spirit of the law or the example of Christ, and John put in the place of the law the new commandment of Christ. In earlier times every sin was regarded as a sin of the community, whereas the prophets taught a doctrine of personal responsibility, which fastened the guilt of the offence more particularly on the individual committing it.

A distinction is made, even in the oldest Scriptures, but more particularly in the prophets, between different classes of sins, moral offences being regarded as more heinous than ritual mistakes or negligence, to disobey God, to have a heart at variance with Him, worse than failing to sacrifice. In the later Jewish legislation, and in the teaching of Jesus, sins are distinguished in view of the conditions under which they were committed. An important question arises as to the guilt or comparative guiltlessness of sins of

ignorance. In ancient Israel conscious and unconscious sins were judged with equal severity, and the very distinction itself repudiated by the prophets and by Paul; for God's will which is to be obeyed is known to all, or ought to be, so that the not knowing it is sin. On the other hand, sins of ignorance were at least viewed leniently by Jesus and the New Testament writers generally. The unpardonable sin is first expressly defined in the New Testament by Jesus as hardening of the heart against saving truth, in Hebrews as apostasy to Judaism, and in the First Epistle of John as denial of the divine sonship of Jesus. But in all its parts Scripture maintains that every sin carries guilt with it, and that where no guilt is imputed there is no sin.

One of the most interesting sections of the whole work—the part which is most carefully elaborated and which shows great exegetical expertness and skill—is that in which our author discusses in detail the meaning of the narrative of the Fall in Gen. iii. (pp. 152-169), and that of Paul in Rom. v. 12-21 (pp. 175-178). Adopting the theory that we have in Genesis two different myths, or two different redactions of the same myth combined, in one of which, and that the older of the two, what we designate the Fall was represented as the first step in the movement of culture, and in the other and later, an attempt was made to give a representation or explanation of the origin of sin, Clemen holds that this late reading of the narrative as an account of the origin of sin explains the absence of all reference to it in Old Testament Scripture. Even in Paul only two references to Adam's fall occur (1 Cor. xv. 21; Rom. v. 12). The doctrine of the origin of sin from Adam's fall is at least not a central doctrine of Scripture, so that Paul himself prefers to have recourse to the idea of the flesh as the source and ground of sin. But neither the theory that the flesh is the occasion of sin or sin itself, nor that of inborn sin as derived from Adam, escapes the difficulty of making sin traceable in its earliest origin to God himself.

In the third part of his work, Dr Clemen deals with the dominion of sin, evil and death. All ills are divine punishments, though sometimes used for purifying; and, in the Old Testament, premature and violent death is regarded as punishment of sin, while in the New Testament death is in every case the wages of sin.

In conclusion, he observes that there are three ideas which are left with us at the close of these investigations of singular interest: the possibility of a vanquishing of sin, its origin in God and its essential connection with the flesh. These will be the subjects which will demand special attention in the final doctrinal and critical part of the work, and by means of dogmatic elaboration,



on the basis of the exposition of the Scripture doctrine, he hopes to make contradictions disappear, to fill up blanks, and in short, to show that the biblical doctrine of sin is not only a subject of historical investigation, but the expression of our religious faith.

The second treatise is one of a series of Studies on the history of theology and the Church, edited by Professors Bonwetsch and Seeberg. The author has already written *Das häusliche Leben Calvins*, München 1893, besides several articles on incidents in the life of Calvin and on matters of detail regarding the contents and publication of Calvin's works. He promises also to contribute to the same series a treatise on the sources and theological character of the *Institutes* of Calvin. The appearance of this work will be looked forward to with no ordinary interest. No theological work is more thoroughly deserving of careful investigation as to its origin and distinctive character than this oft-named, but still too little known and hence much misrepresented masterpiece of the great Genevan Reformer.

In the present treatise the author seeks to gather together all reliable information about Calvin's conversion. Unlike Luther, Calvin shows great reserve in all his writings, and scarcely ever introduces any reference to his personal feelings or circumstances. It is evident that in many ways the spiritual experiences of the German and Genevan reformers differed very materially. Luther's violent recoil from the Romish doctrine of the merit of good works is seen in what may be called the obtrusive prominence, in season and out of season, of the doctrine of justification by faith only; Calvin's more calm and gradual growth of conviction under the study of the Word is seen in the devotion of all his powers to the laborious and careful interpretation of Scripture, and in the prominence he gives to the absolute authority and sovereignty of God. The period of Calvin's conversion seems to be marked by his abandoning the editing and critical study of classical works for the systematic study of holy Scripture. As a youth we find him an eager and inquisitive student, attaining proficiency in the knowledge of Latin, then engaging in the study of law, and then again returning to the study of classical literature. The decisive change took place in the latter half of A.D. 1533; but how it was brought about and how it was characterised, neither Lefranc nor Lecoultré, who have investigated this period of Calvin's life, can determine. Our author in the third chapter of his little book gathers together all that he can find on the subject in Calvin's own writings. There is one very important passage in the reply to Cardinal Sadolet which may be read in the Calvin Society's Translation of the Calvin Tracts, vol. i., pp. 61-64. Another still more important statement

occurs in the Preface to the Commentary on the Psalms of 1557, in the first volume of the English edition of the Psalms, pp. 40-45. Both of these are analysed and discussed by our author, who concludes with an account of an Academical Address delivered by Calvin on All Saints' Day 1533, shortly after his conversion. Students of Calvin's life will find here much that is interesting and instructive.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

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### **Das Homiliarium Karls des Grossen auf seine ursprüngliche Gestalt hin untersucht.**

Von Lic. Dr Friedrich Wiegand, Privatdocent der Theologie.  
Leipzig: A. Deichert; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. 96. Price, 2s.

In the Early Church it was a common custom for preachers to deliver the compositions of others, and homilies were prepared by men skilled in composition to be used by bishops and other preachers in certain districts. In the course of time collections, more or less extensive, of such homilies were made. Toward the end of the eighth century, Charlemagne found the collections in use in his empire faulty in doctrine and in style, and written by men of no standing or authority in the church. He, therefore, called upon Paul Warnefrid, one of the most learned men of the time, to make a collection of homilies drawn from the works of the Fathers. This is the *Homiliarium* dealt with in the treatise now under consideration. It was issued somewhere about A.D. 780.

Dr Wiegand deals first of all with the MSS. which are available for determining the text of the *Homiliarium*. The most complete and important codices are four which are now preserved in Karlsruhe; but beside these a large number of other codices, more or less fragmentary, have been used in the editing of the text.

The contents of the *Homiliarium* are given from Codex Monacensis 4533 of the tenth or eleventh century, now in Munich. According to the statement given here, and in Cod. Mon. 4534, the contents were as follows:—1 and 2. Distich and Dedicatory Poem by Paulus Diaconus; 3. Prefatory Epistle by Charles the Great; 4. *Votum* of Paulus to Charles; 5. Summary Outline of Contents; 6. Contents; 7. Text of the Pericopes and Homilies. The first part of the text, *pars hiemalis*, contains 110 sermons from the fifth Sunday before Christmas down to Easter. The second part, *pars aestiva*, contains 134 sermons, from Easter to the end of the Church year. The Feast days are distributed in their proper places among the Sundays. It is of special interest to find that Luther

arranged his Church Postils, not according to the Roman Missal of his time, but according to this Homiliarium of Charles.

As to the authors of the Homilies, we find six from Origen, nineteen from Chrysostom, twenty-two from Augustine, eight from Jerome, but by far the largest contributors are Maximus of Turin, Bede, Leo, and Gregory.

From Charles' preface it is evident that the primary purpose of the publication was to afford material for the *officium nocturnale* of the clergy. At this midnight vigil, besides prayer and psalms, a portion of Scripture was read, and on Sundays and Feast days a part of a sermon by some distinguished Church writer or of a commentary was added. These readings were often ill chosen, neither suiting the day nor the Scripture portion for the day. The Homiliarium was intended to displace all those imperfect collections at this service. But Wiegand shows that it served, and was intended to serve, a much wider purpose, and that the clergy were expected to use what they became familiar with in this service, in their public services with the people.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

### Notices.

THE late Bishop Walsham How was a notable figure in the English Church, and altogether a man who deserved to be remembered for his personal character, his gifts, and his work. The *Memoir*<sup>1</sup> which is now in the hands of the public will be read with interest by many beyond the limits of the Church of which its subject was an ornament. It is the work of the Bishop's son, and it is well done. It is larger indeed than it might well have been, and it contains a number of things of small importance to any but the members of the Bishop's family. We should have been glad to dispense with a good many of the letters which are printed, and with the details which are given us of the habits of the Bishop as an angler, and the like. In place of these a fuller account and criticism of his contributions to hymnology would have been welcome. But the Memoir is done not only with filial care and reverence, but with considerable skill and literary finish. It is a son's tribute to a distinguished father which is creditable to both.

Few men in the ranks of the higher clergy in our day have done more honour to the English Church than the subject of this Memoir. It does one good to read a life like his, and it

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Walsham How: A Memoir. By Frederick Douglas How. With Portrait. London: Isbister & Company, Limited, 1898. 8vo, pp. 486. Price, 16s.

is told us in a way that enables us not only to follow its course step by step, but to understand the motives and aims of the man, and appreciate the spirit in which he took prosperous things and adverse things alike. The Bishop was an intense worker, and in the various positions which he held in the Church, diligence and rigorous economy of time were among his most conspicuous qualities. But, while literature and certain branches of science, especially botany, had strong charms for him and occupied him much, he never lived apart from his people. He carried the habits of familiar intercourse with his parishioners which he had acquired in less distinguished and exacting positions with him into the Episcopal heights, and showed the public a new kind of bishop—a man who made little of the dignities of office, who rubbed shoulders with the humblest of his people in their homes and in the streets, and preferred the tram-car and the omnibus to the carriage. No wonder that he got at the hearts of those among whom he laboured, and made the poor of the East End of London speak of him with pride and affection as their own bishop.

His gift of organisation was as remarkable as his capacity for strenuous, unsparing toil. He achieved great results in the work of missionary, in the conducting of clerical retreats, in such movements as the Eton Mission in Hackney Wick, the Christ Church Mission in Poplar, the Oxford House in Bethnal Green, and other lines of Christian enterprise. He did not keep himself aloof, however, from duties and responsibilities of other kinds. He was in the thick of the controversy on the Athanasian Creed. He made a remarkable speech at the great Wolverhampton Congress, and took his fair share in the discussion and settlement of the various questions which agitated his Church from time to time. He was himself a devoted Churchman, of the moderate Anglican type, but lived on the best terms with those who differed from him, and cherished a large-minded regard for his Nonconformist brethren. He was an unaffectedly modest man, whose highest ambition was to do his duty. He cared little for preferment, and in the quietest way put from him more than one tempting offer of promotion. Without the smallest pang or the faintest hesitation he refused the great prize of the bishopric of Durham, and when he was invited to succeed Bishop Fraser in the See of Manchester, he declined without letting even his wife know that the offer had been made him. His heart was in the East End work. He had his difficulties in the doing of it, and one reads with some indignation, though not with surprise, a letter which shows how the present Archbishop of Canterbury, then Bishop Temple of London, could make things unpleasant. But his best work was done in the East End of London, and, though circumstances led to his acceptance of the new bishopric

of Wakefield, he would have been more than content to die among the poor people over whom he had been set as suffragan.

The ideal of the episcopal office which he set before himself and others was a very high one, and his own work in the office corresponded with that ideal. For this he will be remembered with honour. Yet he will live longer in the hearts of devout men and women in virtue of his hymns. He wrote some which are only of moderate merit, but he has left us a few that will survive. The man to whom we owe such spiritual songs as "O Word of God Incarnate," "Who is this so Weak and Helpless," and above all others, "We give Thee but Thine own," and "For all the Saints who from their labours rest," is not likely to be soon forgotten.

Many men have been more widely known and have lived more in the eye of the public than the late Principal Reynolds of Cheshunt College. But few have been regarded as he has been by those who have been brought into close relations with him. If one were asked to name any prominent religious teacher of the last quarter of a century to whom the sacred name of *saintly* might be most befittingly applied, he would think first and most instinctively, if he knew him at all, of Henry Robert Reynolds. His devout, winning, benignant personality made him friends wherever he went. His character acted like a beneficent spell on those who came across him. It would be difficult to point to any theological teacher of our own time who has had the peculiar influence over students that Principal Reynolds had all his life long, or who has been in such measure the object of love and reverence, both in academic circles and among private friends. It would be to our great loss if the memory of a man of this rare quality were allowed to fade quickly. We are saved from that by the pious care of the sisters of the deceased, who have provided us with a record of his career which is worthy of their love for him and his love for them. Their volume, which gives his *Life and Letters*,<sup>1</sup> is not one of those biographies which may be read at a sitting and then put aside for ever. It is a book which we shall do well to keep by us that we may dip into it again and again. The picture which it gives us of the man is one to do us good, and the letters which form a large part of it will be read with profit and delight.

Henry Robert Reynolds was best known as the head of a college which has done much for the training of an evangelical ministry in England since it was founded in 1768 by that remarkable lady, Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, the large-minded friend of the

<sup>1</sup> Henry Robert Reynolds, D.D., *His Life and Letters*, edited by his sisters. With portraits. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 585. Price, 9s.

Methodist Revival. But he began life as a pastor, and his ministry, first in Halstead and afterwards in Leeds, was a notable one. He had the friendship of men like Dean Hook of Leeds who were at the opposite pole in their doctrinal and ecclesiastical views. He had to struggle against infirm health, however, and it was felt by all who knew him that he had found his proper place when he was induced to go to Cheshunt. Here from the first he addressed himself to the task of getting the best students about him and making the most of them. He was extraordinarily careful in the selection of the men whom he admitted, and when he got them he gave himself with the most loving, wise, and sedulous care to the work of preparing them for their holy and responsible vocation. The result was that there grew up around him a large body of men who bore the hall-mark of his genius and looked up to him as their master.

He was a man of the most Catholic sympathies. Strongly attached to his own Church, a convinced and consistent Free Churchman, he was on terms of intimacy with many of the best men in all the Churches, not only with Dale, Conder, Allon, Stoughton, and others in his own communion, but with Dean Alford, Matthew Arnold, Bishop Westcott, R. H. Hutton, Dean Stanley, Dean Vaughan, and many more.

His contributions to literature deserve also to be mentioned with honour. He did not write by any means so much as was expected of him; his pen nevertheless was by no means unproductive. In conjunction with his brother Russell, he wrote in 1860 a novel under the title of *Yes and No*, which won the praise of Alexander Macmillan. He prepared a considerable number of articles for the *British Quarterly Review*, the *Expositor*, and other periodicals. He published some essays in the series known as the *Ecclesia*, some volumes of sermons and addresses, a short life of Athanasius, an account of *Buddhism*, &c.; but his most successful books were his Congregational Union Lecture on *John the Baptist* and the *Exposition of John's Gospel* which he contributed to the *Pulpit Commentary*. These two books show what he was capable of doing. The latter is his best achievement. He had rare qualifications for interpreting the writings of St John, and his work on the Fourth Gospel is of great value. It may be, however, that he will be longest remembered by the letters which are printed in his *Life*. Through these his soul speaks to us as it does not even in his best books. They are rich, sweet, illuminating letters, which, if read once, will be read again.

Professor George Adam Smith's *Life of Henry Drummond*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Life of Henry Drummond. By George Adam Smith. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 506. Price, 7s. 6d.

deserves a fuller notice than can at present be given it. It was a matter of course that we should have a biography of a man so rarely gifted, so remarkable for the access he had to the younger minds of his generation, and so extraordinarily successful as a writer; and the intrinsic interest of the subject was so great and so varied that the *Life* could scarcely have been a failure by whomsoever attempted. But it could be written at its best only by one or other of three or four men, themselves men of mark, who belonged to the small select circle of Henry Drummond's most intimate friends, who knew him thoroughly in all his various aspects, who were in sympathy with him in his largest and most sacred interests, and had rubbed shoulders with him from their College days. Anyone of those who made that circle could have done the work well. But none could have done it better than the friend who at last undertook it, and who has now finished it with distinguished credit.

To give a consistent account of so uncommon a life—a life containing elements and experiences which seem so difficult to harmonise that men have fallen into the way of speaking of two Henry Drummonds, Drummond the revivalist and Drummond the scientist, Drummond the old-style Evangelical and Drummond the liberal theologian—has been no easy thing to do. To place the man before us in all the truth of his many-sided character, and to give an estimate of his influence and his work that should be just and beyond the partialities of a life-long friendship, has been a still more difficult task. Dr Smith has done both things well; he has written a book that will rank high among biographies of Christian men—a book that is delightful to read, appreciative and eulogistic without extravagance. It is written, too, one need scarcely say, with literary art and skill. The opening chapter, which gives a general view of the subject, is an excellent piece of writing as well as an informing study of the man. The sketch of Drummond's career in its several stages is given in strong and vivid colours. Here and there we come upon bits of description which arrest us. The sections dealing with Drummond's travels are done with power. Best of all, in some respects, are the accounts of his connexion with the Revival Movement under Moody and his work among students.

If Dr Smith has had a difficult task, he has had an unusually attractive subject. It is the story of a radiant life, a life of singular charm and sunny goodness. Beyond most men of his time Henry Drummond had the gift of an irresistible personal magnetism. All kinds of people drew to him. They could not do otherwise. For they all found themselves in him. There was nothing human

that was alien to him. The sports of children, the frolics of students, the grave moods and the gay of grown men, the humours of the crowd, the sorrows of the stricken, the convulsions of broken lives—in all he had a loving, sympathetic interest. So all kinds of people were attracted to him, and men and women with all kinds of religious burdens and questionings made him their confessor and adviser.

It is the story of an exceptionally full and happy life. Until he was smitten down by the dark and fell disease which carried him off, Henry Drummond had little or no personal experience of anything but the bright side of life. Things came easy to him. Life was all smiles. Success, phenomenal success, pursued him. He was born into a happy Christian home, and belonged to a family that stood in general respect. The youth, so happily introduced to life and surrounded by so many good and gracious things, was thrown suddenly into the forefront. The American evangelist visited our land, and Henry Drummond became his follower and helper. At once his wonderful influence was felt. It was the influence of a born spiritual leader, and when Mr Moody left he carried on his work in the North of England, addressing enormous meetings day after day. And all before he was twenty-three years of age. From the intoxication of this vast popularity he went humbly back to the New College, Edinburgh, completed his course of study for the Free Church of Scotland, and in due time got his proper sphere of work in the Chair of Natural Science in the Free Church College, Glasgow. Here the next great chapter opened in the development of his career, as he worked at once at science and in ministering to the poor, and came in contact with young men, and felt the brunt of the critical movement. All which led up to the extraordinary success of his fascinating book on *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, and to the series of subsequent writings which won him, perhaps, the largest audience given to any religious writer of his time.

Of his place in the religious literature of these days it is impossible here to speak. There are things in his most famous book that are very open to criticism, and its fundamental principle is true only with large qualification. But with an admirable instinct the mass of men have taken it without looking very critically into its philosophy, or even into its science, and have been helped by it. They have taken its scientific sections as illustrations and analogies of spiritual things rather than as statements of identical laws, and they have rightly divined its real value. His later book, *The Ascent of Man*, is in some important respects a corrective of the earlier work as well as a supplement to it. But all his books have the irresistible charm of style and the permanent note of good.



And the man himself was always more than the best of his writings and the highest of his public achievements.

Other notable books have come to hand, including the late Dr Hort's important *Commentary on First Peter*, Professor Swete's *Gospel according to St Mark*, the best book which English scholarship has produced on Mark, and the *Life of R. W. Dale*, a noble, massive book which we owe to his son, Mr A. W. W. Dale. These shall receive proper notice in our next issue.

*An Outline of Christian Theology*<sup>1</sup> comes from an American divine. The book is well written and thoroughly readable. This is no small praise when spoken of a work on systematic theology, which goes over the whole field of Christian doctrine, and does not at any point lie open to the charge of sacrificing exactness of statement and fullness of exposition to beauty of expression and immediate popular effect. There are comparatively few points belonging to Christian theology which are altogether passed over, and most of the questions which have engaged the attention of theological students in different ages are treated in a fairly adequate and generally instructive and informing manner. For general and popular reading, therefore, the book is a very admirable one. The author intends that it should be used at the same time as a Students' Handbook. In his concluding paragraph he expresses the hope that omissions may be supplied by the oral instructions of the class, and he writes on the principle that it is best in theology to use the simplest and least technical language. He thinks that the practical point of view is more important than the scientific, that theological terms have gathered about them a mass of conflicting definitions and associations, and that technical terms are ambiguous, and their employment unfavourable to precision or mutual understanding. But, while there is much force in this, there is also another side to it. If the purpose of the treatise had been simply spiritual edification, such non-technical treatment would be quite right and fitting. But a treatise on Christian doctrine for students must before everything else be scientific, and scientific accuracy is attainable only by the strict and careful use of technical phraseology. Every competent student of theology knows the exact understanding of a doctrine is often possible only on the basis of a minute and sympathetic study of the historical phases of important theological terms. The treatise has a sixfold division:—I. God; II. Man; III. Sin; IV. Christ; V. The Holy Spirit and the Divine Life in Man; VI. Things to Come. The treatment of the Person of Christ is inade-

<sup>1</sup> By William Newton Clarke, D.D., Professor of Christian Theology in Colgate University, Hamilton, New York. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898. 8vo, pp. ix. 488. Price, 7s. 6d.

quate. Many of the questions most interesting theologically are entirely passed over. The attempt to define justification as a conception which is partly forensic and partly moral, forensic in form and moral in substance, is not a happy one. It is much better and less confusing to restrict the use of the term to the purely forensic act. The moral change which always characterises the justified man is no part of his justification, but is a separate operation of the Holy Spirit as an indwelling principle of renewal. Whenever the purely forensic point of view is departed from in our definition of justification, there is no logical ground for stopping short of the Romish and Osiandrian confusion of justification and sanctification. On the other hand, our author has much that is true and wise to say about sanctification as the Christianising of the Christian. The section on the Things to Come, too, is fresh and stimulating, though there are some statements which call at least for consideration. There are many things, however, that are well put and forcibly expressed. The book carries the reader pleasantly along, and quickens one's interest in the great questions of Christian doctrine. Its main concern is with the practical and experimental aspects of Christian truth. On these it says much that is profitable, while it also aims with some success at giving a popular expression to the great forms of doctrine.

Professor William Edward Collins, of King's College, London, contributes a volume to the *Churchman's Library*, which is edited by the Rev. J. H. Burn. It is entitled *The Beginnings of English Christianity, with special reference to the Coming of Augustine*.<sup>1</sup> It is very well written and claims to be an independent study of the original sources. The story is told in four chapters of very moderate size, treating respectively of the Romano-British Church and Celtic Christianity, the Beginnings of English Christianity, the Welsh Church and the English, the English Church and the Roman. The real subject of the book is Augustine's mission and what it meant for England. This is the topic that runs through all the chapters, and the writer's object is to place that event in its proper historical setting and significance. His estimate of Augustine himself is higher than is usually taken. He admits that the monk who came to us from Gregory has not the attractions of an Aedan or a Boniface. He confesses that there is "something stilted and constrained about his methods which clearly reflects a lack of imaginative insight in the man himself," and that if we were to judge him by his own words—the questions which he addressed to Gregory, we should not form a very high idea of him. But he thinks he made so good a use of the capacities which he had, as to entitle him to a higher place in our regard than is often given him. He

<sup>1</sup> London: Methuen, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 209. Price, 3s. 6d.

has much to say of "the splendid seven years' record" of his work—a work which found the English people heathen and left the English Church "an accomplished fact." There is some exaggeration in this. But the story of Augustine is well told, and some interesting things are added in the Appendices. There are good Notes, *e.g.* on the Pallium, on Augustine's first band of missionaries, on Augustine's landing-place, on Saxon Christians before his date, &c. Professor Collins follows Professor M'Kenny Hughes in holding it established that Augustine landed at Richborough, "which was then an island and was accounted to be part of Thanet." He discusses also the date of Ethelbert's marriage, and concludes that the time which best suits the known facts is 571-573.

In writing this volume, Professor Collins has in view the very diverse estimates which are formed of the events of the year 597 by persons of different intellectual trainings and ecclesiastical leanings. He looks to the fact that on the one hand Augustine's mission is regarded by men like Archdeacon Sinclair as "simply an incident in a continuous history which began earlier," while on the other hand authorities like Père Brou take the circumstance that English Christianity begins with a missionary sent by Pope Gregory as logically implying a peculiar relationship to the Roman Communion, such as "would have been unthinkable in Gregory's own day." He says very properly that it ought to be possible for us to see things as they are, and his object is to let the facts speak for themselves. Does he succeed in this? We cannot say that he does. He selects but a certain proportion of the facts, and interprets them in favour of a particular theory of the English Church, to which neither the word 'British' nor the word 'Protestant' seems very welcome. His view of things is much more on the side of Father Brou than on that of Archdeacon Sinclair. The British Church is not in the line of the ancestry of the English Church, but only in that of the Roman Church. The relation of the English Church to the Roman is not indeed one of dependence. That is strongly disavowed by Professor Collins. But it is one of spiritual heirship and spiritual indebtedness. Professor Collins thanks God that Christianity came to the English people from the mainland, from Rome, and he says the hardest things of the older British Church. "When we remember the amorphous and isolated character of Celtic Christendom," he says, "above all, when we consider its entire seclusion from all that was most vigorous and most fruitful in the life of the world, we can only be thankful that 'some better thing' was in store for us. Once more, in the light of the facts, we have every reason to thank Almighty God that the Faith came to us from the mainland."

So it is to Rome and Canterbury, and to these almost alone, that our author looks. In his view, "the noble work which was done from the North," as he calls it, has been made too much of. There has been a "laudable desire to magnify the share which was taken by the Church of Iona, and in particular by Aedan in the conversion of England; and also, in other quarters, a less laudable desire to minimise our debt to Rome." But can the case be dealt with thus? Was the old Celtic Church so impotent and debased, and the new English Church, which was the result of Augustine's seven years' work, so mighty and so pure, as Professor Collins takes them to have been? What of the Saxon Christianity which preceded Augustine's mission? And what of the Church of the North, of which Professor Collins has to acknowledge that "large part of England—possibly the larger part"—was converted from it? "Not Augustine, but Aedan," says Bishop Lightfoot, "is the true Apostle of England." Rome, says Professor Collins, is the mother of the English Church, which begins with Augustine and has its second founder in Theodore. There are few outside a particular circle that will take Mr Collins's view in preference to Bishop Lightfoot's. And is it not a curious way of "seeing things as they are," to look to Rome and Canterbury as Professor Collins does, and turn the eye from the ancient British Church, and the Saxon Christianity that was before Augustine, and the great Missionary Church of the North?

Professor Zahn of Erlangen publishes a second edition, revised and enlarged, of his *Skizzen aus dem Leben der Alten Kirche*.<sup>1</sup> These sketches treat of a variety of subjects—missionary methods in the time of the Apostles, the history of the Sabbath, world and Church in the first three centuries, and others. There is a study of Constantine the Great which will well repay consideration. The question of slavery and Christianity in the old world is dealt with in a very able and interesting way, though under a different point of view from that of Goldwin Smith's famous pamphlet. There is some interesting matter, too, on another subject with which Professor Zahn is familiar—Creed and Baptismal Confession in the Ancient Church. There is a good paper also on the Epistle of James and the light it sheds on social questions and the inner mission. The history of Sunday in the Ancient Church is the subject of another essay. There are some disputable statements in this last. But it deserves to be read with close attention. Its main contention is that the observance of Sunday was regarded as due to Christian faith and the Church's need; that it was not based on any express divine commandment, but on the resurrection

<sup>1</sup> Von Theodor Zahn. Zweite vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. Erlangen und Leipzig: Deichert, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 392. Price, M.6.

of Christ ; that it was not considered to be a continuation of the Jewish Sabbath and did not necessarily imply rest from ordinary labour.

Mr Guthrie's charming account of John Knox's house has been noticed before. He has done us the further service of publishing now an edition of the Reformer's famous *History of the Reformation*.<sup>1</sup> The book is admirably printed. It is furnished with Notes, Glossary, and Index. A concise Historical Summary of the Reformation period in Scottish History is introduced before the text, so that we can see at a glance the most important events and their dates. There is also a series of fifty-six illustrations, which are tastefully done and greatly help us in following the narrative. Nothing is left undone to make the edition serve its purpose in rendering this incomparable literary product of the Scottish Reformation accessible to all men, and in inducing them to read it for themselves. David Laing's text is followed of course in the main, but readings are taken at times from other MSS. than the one of 1566 on which David Laing depended. Passages which are obviously corrupt are also emended. A good deal of matter is omitted, including the Confession of Faith, most of the First Book of Discipline, and many speeches, letters, and documents not relevant to the present purpose. But the story itself is given at length, with the sole exception of certain redundancies and repetitions and a few passages of small interest ; and the flavour of the original is preserved by the retention of obsolete words used by Knox, explanations being given when necessary. Mr Guthrie remarks on the English tone of the composition. That is one of the things which strike us at once when we read the *History*, especially when it is cleared, as is the case here, of "superficial difficulties." The number of purely Scotch words is small.

Mr Guthrie has had a difficult task to perform in preparing an edition of Knox's *History* which anyone might read with ease and comfort. It is a task worth attempting. For this book is a Scottish Classic, a book, indeed, that takes a high place among the works of historians for the vigour, manliness, picturesqueness and marked individuality of its style. The beat of a strong heart is felt in its every page. Mr Guthrie knows its value, and has spared no pains in doing his editorial work. That he has amply succeeded is speedily seen. In proof of this and as a specimen of what Knox's narrative power is, take this passage, which is selected very much at random. It is part of the description of the fight of Solway Moss : "The English perceiving the disorder, increased in courage.

<sup>1</sup> The History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland, written by John Knox. Edited for popular use by C. J. Guthrie, Q.C. London : Adam & Charles Black, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxvi. 364. Price, 7s. 6d.

Before, they shouted ; but then they struck. They shot spears and dagged (*shot thickly*) arrows, where the companies were thickest. Some rencounters were made, but nothing availed. The soldiers cast from them their pikes, culverins (*firelocks*), and other weapons fencible ; the horsemen left their spears ; and without judgment all men fled. The sea was filling, and so the water made great stop ; but the fear was such that happy was he that might get a taker. Such as passed the water and escaped that danger, not well acquainted with the ground, fell into the Solway Moss. The entry thereof was pleasing enough ; but as they proceeded, all that took that way either tint their horse, or else themselves and horse both. To be short, a greater fear and discomfiture, without cause, hath seldom been seen. It is said that where the men were not sufficient to take the hands of prisoners, some ran to houses and rendered themselves to women. Stout Oliver Sinclair was without stroke taken, fleeing full manfully ; and so was his glory—stinking and foolish proudness we should call it !—suddenly turned to confusion and shame."

We have received also the following books and pamphlets : *The Gospel Catechism*,<sup>1</sup> which seeks to provide an unsectarian Christian Primer, such as may be used in school or in family by persons of every creed and class, and with that view limits itself to the teaching of the four Gospels ; a treatise on *Creed and Life*,<sup>2</sup> written with some vigour, but dealing wildly with the ancient Orthodox Creed, and pleading strongly for a return to the Greek Theology and a complete emancipation from the Latin doctrine ; a brochure, *Are the Writings of Dionysius the Areopagite genuine?*<sup>3</sup>, in which the Rev. John Parker, following Dr Schneider and Professors Schwartz and Schmid, concludes that the testimony of Theodore and Photius is "reasonable evidence" in behalf of the affirmative ; a clear, forcible, and eloquent discussion of *Le Danger Moral de l'Evolutionisme Religieux*<sup>4</sup> by Professor Gaston Frommel of Geneva, dealing with the subject in its relations to religious conviction, religious action, the principle of morals, and the morality of Christianity in particular ; another part of Dr G. H. Lamers's careful and scholarly treatise *De Wetenschap van den Godsdienst*,<sup>5</sup> the special subjects being Man, Revelation, Miracle, Christ—in His Life, His Person, and His

<sup>1</sup> By the author of the "King and the Kingdom," &c. London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 189. Price, 1s.

<sup>2</sup> By the Rev. C. E. Beeby, B.D., Oxon., Vicar of Yardley Wood, near Birmingham. Beverley : Wright & Co. 8vo, pp. 183. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> London and Oxford : James Parker & Co. 8vo, pp. 20. Price, 1s.

<sup>4</sup> Lausanne : Payot, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 125.

<sup>5</sup> II. Wijsgeerig Deel. Zesde Stuk. Utrecht : Breijer, 1898. 8vo, pp. xxiii. 853-970.

Work, the Christian and Christendom—which are all dealt with, especially the Christological Doctrine, in a lucid and instructive manner; a very readable Lecture by Professor Paul Ewald of Erlangen on *Religion und Christenthum*,<sup>1</sup> vindicating for Christianity the claim to be the ideal of all religions and not merely one form of faith having a place among many; a series of *Short Studies on Vital Subjects*,<sup>2</sup> by the Rev. P. W. Quetteville, M.A., which deal in an edifying way and in the interest of the ethical life with familiar Biblical topics—Christ's Parable of Judgment, Dives and Lazarus, the Sainted Dead, the Patience of Job, the Final Counsels of St Paul, and others; a valuable contribution to the history of the *Catenae*<sup>3</sup> of Scripture, containing a mass of curious and often important matter relating to the literature of the subject, the manuscripts, the transmission and the different kinds of *Catenae*, the alterations and corruptions from which they have suffered, as well as detailed accounts of the *Catenae* on the Octateuch and the Books of Kings, the Psalter, the Solomonic books, Job, the Prophets, and the Gospels; a study of *Shakespeare as Man and as Christian*<sup>4</sup> by Julius Schiller, which traces the growth of the poet's mind and art, gives a full and discerning analysis of *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*, and deals in a judicious and instructive way with the question of his attitude to religion; a discussion of the question *Qu'est-ce qu'une Église*<sup>5</sup> by C. G. Chavannes, the best part of which is the examination of the term "Church" in the New Testament, the general conclusion being that the constitutive elements of the Church are just its members; that the Churches are simply associations for the kingdom of God; and that the false view of the Church embodied in "Catholicism" is due to substituting the unity of doctrine for the unity of the Christian people; an Address by Professor Arnold Meyer of Bonn on *Modern Inquiry in the History of Primitive Christianity*,<sup>6</sup> delivered in part at the Congress last year at Stockholm, giving a comprehensive and very useful survey of recent historical investigation, especially in the field of the Canonical litera-

<sup>1</sup> Leipzig: Deichert, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 39. Price, M.0.75.

<sup>2</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 277. Price, 6s.

<sup>3</sup> *Catenen. Mittheilungen über ihre Geschichte und handschriftliche Uebersetzung.* Von Hans Lietzmann. Mit einem Beitrag von Prof. Dr Hermann Usener. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. vi. 85.

<sup>4</sup> *Shakespeare als Mensch und als Christ. Eine Studie.* Von Julius Schiller, kgl. prot. Stadtpfarrer zu Nürnberg. Leipzig: Deichert, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 208. Price, M.2.60.

<sup>5</sup> Paris: Fischbacher, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 96.

<sup>6</sup> *Die moderne Forschung über die Geschichte des Urchristentums.* Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. viii. 94.

ture, and criticising the methods followed in different schools, among which those of Loman, Steck, and Van Manen receive particular attention; *Bible Manners and Customs*,<sup>1</sup> an addition to the *Guild Library*, pleasantly written and tastefully illustrated, giving many interesting particulars regarding Eastern customs, seasons, scenery, trades and ways of life, domestic, social, political and religious customs, and answering very well its declared purpose to supply *local colouring* to the common objects and occupations referred to in the Bible; a *brochure* by Dean C. Bruston on the question of the *Λόγια Ἰησοῦ*,<sup>2</sup> which deserves attention among the numerous publications on the subject, the conclusion being that the work of which we have a fragment was "un recueil de maximes morales d'origines diverses, et dont quelques-unes provenaient d'un ou de plusieurs Évangiles apocryphes"; a small volume, but one of importance, from the hand of a master in New Testament studies, Professor Theodor Zahn, on *The Abiding Importance of the New Testament Canon for the Church*,<sup>3</sup> which affirms and explains the rights of a believing criticism, defines and vindicates the position of the Church of Luther on questions of New Testament inquiry, and shows how those who disavow all idea of dependence on the voice of an infallible Church pronouncing on the Canon, find in the history of the New Testament books enough to confirm their faith in them as the Word of God; *A Dream of Paradise*,<sup>4</sup> a poem, by Robert Thomson, in eight cantos, following the Spenserian manner, with a pleasant movement in its stanzas; *Aarbert*,<sup>5</sup> a poem described as a "Drama without stage or scenery, wrought out through song in many metres, mostly lyric," in which some striking things and also some strained and curious things will be found, and which is intended to be a poetical counterpart to Bunyan's prose allegory, describing a "Christian pilgrim's progress from earthliness to heavenliness; a volume on *The Growth of Christianity*,<sup>6</sup> written from the Uni-

<sup>1</sup> By Rev. G. M. Mackie, M.A., for twenty years Missionary of the Church of Scotland at Beyrout. London: A. C. Black, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 175. Price, 1s. 6d. net.

<sup>2</sup> Les Paroles de Jésus récemment découvertes en Égypte, et Remarques sur le Text du Fragment de l'Évangile de Pierre. Par C. Bruston, Doyen de la Faculté de Théologie de l'Université de Toulouse. Paris: Fischbacher, 1898. 8vo, pp. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Die bleibende Bedeutung des neutestamentlichen Kanons für die Kirche. Vortrag auf der lutherischen Pastoral Konferenz zu Leipzig am 2. Juni 1898 gehalten. Leipzig: Deichert, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 61. Price, M.0.90.

<sup>4</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 96.

<sup>5</sup> By William Marshall. London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 359. Price, 5s.

<sup>6</sup> By Joseph Henry Crooker. Chicago: Western Unitarian Sunday School Society, 1897. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 241.



tarian standpoint, but following the best historical authorities, and tracing in rapid outline the march of the movement for the liberation of the gospel from king and priest and the progress made towards the goal of a "free soul in a free Church in a free State"; *Bond and Free*,<sup>1</sup> a series of chapters on sin, its prevalence, its power, and its pardon, expressing great, though familiar, truths in simple, practical terms; the second part of Robert Falke's *Buddha, Mohammed, Christus*,<sup>2</sup> which follows up the comparison of the three founders by an equally careful, critical, and appreciative comparison of the three religions, a valuable book giving a good statement of the doctrines of the three systems on God, the World, Man, Sin, Redemption, the Future, the Church, and Morals, and an estimate of the Christian faith in its relation to the others.

In the preparation of his edition of *The Philebus of Plato*<sup>3</sup> Mr R. G. Bury has done a bit of work for which there is ample room. The *Philebus* is one of the most difficult of the Platonic writings, perhaps the most difficult of all. It is also a dialogue of great interest in more than one point of view, particularly in its philosophical meaning and relations. Yet it is one of those of which we have fewest expositions. Even German scholarship has failed as yet to produce any independent edition of the first rank. More has been done in England. But the editions by Dr Badham and Mr Poste, useful as they are, are not equal to present requirements. Mr Bury, therefore, has had an open field and a good opportunity. He has made excellent use of both, and has produced an edition which marks an advance. It is not a final edition. The author himself would be the last man to make any such claim for it. He professes only to have made a "slight contribution" towards the accomplishment of the desirable end of an exhaustive or final edition. But he has done more than he modestly says he has aimed at doing.

The condition of the text is one of the great difficulties of the task. In this matter Mr Bury limits himself neither to the Bodleian MS. nor to any other. He allows himself considerable liberty and follows now one authority, now another, occasionally admitting emendations which have no documentary authority whatever. In his Notes he deals mainly with points of text and

<sup>1</sup> By W. A. Challacombe, M.A., Vicar of New Malden, Surrey. London: Elliot Stock, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Zweiter systematische Teil: Vergleich der drei Religionen. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. 252.

<sup>3</sup> Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Appendices. By Robert Gregg Bury, M.A., formerly Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, and late Bishop Berkeley Fellow of the Owens College, Manchester. Cambridge: University Press, 1897. 8vo, pp. 224.

grammar. He deals with the philosophical questions in the Introduction. In a series of erudite Appendices he takes up a number of things which required fuller discussion than could be given in the ordinary Notes.

Mr Bury, as most now do, regards the *Philebus* as one of the latest of Plato's works. He takes it to be, with the exception of the *Laws*, indeed, perhaps the very latest. He thinks that the harsh and rugged style, the "jagged and distorted" composition, and other peculiarities, point to this conclusion. He dissents entirely from Schleiermacher's view that it is an early work, preparatory both to the *Republic* and to the *Timæus*. He dissents also from those who deny its unity. The main object of his exposition is to show that it is not, as he expresses it, "a congeries of discordant fragments," but a composition marked by cohesion as well as variety. He gives an excellent statement of the theme of the dialogue, the run of the thought, and the relation of the several parts. "The main object of the discussion," he rightly says, "which governs the whole dialogue, and holds it all together, is to examine critically the rival ethical doctrines which we may term Hedonism and Intellectualism, of which the former is the creed of the Cyrenaics here represented by *Philebus*, and the latter that of the Megarics, here represented initially by Socrates." Following out this conception of the purpose and tenor of the writing, he provides a detailed analysis of the argument, and brings out in a clear and telling way how the great questions of Pleasure, Science, Being, the Good, and the Ideas are handled in its course. This is all very helpful to the student. Having done this Mr Bury gives us a series of comments on the argument and illustrations of it, all tending to the further elucidation of the great lines of thought. He points out very well how the frequent change of view makes the argument seem "intricate and perplexing" and how this is "enhanced by the oracular obscurity in which the final ordering of Goods is involved." The discussions in this part of Plato's theme are certainly uncommonly difficult to follow. This is due, so far at least, in Mr Bury's view, to the reduplication of the subject, the three questions concerning the Good Life, the Good Cause, and the relations of Reason and Pleasure thereto being "first discussed in the earlier portion of the dialogue, and then discussed all over again in the same order in the later portion."

Perhaps the portion of the book to which most readers will turn with greatest interest is that in which the doctrine of "Ideas" is examined. It is there that the great problem of the dialogue lies, and it is upon this that most turns. The question of the position to be given to the "Ideas" here, and the relation in which the exposition of them in the *Philebus* stands to that assigned them

elsewhere, is one of the greatest difficulties that the student of Plato has to face. Here Mr Bury has a view of his own. He differs from Zeller who places the "Ideas" in the last of the four divisions under which "everything that is said to exist" is classified, viz., (1) the indeterminate, (2) the limitation, (3) the combination, (4) the cause of the combination. Neither does he wholly follow Dr Jackson who places them in the third division. But he agrees with him in regarding the Ideas as a "composite" due to the combination of the "limit" and the "indeterminate," and holds by the representation of the Platonic doctrine which Aristotle gives in the *Metaphysic*. Mr Bury's statement on the subject is an ingenious one, though somewhat abstruse. It avoids certain difficulties attaching to the other views, and deserves consideration. There is much else in the book that will attract attention, and much that helps us to a better understanding of this remarkable Dialogue.

The last issue of the *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for 1898 gives a translation of Mr Witsius Lohman's booklet on Dr Abraham Kuyper, from which we get a very good account of the man, his doctrinal position, his break with the State Church, and the union of his followers, the *Dooleerenden*, with the "Christian Reformed Churches." Professor Vos continues his examination of the *Modern Hypothesis and recent Criticism of the Early Prophets*, dealing specially with Isa. xix. 16-25; xxiii. 15-18; xxix. 1-8; xxxi. 1-9. His criticism is directed against the very late date assigned to such passages as the first two, which are placed, e.g. by Professor Cheyne, between 275 and 150 B.C.; and against the extremes of those who partition so much of these prophecies into a multitude of small bits, Isaianic and non-Isaianic, often mechanically put together by editor or supplementer. Among the reviews of books attention may be called to the full, fair, and informing notices of James's *The Will to believe*, Dabney's *The Practical Philosophy*, Andrew Lang's *The Making of Religion*, and Moberly's *The Christian Ecclesia*.

The second part of the nineteenth year of the *American Journal of Philology*,<sup>1</sup> which is conducted with conspicuous ability by Professor Gildersleeve of the John Hopkins University, contains an interesting paper by E. Washburn Hopkins on *Parallel Features in the Two Sanskrit Epics*, and the second part of a no less interesting contribution to Hymnology by Dorothy Wilberforce Lyon, dealing with the German, Dutch, and English translations of "Christe qui Lux es et Dies." We notice also the appreciative paper by Robert P. Keep, on the veteran historian and archaeologist, Ernst Curtius, who died in Berlin, July 11, 1896.

The last number of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* for 1898 has

<sup>1</sup> Baltimore; The John Hopkins Press.

several papers of importance. The one that will attract most notice is that by Mr F. C. Conybeare on *The Testament of Solomon*. A translation is given of the text as found in the Paris Codex, after the edition of Fleck, and valuable footnotes are furnished. There is also an important preface, in which the drift of the *Testament* is first given, and an attempt is made to distinguish the different elements, Christian, Jewish, Gnostic, which Mr Conybeare believes to be contained in the writing. Mr Conybeare refers to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* as showing the "same mixture of equivocal Christianity with unequivocal Judaism." He is of opinion that in both these curious books we have a Christian recension of a Jewish book, and inclines to the view that the *Testament* in its original form was the "very collection of incantations which, according to Josephus, was composed and bequeathed by Solomon." He finds one of the best commentaries on this singular writing in the *Arabian Nights*. The interest of the book lies mostly in what it has to say of *Beelzeboul*, the dragon *Koruphé*, the doctrine of demons, the thirty-six *stoicheia* or elements, the world-rulers or *kosmokratores* of the darkness, &c. The same number gives other articles which well repay the reader, such as Mr Buchanan Gray's discussion of the meaning of the Hebrew word לֵלָה; Dr Samuel Krauss's *Notes on Sirach*, Mr Hope W. Hogg's criticism of 1 Chron. viii., under the title of *The Genealogy of Benjamin*; and Mr I. Abraham's review (full of interesting matter) of Mrs Lucas's *The Jewish Year: a Collection of Devotional Poems for Sabbaths and Holidays throughout the year*.

The December number of the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* gives the conclusion of Professor König's elaborate paper entitled *Deuterogeschichtliches*, in which he deals with Isa. vii. 13—viii. 12. His closing words are to this effect: "As little as that great Passional requires to be removed or can be removed from the Exilian period, so little is it spoken in the time of the Exile with reference to the absolute future. Rather were the existence, the activity, and the fortune of the Israel that is true to God in faith, work, and suffering only, but also really, a type of the spiritual and suffering Messiah." Professor Hommel contributes a short paper on the true date of Abraham and Moses, expressing his confidence that in this, as in much else, the biblical tradition will establish itself triumphantly. There is also a paper by Dr F. W. Schubart on Martin Luther's name.

The *Revue bibliographique Belge*,<sup>1</sup> valuable for its lists of publications in different departments of literature, especially religious, sociological and ethical, has completed another successful year.

<sup>1</sup> Bruxelles: Société belge de Librairie.

The *Theologische Zeitschrift aus der Schweiz*, edited by Friederich Meili, Privatdocent in the University of Zürich, completes its fifteenth year. The third number for 1898 contains, among other articles, one by Rudolph Steck, entitled *Die Konfession des Jakobus-briefes*, in which Spitta's views are criticised. The Epistle is held to be Christian, not Jewish; to be full of the Christian spirit, though in the way of Jewish-Christianity, not of Paulinism; and to be placed rightly by Pfeiderer near the Shepherd of Hermas in point of date.

The seventh number (Vol. viii.) of the *Babylonian and Oriental Record* gives a continuation of the transliteration and translation of the *Black Obelisk* by H. W. Menedoht, and, along with some valuable Notes, &c., a paper by W. St Chad Boscawen on *Gish-ban*, "the land of the Bow." This *Gish-ban*, which M. Maspero was somewhat inclined to place in Susian territory, and which Hilprecht identifies with Harran, is held by the writer to be shown by inscriptions more recently discovered to have been in the neighbourhood of Sippura or Tel-lo, and probably at Jokha, where many inscriptions were found by Dr Scheil and Dr Peters.

Dr J. N. Fradenburgh contributes a paper on the *Covenant of Salt* to the Nov.-Dec. number of the *Methodist Review*. He arranges the various biblical passages in certain groups according to the ideas that are most prominent in them, and illustrates them by copious references to Ethnic notions and rites. He holds the blood-covenant to be the original type from which other forms have come, remarking at the same time that, if Trumbull's views are accepted, the threshold-covenant must be of equal antiquity. In dealing with the difficult passage in Mark (ix. 42-48), he follows the Revised Version in omitting the clause "and every sacrifice shall be salted with fire," and translates the remaining sentence, "for every one shall be salted *for* the fire," as "every disciple shall be prepared for the sacrifice." In this he follows such students as Edersheim.

In the *Biblical World* for November 1898, the editor continues his papers on *The Utterances of Amos arranged Strophically*, taking the second section of the book, ch. vii., &c. The first part of this, covering the visions of the locusts, the devouring fire, and the plumb line, he throws into three symmetrical stanzas of nine trimeters each. Professor C. René Gregory contributes a brief but acute paper on John vii. 53—viii. 11. His object is to show how a curious change introduced into one of the sentences in an old manuscript gives a new colouring to the narrative and makes it more dramatic. The idea suggested is that Jesus stooped repeatedly down and wrote on the ground, the writing in each case revealing the unknown sin of one of the accusing Scribes;

each of the Scribes in turn read the writing which convicted him, and each in turn went out convicted and silent. "And they, *when they read it*, went out one by one, beginning from the eldest, even unto the last; and Jesus was left alone, and the woman in the midst."

In the *Expository Times* Professor Ramsay continues his papers on *The Greek of the Early Church and the Pagan Ritual*. In the November number he deals specially with parallels to biblical phrases and usages furnished by the forms of *thanksgiving, blessing, confession, &c.*, which are found in inscriptions. In the December issue he deals with the terms in which *purity and impurity, the oath, punishment, and the demand for payment*, are expressed. Among the most interesting parallels is one illustrating the prohibition of swearing in Matt. v. 34, James v. 12. There is also one in which the verb *λύειν* is used to express the idea of the *expiation* on the part of a daughter of oaths which the father had taken on himself, which is declared to be akin to the sense of *λύτρον*, a ransom in the form of paying the penalty, in Matt. xx. 28, Mark x. 45. Instances are produced from the inscriptions of children or grandchildren being regarded as held responsible for the original wrong or debt due to the god and punished for it, of a man suffering for the sins of his relations, &c.

Professor Ramsay also continues his *Historical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* in the *Expositor*, and again at every step he turns his exposition to the account of the South Galatian theory. The mention of the *paidagogos*, e.g. in Gal. iii. 24, is taken to indicate that the readers must have been familiar with a characteristic Greek institution, and must have known it as a thing "salutary and good," differing even from the borrowed institution in Roman society. The passage, it is argued, "places us in the midst of Greek city life as it was in the better period of Greek history," and in an "early state of Greek manners"—all applying to South Galatia, and showing nothing characteristic of North Galatia. The statement in Gal. iv. 4 is taken to mean (it is strange that it should ever be otherwise understood) that "Jesus existed in the fullest sense as the Son of God before He was sent into the world." Professor Ramsay notices how Peter uses the word "fulfil" (Acts iii. 18) as Paul uses it in this Epistle, and how the addresses of the former in Acts resemble the Galatian address of the latter. He asks whether this similarity in their view may not be the reason why "Paul specially turned to Peter, and why he went to Jerusalem at first with the single intention of interviewing Peter (*ἵστορησαι Κηφᾶν*, Gal. i. 18)?" In the same number Dr J. Rendel Harris gives some further studies of the conventional expressions in early Greek correspondence and their bearing on the

interpretation of the New Testament Epistles, in which he deals specially with the existence of concealed quotations in the Pauline Epistles. Professor Jannaris contributes a paper on certain *Mis-readings and Misrenderings in the New Testament*, which contains some acute, though not always very convincing suggestions. By a simple change in punctuation he renders John i. 19 thus: "And John's witness is this: When the Jews sent (unto him) from Jerusalem priests and Levites to question him, Ho, there (or Hark! I say)! Who art thou?—he both acknowledged and denied not." He dismisses all the usual interpretations of John xviii. 37 as "forced and too improbable to be accepted," and would restore it thus: "Pilate therefore said unto him, So then thou art a King? Thou? Jesus answered, It is thou who sayest that I am a king. I? I was born to this end." Of more importance is the view taken of the very difficult passage in Mark xiv. 41 with its parallel in Matt. xxvi. 45: "Sleep on now and take your rest, &c." With a change in the punctuation and taking τὸ λοιπὸν in its post-classical sense as = οὖν, he makes it mean—"I told you once, twice to keep awake! Well, are ye sleeping and resting? It is (or ye have) enough! Behold. . . . Arise let us go." Ingenious certainly, and so far confirmed by Luke's "Why sleep ye?" (xxii. 46).

The edition of the *Holy Bible*<sup>1</sup> in the Revised Version, with Marginal References, is now in the hands of the public. It is a welcome gift, and will be a material help in the use of Scripture. In the preparation of it much has been due to the late Drs Scrivener and Moulton, especially in the New Testament part. Advantage has also been taken of the references in the Paragraph Bible, which was edited for the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press by Dr Scrivener in 1873. The duties of general editor have been well discharged by the Rev. Dr Stokoe of Lincoln College, Oxford, who has had the efficient co-operation of a band of scholars belonging to Oxford and Cambridge. The methods of indication which are employed are simple. The marginal references of the Authorised are retained as far as possible, and the Revisers' marginal renderings are transferred to the foot of the page. The whole is done with the utmost care, and in a way to earn the gratitude of all lovers of the Bible.

We are glad to have the first part of Professor E. Kautzsch's edition of the *Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic Books of the Old Testament*.<sup>2</sup> The work is to be completed in from twenty-four to

<sup>1</sup> Cambridge: University Press, 1898. Minion 8vo. Price, 5s.

<sup>2</sup> Die Apocryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments. In Verbindung mit Lic. Beer, Professor Blass, &c., übersetzt und herausgegeben von E. Kautzsch, Professor der Theologie in Halle. Erste Lieferung. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr, 1898. Large 8vo, pp. iv. 32. M.0.50.

thirty parts. So much has been added to our knowledge of this important branch of literature in recent years that a new edition has been greatly wanted, and this one promises to surpass all others. The editor has the assistance of a large number of scholars who have made a special study of these books or some of them, including men like Professors Blass, Clemen, Deissmann, Gunkel, Kittel, Guthe, Kamphausen, Siegfried, &c. The plan is to give a fresh translation and to bring the exposition and all matters of literary or historical criticism thoroughly up to date. This first part contains the *Third Book of Ezra* and the Introduction to the *First Book of Maccabees*. The former is briefly dealt with. In the case of the latter the numerous questions connected with its history are considered at some length. The name *Maccabee* is held to be best explained as derived from the Aramaic *maqāba*, *Hammer*, in the sense, however, not of *Streithammer* or *Schmiedhammer*, but of *Arbeitshammer*. The language of the original is taken to have been Aramaic, rather than Hebrew. The peculiarities of the diction, and in particular certain mistakes in the rendering being best explained so. The question of the genuineness and credibility of the various parts is very carefully considered, with special reference to Willrich's idea that most of the letters, &c., are additions made to the original Aramaic text by the translator. The book in its original form is assigned to the first *decennia* of the last century before Christ. The concluding section and the present form of the book are referred to the close of the pre-Christian period, according to Willrich indeed to the last years of Herod.

The *Epistle of Paul to Philemon*<sup>1</sup> is treated in a series of expositions by the Rev. Archibald Kelly MacMurchy, M.A. The volume is neat and attractive in form, and has for its frontispiece a pleasing picture of the Free Church of Scotland, Scone, of which the author is the pastor. The expositions themselves are excellent specimens of the expository style of discourse in which the Scottish pulpit has been strong. They have cost the preacher much, both in reading and in reflection, and in point of style they have been carefully prepared with a view to the needs of the people. In their printed form they make a creditable addition to our books on an Epistle which has many points of interest, some important lessons for society and Church in our own day, and the peculiar note of distinction of being the one purely private letter that has come down to us from St Paul. A series of testimonies to the unique value of this short epistle is given in an appendix.

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1898. 8vo, pp. 200. Price, 3s. 6d.



The authoress of the sketch of *Sir James F. Simpson*, which has been received with so much favour, has published a delightful book on *Robert Louis Stevenson's Edinburgh Days*.<sup>1</sup> The picture which the volume gives us is a very charming one. The writer has a style of her own, and it is a good one. All that she has to say is said brightly and vividly. There is much to entertain as well as to instruct in her book. The account which we get of Stevenson's boyhood and youth helps us to understand better the man who has put his mark on the recent literature of his country.

The fifth section of the New Testament division of the *Kurzgefasster Kommentar*, containing the *Pastoral Epistles*, the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, and the *Revelation of John*,<sup>2</sup> has reached its second edition. The volume was the work originally of the late Professor Kübel of Tübingen, and it was good work. It has been carefully revised, and had the newer literature worked into it by two very competent scholars, Herr Riggenbach, Docent in Basle, and Professor Zöckler of Greifswald. It is a book not without its peculiarities, but one which the student will do well to procure. The literary questions are discussed at sufficient but moderate length. Little that is of real use is omitted. The exegesis is scholarly, free of all extravagance, and generally successful. In interpreting the Apocalypse good use is made of the Jewish Apocalyptic literature and of the studies of scholars like Bousset and Gunkel. A remarkable amount of solid and useful matter is given within a comparatively moderate allowance of space.

We have pleasure in noticing the second, third, and fourth parts of the seventeenth volume of Holtzmann and Krüger's *Theologischer Jahresbericht*,<sup>3</sup> containing the literature in Historical, Systematic, and Practical Theology for 1897, a work of the greatest value to all students, conducted with unabated vigour and ability, and giving a far completer *conspectus* of Theological publications than is attempted anywhere else.

<sup>1</sup> By E. Blantyre Simpson. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1898. Crown 8vo, pp. 326. Price, 5s.

<sup>2</sup> Pastoralbriefe, Hebräerbrief, und Offenbarung Johannis, ausgelegt von Dr Robert Kübel. Umbearbeitet von Lic. Eduard Riggenbach und Dr Otto Zöckler. Zweite neubearbeitete Auflage, 1898. Large 8vo, pp. xii. 333. Price, M.5.50.

<sup>3</sup> Zweite Abtheilung: Historische Theologie. Bearbeitet von Lüdemann, Krüger, &c. 8vo, pp. 177-499.

Dritte Abtheilung: Systematische Theologie. Bearbeitet von Mayer, Troeltsch, &c. 8vo, pp. 501-675.

Vierte Abtheilung: Praktische Theologie und Kirchliche Kunst. Bearbeitet von Marbach, Lülmann, Woltersdorf, &c. 8vo, pp. 677-840.

Berlin u. Braunschweig: Schwetscke u. Sohn, 1898.

We have received also some books from the Sunday School Union, including *Old Testament Stories*,<sup>1</sup> simply told by the Rev. Robert Jack, B.A.; a *Story of the Monmouth Rebellion*,<sup>2</sup> by Robert Leighton, which reads well; *Heroines of the Faith*,<sup>3</sup> an interesting account of Perpetua of Carthage, Anne Askew, the wife of Bunyan, and others, by Frank Mundell; *Meggotsbrae Portraits and Memories* by Halliday Rogers,<sup>4</sup> a series of stories of the kind with which Barrie, Crockett, and Ian Maclaren have made us pleasantly familiar, showing a keen appreciation of Scotch life and manners in their more peculiar and characteristic forms, which are depicted in a humorous and entertaining fashion; a very good essay on *Christianity and Culture*,<sup>5</sup> the purport of which is that, if there is any antagonism between the two, it is due to a misunderstanding of Christianity; an Inaugural Lecture on the *Conservative Reaction in New Testament Criticism*<sup>6</sup> by Dr John Patrick, Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of Edinburgh, giving a careful and well informed statement of the present trend of inquiry, and a just estimate of its general results; a pleasing volume of verse, *The Siren*,<sup>7</sup> by Henry Carrington, M.A., Dean of Bocking; a small volume by Stanley Hope, with the title, *As Angels see us*,<sup>8</sup> written with taste and devout feeling, having for its theme the text, "Be not forgetful to entertain strangers; for thereby some have entertained angels unawares"; a series of admirable discourses or talks on the Beatitudes, entitled *Blessed are ye*,<sup>9</sup> by F. B. Meyer, B.A., pointed, full of practical sense, and in the best sense edifying; a collection of *Household Prayers*,<sup>10</sup> by William Garden Blaikie, D.D., LL.D., intended for use in family worship, in subjects and in terms admirably suited for the purpose; *Leaves from the Golden Legend*,<sup>11</sup> including the legends of St Agnes, St Alban, St Brandon, St Christopher, St George, St Giles, with other interesting and well-chosen extracts from the famous book of Jacobus de Voragine, which had so great a repute in the thirteenth,

<sup>1</sup> London. Cr. 8vo, pp. 128. Price, 1s.

<sup>2</sup> The Splendid Stranger. London. Cr. 8vo, pp. 190. Price, 2s.

<sup>3</sup> London. Cr. 8vo, pp. 159. Price, 1s. 6d.

<sup>4</sup> London. Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 323. Price, 5s.

<sup>5</sup> By James Lindsay, M.A., B.Sc., minister of St Andrew's Parish, Kilmar-nock. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood. Crown 8vo, pp. 28. Price, 6d.

<sup>6</sup> Edinburgh and London: Blackwood. 8vo, pp. 32. Price, 6d.

<sup>7</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 148. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>8</sup> London: Stockwell & Co., 1899. Narrow 8vo, pp. 54. Price, 6d.

<sup>9</sup> London: Sunday School Union. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 142. Price, 2s.

<sup>10</sup> London: Sunday School Union, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 204. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>11</sup> Chosen by H. D. Madge, L.L.M., with Illustrations by H. M. Watts. Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., 1898. Fcap. 8vo, pp. xvii. 286. Price, 3s. 6d. net.

fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries; a cheaper edition of *Our Christian Year*,<sup>1</sup> a series of useful lessons for elder scholars in Church, Sunday Schools, and Bible Classes; an edition of Milton's *Comus and Lycidas*,<sup>2</sup> by A. W. Verity, M.A., with excellent Notes and Introduction, useful Glossary, digest of critical opinions, &c.; a cheap edition also of the Rev. Dr Alexander Mackennal's useful book on *The Seven Churches in Asia considered as Types of the Religious Life of To-day*<sup>3</sup>; a study in the typology of the Bible under the title of *Christ Foreshown, Short Chapters on the Golden Types of the Messiah*,<sup>4</sup> following the old methods of typological interpretation; a very attractive edition, with an instructive Introduction, of Jonathan Edwards's classical *Treatise concerning the Religious Affections*<sup>5</sup> in the tasteful series of *Books for the Heart*, edited by Alexander Smellie, M.A.; another addition to the collected works of the late Professor J. T. Beck of Tübingen, his *Erklärung der Propheten Micha und Joel*,<sup>6</sup> carefully edited by Dr Julius Lindenmeyer, one of Beck's most interesting contributions to Old Testament study, treating prophecy in his characteristic way, not always answering the requirements of a strictly historical exegesis, but making up for what is lacking there by flashes of insight into the spirit of the books; a second and enlarged edition of the tasteful collection of *Ethical Songs*,<sup>7</sup> containing some of the best lyrics in our language, which we owe to the careful work of the Union of Ethical Societies; a very handsome edition of Bishop Wilson's *Maxims of Piety and of Christianity*,<sup>8</sup> prefaced by a short general Introduction by the Bishop of London, and provided with a Preface and a series of excellent Notes (an important addition to the book) by Frederic Relton, A.K.C., an instalment of the *English Theological Library* which is to appear under the editorship of Mr Relton; a volume on *The Psalms*<sup>9</sup> by Dr E. G. King, prepared with a view to devotional use by those "who are not afraid of reverent criticism"—a book which one will like to have by him for the sake of its Notes, which, though sometimes far from easy to follow, are often very striking, generally remarkably suggestive, and always so terse and pointed as

<sup>1</sup> By a Teacher. London: Elliot Stock, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 346.

<sup>2</sup> Cambridge: University Press, 1898. Pp. liv. 209.

<sup>3</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1898. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 123.

<sup>4</sup> By the Rev. Robert J. Golding-Bird, D.D. London: Elliot Stock, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 190. Price, 5s.

<sup>5</sup> London: Andrew Melrose, 1898. Fcap. 8vo, pp. xl. 372. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>6</sup> Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. 246. Price, M. 3.60.

<sup>7</sup> London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1898. Fcap. 8vo, pp. Price, 1s. 6d.

<sup>8</sup> London: Macmillan, 1898. 8vo, pp. xx. 169. Price, 5s. 6d. net.

<sup>9</sup> The Psalms in three Collections. Translated with Notes by E. G. King, D.D. Part i. 1. First Collection (Psa. i.-xli. With Preface by the Bishop of Durham. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co., 1898. 4to, pp. x. 170.

to remind one of Bengel's method ; *The History and Antiquities of the Collegiate Church of St Saviour (St Marie Overie) Southwark*,<sup>1</sup> a good example of the local history, with excellent illustrations ; the *Charge delivered at his Primary Visitation*<sup>2</sup> by Frederick, Archbishop of Canterbury, a pronouncement of great importance for the Church of England as established by law, and in many respects worthy of the attention of those outside that Church, but containing some statements, especially on the doctrine of Consubstantiation, which betray an astonishing misapprehension of the situation.

## Record of Select Literature.

### I.—OLD TESTAMENT.

- WINTERFELD, E. v. Commentar üb. das Buch Job. 1. Th. Uebersetzung u. sprachl. Analyse. Anklam : H. Wolter. 8vo, pp. 76. M.1.
- BOEHMER, J. Reich Gottes u. Menschensohn im Buch Daniel. Ein Beitrag zum Verständniss seines Grundgedankens. Leipzig : A. Deichert. 8vo, pp. vii. 216. M.3.60.
- BLACKENHORN, M. Das Tote Meer u. der Untergang v. Sodom u. Gomorrha. Mit 6. Karte u. 18. Bildern. Berl. : D. Reimer. 8vo, pp. 44. M.1.0.
- STREANE, A. W. The Age of the Maccabees. With special Reference to the Religious Literature of the Period. London : Eyre & Spottiswoode. Cr. 8vo, pp. 290. 6s.
- SCHMID, B. Das Buch der Sprüche Salomons. Mit erläut. Anmerkgn. Regensburg : Nationale Verlagsanstalt. 8vo, pp. iv. 157. M.2.80.
- BERNFELD, S. Das Buch der Bücher. Populär - wissenschaftlich dargestellt. Berl. : S. Cronbach. 8vo, pp. vii. 298.
- MEINHOLD, J. Jesajaerzählungen. Jesaja 36-39. Eine historisch-krit. Untersuchung. Göttingen : Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht. 8vo, pp. iv. 104. M.3.
- BUDGE, E. A. Wallis. The Earliest Known Coptic Psalter. The Text in the Dialect of Upper Egypt. Edited from the Unique Papyrus, Codex Oriental 5000, in the British Museum. By W. E. A. B. London : Paul, Trübner & Co. Imp. 8vo. Net 15s.
- FIELDING, G. H. The Book of Job. A revised Text, with Introduction, &c. London : E. Stock. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Caspari : A Grammar of the Arabic Language. Trans. from the German and Edited by W. Wright. 3rd Ed., revised by W. R. Smith and others. Vol. II. Cambridge : University Press. 8vo. 15s.

<sup>1</sup> London : Ash & Co., 1898. 8vo pp. 77.

<sup>2</sup> London : Macmillan, 1898. 8vo pp. 39.

- KENNEDY, John. The Book of Daniel from the Christian Standpoint. With Essay on Alleged Historical Difficulties by the Editor of the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*. With Illustrations. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. Cr. 8vo, pp. 232. 6s.
- FLAMENT, René. Les Psaumes traduits en Français sur le Texte Hebreu. 2<sup>me</sup> Ed. 1 vol. Paris: Blond et Barral. 8vo, pp. 224.
- HENRY, A. B. Les Difficultés critiques et historiques du Livre de Daniel (Thèse). Cahors: Imp. Coneslant. 8vo, pp. v. 178.
- HARTUNG, K. Der Prophet Amos nach dem Grundtexte erklärt. (Biblische Studien. Hrsg. v. O. Bardenhewer. 3. Bd. 4. Hft.) Freibg. i. B.: Herder. 8vo, pp. iii., vii. 169. M.4.60.
- PETERSEN, J. Cherubim. Kurze Zusammenstellg. der wichtigsten Ansichten u. Erklärgn. seit Luther. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann. 8vo, pp. 48. M.0.80.
- CHEYNE, T. K. Jewish Religious Life after the Exile. New York: Putnam's Sons. 12mo, pp. xxi. 270. \$1.50.
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- NÖSGEN, C. F. Die Aussagen des Neuen Testaments üb. den Pentateuch. Berl.: Wiegandt & Grieben. 8vo, pp. iii. 68. M.0.80.
- STAVE, E. Ueber den Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judentum. Ein Versuch. Lpzg.: O. Harrassowitz. 8vo, pp. v. 280. M.6.
- FREY, J. Tod, Seelenglaube u. Seelenkult im alten Israel. Eine religionsgeschichtl. Untersuchg. Lpzg.: A. Deichert. 8vo, pp. viii. 244. M.3.75.
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- MARTINI, Antonio. La Sacra Bibbia, d'après la Vulgate. Ancien Testament. Vol. VIII.: Baruch, Ezéchiël, Daniel. Mondovi: B. Graziano. 18mo, pp. 548. Fr.2.
- MARTINI, Antonio. La Sacra Bibbia, d'après la Vulgate. Ancien Testament. Vol. IX.: Les douze petits Prophètes. Les Machabées. Mondovi: B. Graziano. 1 vol. 18mo, pp. 680. Fr.2.

- RUPPRECHT, E. Wissenschaftliches Handbuch der Einleitung in das Alte Testament. Gütersloh : C. Bertelsmann. 8vo, pp. xxiii. 548. M.7.
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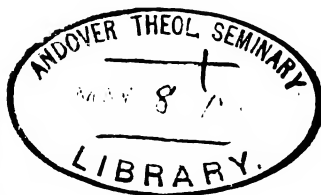
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## Horae Synopticae.

*Contributions to the Study of the Synoptic Problem, by the Rev. Sir John C. Hawkins, Bart., M.A., Honorary Canon of St Alban's. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1899. 8vo, pp. xvi. 183. Price, 7s. 6d.*

THIS is a welcome publication. It is a scholarly work, lucid and easy to read. It has evidently been a labour of love, extended over several years. The tone is modest and unpretending. The author endeavours, not to solve the synoptic problem, but to supply materials and suggestions which may assist in the solution. If some of the materials are familiar in the lecture room, they have now for the first time been published in a definite shape. If the suggestions, as the author avows, are not often new, they are placed on a surer foundation of observed facts. By a diligent use of concordances, synopses, and critical texts, a number of tables have been drawn up in a convenient form, presenting a large collection of details. Doublets have been subjected to a thorough examination, and their supreme importance has been shown. Good use has been made of the Septuagint, without which all study of the New Testament is imperfect.

The author's critical standpoint deserves description, for it is to be hoped that English scholars generally are arriving at some agreement in the same direction upon many things which not long ago were warmly debated. 1. Oral teaching must be accepted as an important factor in the formation of the synoptic gospels, but the extent to which it operated is open to discussion. 2. The unity, simplicity, and priority of St Mark are fairly well established. 3. The hypothesis of an Ur-Markus may be rejected, but St Matthew and St Luke did not use our Second Gospel in exactly its present form. 4. The Matthaean *logia*, of which Papias speaks, are not to be identified with our First Gospel, as Bishop Lightfoot contended, but were a source thereof. 5. The *logia* were used by St Matthew and St Luke but not by St Mark. 6. The *logia* did not constitute a large collection, parts of which have perished and other parts have only been preserved in the writings of the early Fathers, but a comparatively small collection, practically the whole of which is embedded in St Matthew's Gospel, and, according to Sir John's opinion, in St Luke's Gospel also. 7. The two-document hypothesis must be rejected; several sources were used by St Matthew and

St Luke, but the exact number of such sources it is not easy to determine. 8. Matt. i., ii., and Luke i., ii., were not drawn from the same "Gospel of the Infancy"—a large hypothetical source, which never really existed—but are complete and independent. 9. Various translations of the same Aramaic original do not account for any considerable percentage of the variations in our Gospels, but, as a rule, the same Greek version has been followed. 10. Our First Gospel is a compilation by an unknown author who was certainly not an eye-witness. 11. The editorial element in St Matthew is considerable; still more so in St Luke. 12. The Sermon on the Mount and several other discourses are composite productions made up by the conflation of many isolated *logia*.

Sir John Hawkins distinguishes four sources, (a) St Mark's Gospel, (b) the Matthaean *logia*, (c) St Matthew's narrative of the infancy, (d) St Luke's narrative of the infancy and boyhood. Other sources were used by St Matthew and by St Luke, but no attempt is here made to pronounce upon their number and character. In this respect, as in the rest of his work, Sir John exhibits caution and reserve. Nor is he sanguine that the synoptic problem will ever be fully solved; the materials at our disposal are insufficient for settling everything.

But in one respect he commits himself, though with much hesitation and many cautions, to a definite position, for he holds that 72 passages which are common to St Matthew and St Luke, but absent from St Mark, seem most likely to have been drawn from the *logia*. This at first sight seems attractive. It is Abbott and Rushbrooke's "Double Tradition" under another name. But in the sequel Sir John treats this double tradition as practically identical with the Matthaean *logia*.

According to this assumption the *logia* contained only 185 verses, practically the whole of which are to be found in both St Matthew and St Luke.

Here we have indeed a welcome recognition of the golden rule, that an evangelist would omit nothing which he found in his sources. But are we sure that St Luke obtained the *logia* sources complete? Would not the same causes which have made him omit about one-third of St Mark as a source be likely to make him omit even a larger proportion of these Matthaean *logia*? Presumably in both cases because he was unacquainted with what he has omitted.

Again, if the oral hypothesis is as far true as Sir John believes it to be, and if St Matthew used other sources besides St Mark and the *logia*, what was there to prevent certain of these other sources being communicated to St Luke? And if they were, Sir John's mechanical criterion becomes, as we believe it to be, doubly fallacious.

Against it we have no perfect criterion to oppose. The *logia* were absent from St Mark, present in St Matthew, and some of them in St Luke. They started, like St Mark, with John the Baptist, and extended to the verge of the Passion. They consisted wholly of sayings, most of which were compiled by conflation into five great discourses. But as these five discourses probably contain elements from other sources, and a few of the *logia* are probably ranged outside of them, we have no infallible test by which to distinguish the *logia* from other sayings. A degree of uncertainty remains about them. We can approximate the truth, but not finally reach it.

Two further criteria, however, suggest themselves, and may be thought worthy of consideration. 1. The Oxyrhynchus fragment of "Sayings of Jesus" has been a great object lesson in the meaning of the word *logion*. And although it is true, as Sir John says, that it does not contain the word *logion*, and indeed has nothing to prove conclusively that the sayings which it records were ever called *logia*, it is nevertheless very suggestive. And at any rate there is excellent reason to believe that St Matthew's *logia* were originally issued (in oral form), like the Oxyrhynchus fragment, as a collection of sayings in no kind of logical or chronological order, and with no other heading than "Jesus saith," or, as St Luke writes, "And He said." These isolated sayings the author of our First Gospel, or his predecessors in the task, have worked up into discourses by means of conflation. St Luke by the same process has worked them up into a widely different set of speeches.

2. Ancient oracles were delivered in the form of Hexameter verse, and the Old Testament oracles were published as Hebrew poetry. May it not be that St Matthew's *logia* were in poetical form also? Certainly large numbers of what have good claim to be thought constituent parts of them exist in the form of poetry in our Gospels.

These two criteria give us some interesting results. They strike out the healing of the Centurion's servant, which has no resemblance to a *logion*, although Sir John admits it with some apology. Certainly it contains sayings of our Lord; but so does nearly every section of St Mark. Indeed the sayings in St Mark may be divided into two classes: (1) those that are fitted up by narrative into completed sections; (2) those which are set down nakedly either alone or in small groups; for St Mark never has recourse to conflation. Possibly the healing of the Centurion's servant once formed a section of St Mark, though it does not do so now. We have little hesitation in excluding it from St Matthew's *logia*, although in our First Gospel a *logion* has been conflated with it, viz., Matt. viii. 11, 12.

If all the *logia* were originally prefaced with the phrase "Jesus

saith," the first two in Sir John's list cannot have come from this source, for they must have begun with "John the Baptist said." But this is a trifling criticism.

More serious is the fact that Sir John admits only one parable into the *logia*. If St Mark contains four parables, we should have expected the *logia* to contain at least seven. And the parables of the discontented labourers, the two sons, and the ten virgins have good claim to be admitted. But there are three other parables, the lost sheep, the marriage feast (or great dinner), and the talents (or pounds), which are found in St Matthew and in St Luke. St Luke's recension of them, however, differs considerably from St Matthew's, partly by editorial changes, partly from new and independent information. Sir John by his criterion excludes these parables from the *logia* altogether. But is it not more probable that St Matthew has preserved the *logian* recension of them, while St Luke has taken them from another source? This at any rate has confessedly been done in the case of certain Marcan materials. For in the denials of St Peter, and the prediction thereof, St Mark and St Matthew give us the Marcan recension, while St Luke has followed some other source, probably because the (oral) St Mark with which he was acquainted did not as yet contain the Denial.

We freely confess that the Sermon on the Mount presents some elements which are not derived from the Matthaean *logia*, yet we are reluctant to cut it down to the very meagre dimensions which Sir John's criterion demands. Surely the great argument about the superiority of Christian standards to Jewish (Matt. v. 17-22, 27-28, 31-48) is ancient and original, being neither an editorial expansion, nor a working up of later recollections.

Sir John's criterion excludes from the *logia* the description of the last Judgment (Matt. xxv. 31-46). If there is any truth in the suggestion that the *logia*, or a chief part of them, were poetical in form, this section would have a high claim to be admitted. Even without that we can hardly exclude it.

In other respects, Sir John's list of the *logia* needs careful revision. Luke xiii. 23 is a mere editorial note and no part of the *logion*. The same may be said of Matt. vii. 28a = Luke vii. 1a. Far more serious, however, is the assertion that the verses Matt. xii. 38, 39a = Luke xi. 29a, are parts of a *logion*. Surely they are independent editorial notes, for they actually contradict one another. If the important *logion* to which they form a preface once stood with the simple introduction "Jesus saith," from internal evidence St Matthew inferred that the scathing words which it contains must have been addressed to the Pharisees; St Luke inferred from the same evidence that they must have been addressed to the illiterate rabble, for whom he had a particular dislike. Exactly the same

divergence of view on the part of these Evangelists is found in Matt. iii. 7 = Luke iii. 7, both of which verses Sir John assigns to the *logia*. It is to be found also in Luke xi. 15 = Matt. ix. 34 and xii. 24. Likewise in Luke xii. 54 = Matt. xvi. 1. Surely the distinction between editorial notes and sources is fundamental.

In the list of *logia*, doublets in St Matthew are marked with D, but not doublets in St Luke. Matt. x. 26 has one Marcan and two Lucan parallels. On page 8, 180 is a misprint for 801.

The book is, as the author proclaims it to be, a series of studies in the synoptic problem, valuable as far as they go, but insufficient by themselves. There is room for much more work on the same lines and in the same direction. But wider considerations should not be overlooked.

No attempt is made to deal with the question of St Luke's omissions. Indeed, St Luke's Gospel, which is the most complex, is inadequately treated. Much work is done of a very useful kind by comparing the language of the Acts of the Apostles, especially in the We-sections, with that of the Gospel, but St Luke's relation to the other Synoptists is not explained. It is assumed that he possessed a written copy of St Mark, although the objections to that view are admitted. His arrangement of the *logia* is held to be more in accordance with the original order of the *logia* than St Matthew's arrangement. Granted that St Matthew's order is a very wide departure from the original, St Luke's order can hardly be held to be nearer to it. A close examination of the arrangement of his Gospel as a whole gives results which appear to be fatal to such a supposition. Both Evangelists necessarily departed from the original arrangement.

Sir John's attitude towards the oral hypothesis is peculiar. Perhaps when he began to work he was more opposed to it than he is now. He marshals reasons in behalf of documents, admits that they are inconclusive, and may derive much of their weight from our prejudices. He then gives a large collection of arguments in favour of the oral hypothesis. Finally he pronounces, rather more positively than the case appears to warrant, in favour of a written source in our St Mark, but apparently of oral teaching in the case of the other sources.

In a striking chapter, one of the most original in the book, although it is not sufficiently worked out in detail to have its proper weight, he shows that St Matthew's Gospel, as we now read it, was composed to be a text-book for oral teaching, and that the extraordinary dislocations of order in chapters viii.-xiii. are due to numerical arrangements, after Rabbinical methods, to assist the learner's memory. Surely if oral teaching did so much, it must have been a serious factor in the earlier formation of the Gospel.

No such phenomenon as this is to be observed in St Luke. For in Gentile Churches oral teaching was by no means so popular. St Luke indeed received his information through oral channels, like other people, battered and distorted in proportion to the length of the channel and the number of breaks in it. But when once he got hold of a narrative or of a *logion*, he soon committed it to writing. There was more reading aloud in the congregation, less teaching in the school, than in the Eastern Churches. In fact the oral hypothesis is not so simple as is commonly supposed. Enough if it is gaining acceptance, as it is better understood.

In his first chapter, Sir John says that the characteristic words which he catalogues from each Gospel are "presumably due to the author." An advocate of the oral hypothesis would scarcely grant that. In St Luke they probably are so to some extent, for St Luke had literary preferences and a style of his own. In St Matthew they are more likely to be the work of many hands through unconscious cerebration. St Mark's unusual words, unusual order of words, unusual conjunctions, and unusual redundancies, including the "context-supplements," have confessedly been changed into what is usual and even commonplace. Now such changes are not entirely made by deliberate alteration. Even St Luke appreciated the unusual, and preserved it, when it was neither harsh, nor vulgar, nor ungrammatical. But in long continued oral teaching the usual inevitably asserts itself. The multitudinous changes in the Triple Tradition should not be regarded as the deliberate working of one mind, but the unconscious working of many.

But indeed these lists of characteristic words must, as Sir John sometimes points out, be used with caution. The words contained in them consist in the case of St Matthew and St Luke partly of editorial preferences, being favourites with the Evangelist, partly they are due to transmission, being favourites in the locality, partly they come from the use of non-Marcian sources.

In the case of St Mark it would seem fairer to give every word (except words in very common use) which he uses four or five times. We should then arrive at his natural vocabulary. At present we have not so much his favourite words, as words which he used, but which for some reason were not favourites with other people. For when a word is presented to you, the natural impulse is to accept it; you do not alter it for a synonym unless you have reason for doing so.

ARTHUR WRIGHT.

**Lectures and Essays on Natural Theology and Ethics.**

*By William Wallace, edited with a Biographical Introduction by Edward Caird, Master of Balliol College, Oxford. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1898. Pp. xl. 566. Price 12s. 6d.*

THIS goodly volume gives to the public the literary remains of a gifted author who was cut off in the midst of his days by an unhappy accident. The reader rises from perusal with feelings of thankfulness, on the one hand, that so much material was available for publication, and of regret, on the other, that the author was not spared to carry out his literary plans. For what we find in this book is only fragments; here a head, there a limb, and yonder a torso. Nothing is complete; the fullest portions are at most only large samples of the writer's manner of handling important philosophical subjects. The volume, therefore, cannot lay claim to the value which belongs to a continuous systematic treatise on one great theme by a competent author. Yet in its place and way it possesses genuine interest, that which arises from sincere, deep thoughts on themes of general concern, expressed in clear, idiomatic, racy language by one who was a master of style as well as of philosophy. No competent reader will find this a dull book. It catches the attention at once, and holds it to the end.

The biographical introduction by the Master of Balliol is executed with characteristic insight and tact. There is not much of an outward story to tell. The facts fill only a few pages. William Wallace, Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford, was born on May 11, 1843, at Cupar, Fifeshire. His father, at first a working mason, became ultimately a master-builder. He was educated as a boy at the Madras Academy, Cupar, and thereafter at the University of St Andrews. His original intention was to study for the Church, but the mental awakening produced by philosophical study under Ferrier led to the abandonment of that purpose. An exhibition in Balliol College, which he succeeded in getting, enabled him to go to Oxford, where he came under the influence of Jowett and Green. In 1867 he became a Fellow of Merton College, and was shortly after appointed to a tutorship, the duties of which he discharged till his death in 1897. He became Professor of Moral Philosophy, as successor to Green, in 1882.

The main part of the Memoir is taken up with an account of Wallace's literary performances, and of his work as a professor. His chief contributions to philosophical literature were devoted to the task of introducing Hegel to the acquaintance of English readers. In 1874 he published a translation of the *Logic of Hegel* with



Prolegomena, dealing with the preliminary difficulties connected with the study of that philosopher; and in 1894 a translation of Hegel's *Philosophy of Mind*. Besides these larger works, he published in 1880 a small book on the Epicurean Philosophy, and in 1890 another on the Life of Schopenhauer. As an expositor of Hegel, Wallace, as is pointed out by his biographer, was at once a faithful disciple and very free from servile adherence to the Hegelian phraseology. "He does not deal much in Hegelian formulae, even when he is explaining Hegel; rather he is very impatient of such literalness, and never rests in the Hegelian thought till he has reproduced it in a new form, or in many new forms." This is a decided merit, and we commend his example to the attention of such as are prone to abject discipleship to the great masters. The books on Epicurus and Schopenhauer illustrate another virtue of Wallace: his appreciative, sympathetic attitude as a critic, "at times appreciative to a fault," says the Master of Balliol. It is a fault which leans to virtue's side.

As a professor Wallace had a way of his own. He did not read lectures fully written out, but spoke *extempore* out of a mind filled by previous meditation. Nor was he systematic in his teaching; he rather offered, after the manner of an impressionist, fresh disjointed contributions towards the illumination of the subject in hand. He was not a dry prosaic teacher of philosophy, but rather a poetic *preacher* of philosophy. A pupil said of him: "He is never other than stimulating and suggestive, and, in a sense, he was always preaching." Such a method, when used in a masterly manner, is sure to be successful with students, and it was eminently successful in Wallace's hands. "His hearers seemed to be receiving thought in the making, and not as the cut-and-dried product of the study. The play of his mind upon the questions discussed, the strange touches of humour with which his discourse was lighted up, the subtle beauty and conclusiveness of expression which he often attained, and, through it all, the gravity and earnestness of his manner, produced an impression which was unique of its kind."

The first place in the volume now published is given to the Gifford Lectures, delivered by Professor Wallace in the University of Glasgow, in two courses, in the winters of 1894, 1895, the first course having for its theme Natural Theology, and the second the relations of Morality and Religion. Of the first course only a few of the lectures seem to have been written; of the second, eight are preserved in written form. What is given to us, therefore, is only a fragment; twelve lectures out of double the number. In their published form the lectures will help to correct an impression made at the time of their delivery by the reports which appeared in the newspapers. The feeling was that the lecturer was an eccentric

man, who was not taking his office seriously, but using it as an opportunity for uttering humorous, whimsical, almost flippant opinions, on grave subjects in a very off-hand manner. The printed page gives a very different impression. The style is dignified, the tone serious, and some of the lectures touch the highest water-mark of the author's literary capabilities. Take as a sample the following from the third lecture of the first course on *The Natural Theology of Christ*: "The great deed that seems to emerge as the life of Christ is the bringing into one of God and man; the discovery that the supernatural is in the natural, the spiritual in the physical; the eternal life as the truth and basis of this; God manifest in the flesh; removal of the partition wall between God and man; the immanence of the Divine, not as a new and imparted element in human life, a special bit of man peculiarly holy, but as the truth and life in life. And the practical corollary is two-fold: first, it is absolute peace in believing, the assurance of reunion, the good conscience which is free from the bondage of the weak and beggarly elements, the pure heart which rejoiceth in the Lord; the removal of fear and doubt; the 'strength which is as the strength of ten.' The veil is rent away which in the days of ignorance hid God, and made Him an unknown God. . . . But there is another side: the absolute freedom of the Christian man is absolute allegiance to God; his independence rests in utter dependence. His freedom is from the tyranny of partial claims, individual desires and objects, from the halfnesses and weaknesses of our nature; and it is won by identification with the universal."

Of the last six lectures taken from the second course Dr Caird remarks: "These lectures, though they have not been in any way revised or corrected since they were first written, seem to me to contain some of the most original and suggestive pages which Professor Wallace has produced." They are certainly of a high quality. They begin with a statement and criticism of the views of Mr Balfour in his well-known work *The Foundations of Belief*. The tone of the lecturer here is not keenly controversial, but the effect of all he says is to make us very conscious of the limitations and the general unsatisfactoriness of Mr Balfour's treatment of his subject. He finds therein only critical as distinct from constructive thought—"the weakness of a man who possesses considerable faculty of dialectic and enjoys the zest of debate, and whose instinct is to look for weak points, pulling a complex theory to pieces by piece-meal attack." The book, in his judgment, raises an altar to "an unknown God." Even the Incarnation is not a revelation of God's spirit but only a mystery serving some practical uses, *e.g.*, enabling man to realise the dignity of human nature against the immensity of the material universe. Over against this external conception

the Gifford lecturer sets a loftier view of the doctrine as teaching that all men are sons of God, and that God is immanent in humanity, suffering, enjoying with men, their bodies temples of the holy one who inhabiteth eternity, "The eternal reality is in it all: God is in it all: not, as Mr Balfour seems to think, alone by himself, enjoying an unchanging beauty of which we can only catch glimpses, but with us, and in us, suffering in us and with us, the captain of our salvation, the first fruits of many brothers."

Professor Wallace totally dissents from the view of human reason held in common by Mr Balfour and Mr Kidd, the author of the famous work *Social Evolution*. Both vilify reason, make it the great divider, underestimate its function in religion, treat it in fact as if it were an antigod: the Persian Ahriman redivivus. Against both the lecturer contends that religion is rational in proportion to its truth and worth, that reason is not in its proper nature a divider but a uniter, and that it is not selfish but social. "To be reasonable is, in the full sense of the term, to be human." "Whence came this reason? Reason, we have lately heard from Mr Kidd, is individualistic in the uttermost, the weapon of disintegration. When we say, 'Come let us reason together,' it appears that we mean (not as the men of old time thought, 'Let us try to agree and remove the stumbling-blocks that cause jars between us,' but, in the modern language,) 'Let us dispute and divide.' Now it is simply impossible to allow anyone thus to play the fool with language." Reason, so far from being inherently individualistic and anti-social, is absolutely a "social product: it appears and lives in human association." In the words of Fichte: 'Man would not be rational or human, were he purely isolated and unsocial.' Wholesome sound doctrine!

After the Gifford lectures come a group of nine essays in Moral Philosophy forming the second large division of the volume. The topics are these: Our Natural Rights; Person and Personality; Responsibility; Duty; Hedonism; Utilitarianism; the Ethics of Socialism; the Relations of Fichte and Hegel to Socialism; the Legal, Social and Religious Functions of Morality. Weighty themes, suggestively treated, though the interest of the reader is perhaps not so well sustained as in the lectures. Attention quickens when we come to the burning question of socialism. But here again we experience a disappointment. What is given us is but a fragment. At the end of the essay on the ethics of socialism the editor appends this note: "This lecture seems to have been the introduction to a fuller discussion of the subject, of which there remain only a few notes, and the section which follows dealing with the views of Fichte and Hegel." This seems to have been the author's way: to begin useful plans, then leave off, as if weary

prematurely of the task. Perhaps it would have been the same if he had lived the appointed threescore years and ten : something attempted, not done, but left incomplete. One seems to read this in the excellent portrait facing the title-page, with its weary eyes, wrinkled brow, and sad stoical expression. But let us make the most of what we have got. The lecture on socialistic ethics is characteristically generous. It credits socialism with "keeping people alive to the fact that the social compact is always making and never made, and that it has now become like an ill-fitting dress, which is displacing the assimilative system of society, causing irregular excitation of the heart, and clogging the organs of breathing." It has even a good word to say of "Anarchism." "Anarchism is an unfortunate name, a distorted expression of the view that the more human action proceeds from internal motives, and the less it is vitiated by 'all the paraphernalia of official authority, which is after all a burden,' the better will be the results for human welfare and individual development. If thus conceived as an ideal of the state where each is a law to himself, because his basal principle is a faith of solidarity with others, and where free play is given to faculty in all its individuality of growth, because it draws its force from a common soil, anarchy is transformed into an angel of light."

The third and smallest division of the book contains four critical essays on *Lotze*, *Nietzsche's Criticism of Morality*, *Nietzsche's 'Thus Spake Zarathustra'*, and *Studies in the Hegelian Dialectic* by John M. E. M'Taggart. The Essay on Lotze is specially interesting and helpful to the understanding of the position and attitude of that well-known German philosopher.

We close with a word of thanks to the Master of Balliol, and the gentlemen who assisted him in the task, for the well-judged selection from Wallace's manuscripts of papers deemed most suitable for publication. Students of philosophy will, we feel sure, concur in the opinion that they have done their part well. A. B. BRUCE.

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### **Magic, Divination, and Demonology among the Hebrews and their Neighbours, including an Examination of Biblical References and of the Biblical Terms.**

*By T. Witton Davies, B.A. (Lond.), Ph.D. (Leip.), Professor of Old Testament Literature, North Wales Baptist College, Bangor, &c. London: James Clarke & Co. Pp. i.xvi. 1-130. 8vo. Price, 3s. 6d.*

THE subject which Dr Davies has undertaken to treat is generally admitted to be a very important one, from the point of view both

of the historian and of the theologian. The Bible contains numerous allusions to Magic and Divination, but scarcely any precise descriptions of these practices, so that the meaning of the terms employed is sometimes extremely doubtful. Moreover, the intimate connection between the religious observances of the Hebrews and those of their heathen neighbours has, in consequence of recent discoveries, come to be universally recognised, and hence all questions relating to the cults and superstitions of antiquity have acquired a new interest.

At the beginning of his book Dr Davies places a most imposing list of works which he has consulted; it includes treatises so diverse as Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* and Socin's *Guide to Palestine*, but, strange to say, not a single edition of any Oriental author in the original language. Even translations of Oriental authors are almost entirely absent. This would seem to imply that all Dr Davies' information was obtained at second hand, and when we examine the book itself we find our worst fears confirmed. Nowhere does he show any independent knowledge of the sources. In dealing with a subject like Magic—a subject quite alien to our habits of thought—it is of the utmost importance to examine the facts before we draw general conclusions, in other words, to ascertain precisely how, when, and where this or that ceremony was performed, before we attempt to explain the terminology connected with it. An accurate statement of the facts Dr Davies does not give us; yet he claims to speak as an authority on questions about which some of the greatest scholars differ. But this is not the worst. Apart from mere misprints, which are numerous, we continually come upon mistakes such as no one accustomed to reading Syriac or Arabic texts could commit—e.g., *qūzahūn* with *Waw* and *tanwīn* (pp. 38 and 121) instead of *quzahū*, *kūrsiyyūn* with *Waw* (p. 42) instead of *kursiyyūn*, &c. Nor does Dr Davies appear to be much more familiar with Hebrew than with Arabic, if we are to judge by such specimens as the following. On page 58 he mentions that it has been proposed to read שְׁחָדָה instead of שְׁחָדָה in Isaiah xlvii. 11, and then remarks, "But as the Qal of this verb is alone used, it would be better to read שְׁחָדָה (shekhadah). The English will then be: 'There shall come upon thee an evil which thou art not able to prevent by payment.'" Hebraists scarcely need to be reminded that whereas שְׁחָדָה is a possible form of the Infinitive Qal with suffix (cf. שְׁחָדָה Gen. xix. 33, 35, פָּתַח Ezek. xxxvii. 13, שָׁמַע Zech. iii. 1), the form suggested by Dr Davies is altogether impossible. To point out errors of this sort would be a waste of time, were it not for the fact that the profusion of Oriental type in Dr Davies' book and the solemn manner in which he discusses the

meaning of obscure words may easily lead unwary readers to imagine that they have before them the work of a real Orientalist.

After what has been said, it will hardly appear necessary to examine Dr Davies' theories at great length. But it may be stated that one of his main objects is to refute the idea of a primitive distinction between Magic and Divination—"It should be constantly kept in mind that at first the two were not differentiated" (p. 28). Magic is defined by Dr Davies as "the attempt on man's part to have intercourse with spiritual and supernatural beings, and to influence them for his benefit" (p. 1). Divination, on the other hand, is "the attempt on man's part to obtain from the spiritual world supernormal or superhuman knowledge" (p. 6). Dr Davies has not realised that the purpose of divination, as practised in the ancient world, was to ascertain the *will* of the deity. Divination was regarded not merely as permissible but as essential to piety and to the security of the State, because without some such means a man could not know whether his undertakings were pleasing to the gods. Thus in Hesiod the righteous man is described as

ἀναίτιος ἀθανάτοισιν  
ὄρνιθας κρίνων καὶ ὑπερβασίας ἀλείειν

"the discerning of omens" being inseparable from "the avoidance of transgressions." That a similar idea underlay the divination of the Semites might be proved by numerous examples. When once this fact is grasped the distinction between divination and magic becomes obvious.

On matters of detail a few words may be added. That the Arabic noun *lāḥisatun* (not *lāḥusatun*), "a year of famine," is connected with *naḥsun*, "ill-luck," as Dr Davies maintains (p. 51), seems very improbable. The Arabs themselves explain *lāḥisatun* as meaning "a year that *licks up* (i.e. destroys) everything," from *laḥisa* "to lick"—see the *Liṣān-al-'Arab* s.v. This view is in accordance with the metaphor used in Num. xxii. 4, "Now shall this multitude lick up all that is round about us, as the ox licketh up the grass of the field." It must be remembered that to nomads, who are wholly dependent upon the scanty herbage of the desert, such figures of speech occur much more naturally than to us. The observations of Dr Davies respecting the demonology of the New Testament contain some truth, but he goes too far when he asserts (p. 105) that "we do not read of Christ's employing such means as exorcists employ. . . . He applies no medicament; He utters no incantation; He simply speaks the word." Since Dr Davies so frequently alludes to Wellhausen's treatise on Arabian Heathenism, he might have learnt from that work that the use of the spittle as

a cure for disease (Mark vii. 33 ; John ix. 6) was a common feature in the magic of the heathen Semites.

One of the most curious instances of carelessness in this book is that Professor Baudissin, whose well-known *Studien zur sem. Religionsgeschichte* Dr Davies cites on several occasions, is always called Baudissen (p. xi. *twice*, pp. 36, 52, 102.)

A. A. BEVAN.

### Die Worte Jesu

*mit Berücksichtigung des nachkanonischen jüdischen Schrifttums und der aramäischen Sprache, erörtert von Gustaf Dalman, ao. Professor der Theologie in Leipzig. Band I. Einleitung und Wichtige Begriffe, nebst Anhang: Messianische Texte. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. Pp. i.-xv., 1-319. 8vo. Price M.8.50.*

SINCE the publication of his treatise *Der leidende und der sterbende Messias* (1888) and of his *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch* (1894), Professor Dalman has been universally regarded as one of the highest authorities in matters relating to post-biblical Jewish literature and Aramaic philology. His latest work, of which the first volume only has appeared, is well worthy of his great reputation as a scholar, and it will, we may hope, attract the attention of much wider circles than those which his previous writings have reached, for the subject is of supreme importance. It is well known that, in the time of Christ, Aramaic was the ordinary language, and Hebrew the sacred language, of the Palestinian Jews. Hence the idea of illustrating and explaining the teaching of Christ, as recorded in the Gospels, by means of the Hebrew and Aramaic writings of that period is quite familiar to us, but hitherto nearly all the attempts to work out the subject in detail have ended in failure. Those writers who have received a Talmudic education are, as a rule, wholly unacquainted with modern historical methods, while the Christian theologians who endeavour to grapple with these questions seldom possess the requisite knowledge of Jewish literature. We have therefore every reason to rejoice that so eminently competent a scholar as Professor Dalman has undertaken the task, and it is greatly to be desired that the reception given to this first instalment of his work may be such as will encourage him to continue his investigations. The volume is characterised by rare learning, industry, and judgment, and contains so much important matter that it is impossible, within the

limits of a review, to give any adequate account of it. All that I can here attempt is to furnish the reader with a brief summary, calling attention to a few points which seem to me specially interesting.

The Introduction (pp. 1-72) is a masterly statement of the problems to be solved and of the methods to be employed in the process. Professor Dalman gives a great mass of evidence as to the use of the Aramaic and Hebrew languages in Palestine, and then proceeds to examine some of the "Hebraisms" and "Aramaisms" which occur in the Gospels. He concludes that the hypothesis of a "primitive Gospel in Hebrew" is utterly to be rejected, and that a "primitive Gospel in Aramaic" is at least improbable. The evidence, he thinks, tends to show that the document on which all the three Synoptic Gospels are ultimately based was written in Greek. We have therefore to distinguish between those elements which are "specifically Greek," that is, the work of the Evangelists, and those elements which belong to the oral Aramaic tradition handed down by the immediate disciples of Christ (p. 57).

Of special importance is the section entitled "The Choice of the Dialect" (pp. 63-72). Professor Dalman rightly insists upon the necessity of determining, as far as possible, the general character of the dialect spoken by Christ, before we venture to explain the origin of particular phrases found in the Gospels. This preliminary task is unfortunately by no means easy. The Aramaic dialects differ considerably one from another, and among all the extant documents in Aramaic there is not a single one which can be taken as representing *accurately* the language of Christ and His apostles. "It would appear," says Professor Dalman, "that there existed in the time of Christ a literary Aramaic language which was used in all parts of Palestine, with slight local variations, and was spoken by all educated persons, at least in the larger towns. This Aramaic of the educated classes, which was prevalent in Judaea, is represented by the Aramaic portions of Daniel and Ezra, the Targum of Onkelos, and the other documents in the Judæan dialect, as well as by the inscriptions of the Palmyrenes and the Nabataeans. At the same time there existed a number of popular dialects, among them a Central Palestinian dialect, of which Samaritan is a later development, and a North Palestinian dialect, which is likewise known to us at a later stage only, in the form which it assumed among Jews and in that which is assumed among Christians. It is highly probable that when the intellectual centre of the Aramaic-speaking Jews had been finally destroyed, at the suppression of the revolt of Barkochba, the popular dialect of Northern Palestine spread over almost every part of the country" (p. 64). The oldest extant specimens of North-Palestinian or Galilaean Aramaic—namely, the



Aramaic pieces in the Palestinian Talmud and certain of the Midrashim—are, according to Professor Dalman, not older than the fourth century of our era. With regard to the date of the Targums, he holds that the so-called "Jerusalem Targum" of the Pentateuch is very much later than has usually been supposed, and that those who believe it to contain pieces earlier than the time of Christ are altogether mistaken. As to the writings in the Christian Palestinian dialect, Professor Dalman makes some very instructive remarks: "The Christian Church of the lands in which Greek and Edessene Syriac were spoken gave birth to the Aramaic-speaking Churches of Palestine" (p. 70). I here venture to observe that, in my opinion, the importance of this historical fact has seldom been duly appreciated. There can be little doubt that, before the middle of the second century, Palestinian Christianity had declined to such an extent that it survived only among a few Gentile colonies in some of the larger towns, and a few communities of Jewish extraction who were regarded as heretics by all the Western Churches. The Palestinian Christians of later times were not descendants of the Apostolic Church, but simply converts won over from Judaism or Paganism by Greek-speaking or Syriac-speaking missionaries. This circumstance satisfactorily accounts for what would otherwise be inconceivable, namely, the rapidity with which the historical traditions of the primitive Church died out. The Christian Fathers of the third and following centuries knew scarcely anything of the Apostolic community, except what they learnt from the New Testament; and the reason of this was that the native Palestinian Churches, who would have been the natural guardians of early Christian tradition, had ceased to exist.

The main part of Professor Dalman's volume is occupied by a series of investigations as to the meaning of certain "important conceptions" which form the basis of Christ's teaching, namely: (1) The Sovereignty of God; (2) The coming *αἰών*; (3) Eternal Life; (4) The World; (5) The Lord, as a title of God; (6) The Father in Heaven; (7) Other names applied to God; (8) Indirect allusions to God; (9) The Son of Man; (10) The Son of God; (11) Christ; (12) The Son of David; (13) The Lord, as a title of Jesus; (14) The Master, as a title of Jesus. The volume ends with a selection of extracts from post-biblical Jewish literature which relate to the doctrine of the Messiah.

Professor Dalman does not attempt to conceal the fact that, owing to the scantiness of our sources of information, these researches sometimes lead to no certain result. "It might seem at first sight," he says, "that the linguistic foundation on which we are building is extremely insecure" (p. 65). Probably no two scholars would agree exactly as to this "linguistic foundation," that is,

as to all the words and grammatical forms which we may reasonably suppose to have been in use among the primitive Christians. It seems to me that if Professor Dalman errs it is in looking too *exclusively* to the scanty remains of Palestinian literature, and particularly in his tendency to assume that words and forms which do not occur in that literature must always be "foreign" to the language spoken by Christ. He is doubtless right in censuring those who overlook the distinction between Palestinian Aramaic and Syriac, that is, the language of Edessa. But it may be feared that he himself sometimes goes to the opposite extreme, and ignores the evidence of Syriac where it might legitimately be taken into account. We have to remember that our information about the Syriac language is far more extensive and far more trustworthy than the information which we possess about the Aramaic dialects of Palestine. The Targums, being translations, often slavishly literal translations, from the Hebrew, are, as Professor Dalman repeatedly admits, to be used with great caution. The Palestinian Talmud and the Midrashim, whence he derives his knowledge of the "Galilaean" dialect, are not only much later than the time of Christ, but have also suffered grievously from textual corruption. Of the manuscripts which contain them, or fragments of them, even the oldest are probably not older than the tenth century, and the majority are very much more modern. The scribes who copied them, being accustomed to speak Arabic, not Aramaic, were very apt to confuse the different Aramaic dialects and to omit or alter phrases which they did not understand. Not one of these documents is to be compared, for accuracy, with the magnificent Syriac Codices of the fifth and sixth centuries. When to this we add the fact that Syriac literature is far more varied, in subject and style, than that of the later Jews, we cannot doubt that many words which were commonly used in Palestine at the time of Christ may have come down to us in Syriac texts, but not in the Targums, the Talmud, or the Midrashim. The positive proof of this is furnished by the Aramaic portions of the Old Testament; these pieces, short as they are, contain several words which seldom or never occur in later Jewish literature, although they are quite common in Syriac, e.g. ܠܒ "mind," ܡܫܝܗ "magician" (Syr. *āshōphā*), ܡܢܝܗ or ܡܢܝܗ "tribute" (Syr. *maddathā*). The same thing may also apply to certain grammatical forms and syntactical constructions. When, for example, Professor Dalman concludes, from purely negative evidence, that the use of the infinitive for the purpose of emphasizing the finite verb was "unknown" in Palestinian Aramaic (pp. 27, 28), his statement may be gravely questioned. This construction is found repeatedly in some of the oldest and best Syriac authors, so that it

cannot be a mere Hebraism, although we might perhaps read many pages, or even whole volumes, of Syriac, without coming across a single instance of it. Hence its absence in the Talmud and Midrashim cannot be taken as proving that it was "unknown" in the Aramaic of Palestine.

In order to show that these questions are not by any means purely speculative, but may have an important practical bearing, I will take a single point on which Professor Dalman has laid much stress—the meaning of the phrase "the Son of Man" (pp. 191-219). Some of the most eminent modern scholars, for example Wellhausen, hold that *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* is simply a literal translation of the Aramaic *בר אַנשא* "the Man," or rather "the human being." Professor Dalman, on the other hand, maintains that in the Palestinian Aramaic of the time of Christ, the idea of "the human being" was expressed by *אַנשא* alone, and that Christ, in calling Himself "the Son of Man," was using a peculiar phrase borrowed from the Old Testament—*בן אדם*. According to Professor Dalman, *בן אַנשא* in Dan. vii. 13 is not the current Aramaic expression for "a human being," but a term specially coined in order to translate the Hebrew *בן אדם*. Here, again, the evidence is entirely negative, but to what does it amount? That the older Jewish Targums and the Samaritan Targum habitually use *אַנשא* for "human being"—seldom or never *בר אַנשא*, except when they are translating the Hebr. *בן אדם*—proves very little. If *בן אדם* were the *ordinary* Hebrew phrase for "human being," and if the Targums habitually rendered *בן אדם* by *בר אַנשא*, it might be argued with some plausibility that *בר אַנשא*, in the sense of "human being," was unknown in Palestinian Aramaic. But this is very far from being the case. As Professor Dalman himself states, *בן אדם* is *exceptional* in biblical Hebrew; it is almost entirely confined to poetical passages and the book of Ezekiel, who employs it in a special sense. This sufficiently accounts for the rarity of *בר אַנשא* in the Targums; in their preference for the simple *אַנשא* the translators show their usual tendency to retain the Hebrew idiom, and they do not enable us to judge what other mode of expression was *also* current in the Aramaic of the period. Nor can we argue that because *בן אדם* is exceptional in Hebrew the corresponding phrase is likely to have been exceptional in Aramaic; for it is to be noticed that compounds with "son" are much commoner in Aramaic than in Hebrew or Arabic. Thus for "seed" (Hebr. *זרע*) Jewish Aramaic uses both the simple *זרע* and the compound *בר זרע* (Onkelos, Gen. i. 11, 12, Deut. xxviii. 38)—contrast also the Jewish Aram. *בר חורין*, Syr. *bar hērē* "free" with the Arab. *hurrūn*. Similarly the Jewish Aram. and Syr. *ברת קלא* "voice," of which the Rabbinical

בן קל is an imitation, has no analogue in genuine Hebrew. Professor Dalman likewise appeals to the Palmyrene and Nabataean inscriptions, in order to prove that in those districts also אַנִּשׁ only, never אַנְשׁ, was used for "human being." Unfortunately he has here made a serious slip. The expression אַנִּשׁ מְדַעַם "irgend ein Mensch" does not occur in the celebrated Palmyrene Tariff, as he asserts (p. 194). The clause really runs

דִּי לֹא יִהְיֶה נְבִיא אֲנִישׁ מְדַעַם יְחִיר

"that the contractor should not exact from anyone anything more," that is to say, מְדַעַם is connected not with the preceding אַנִּשׁ but with the following יְחִיר—compare the Syr. *lā theghbōn meddem yattir*, "exact nothing more," Luke iii. 13 (Cureton). The fact is that the Palmyrene אַנִּשׁ, the Nabataean אַנְשׁ, is used exactly like the Syr. 'nāsh "anyone," and the Nabataean כָּל אַנְשׁ "everyone" is the precise equivalent of the Syriac *kul-nāsh*. But since Syriac at the same time employs *bar-nāsh*, *bar-nāshā* for "human being," it is manifest that the Palmyrene and Nabataean evidence proves nothing in favour of Professor Dalman's theory. That אַנִּשׁ בֶּר does not appear in the inscriptions is true; this, however, will scarcely astonish us when we consider how small is the proportion of Greek or Latin inscriptions in which *ἄνθρωπος* or *homo* happens to occur. That the later "Galilean" dialect and the Christian Palestinian dialect used אַנִּשׁ בֶּר for "human being," precisely as it is used in Syriac, Professor Dalman freely admits (p. 194), but he supposes that this was an "innovation" (p. 195), because it does not occur in the older Palestinian literature. If, however, we set aside the Targums, as being translations, very little "older Palestinian literature" remains, so that the negative evidence is reduced almost to nothing. It seems to me that in the present case the testimony of Syriac is important, precisely because it shows us the danger of arguing from negative evidence. With respect to the word אַנִּשׁ the Syriac usage is briefly as follows. 'Nāsh, as I have remarked, means "anyone" or "someone," whereas the emphatic form 'nāshā means either "human being" or (much more commonly) "men," "people." Thus there are cases in which 'nāshā and *bar-nāshā* may be used indiscriminately, e.g. in Isaac of Antioch, ed. Bickell, we read, (Part i., p. 10), "Therefore He was not God but mere man" ('nāshā), and only a few lines further on, "If thou sayest that He is man" (*bar-nāshā*); again, on p. 30, "He Himself redeemed Adam, for it was out of Adam that He became man (*bar-nāshā*); that He became man ('nāshā) we know," &c. Similarly 'nāshā and *bēnai-nāshā* may be used indiscriminately in the sense of "men," and the same applies to the biblical Aramaic אִנְשָׁא and בְּנֵי אִנְשָׁא, as Professor Dalman remarks (p. 192)—see Dan. iv. 30, v. 21. The

conclusion to which we come is this, that the various uses of  $\text{ܐܢܫ}$  and  $\text{ܒܪ ܐܢܫ}$ , which appear *concurrently* in Syriac, are all found in one or another of the Palestinian dialects—though we cannot point out instances of them *all* in *all* the dialects—and that no Palestinian dialect, at least so far as Professor Dalman has shown, employs any of these forms in a sense *unknown* in Syriac. Hence no real difference between Syriac and Palestinian Aramaic, in this respect, has been proved to exist, and, in spite of all that Professor Dalman has said, the theory that  $\text{ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου}$  signifies nothing more than  $\text{ὁ ἄνθρωπος}$  remains as firmly established as ever.

A subject on which Professor Dalman holds peculiar, not to say startling, opinions is the book of Daniel. He believes that the first six chapters were originally written in Aramaic, and the last six in Hebrew; a later editor combined the two parts, translating chap. i. 1—ii. 4 from Aramaic into Hebrew, and chap. vii. from Hebrew into Aramaic (p. 11). But what conceivable motive—except mere want of employment—could induce an editor to act thus? If he intended the book for readers acquainted with both languages, there would obviously be no purpose in translating any part from the one language into the other. If, on the contrary, the editor intended the book for readers acquainted with one language only, what could be more perverse than to translate part of the Aramaic into Hebrew, and part of the Hebrew into Aramaic?

Though I have ventured freely to point out what seems to me questionable in this work, the reader will have perceived that I am as far as possible from ignoring its great and permanent merits. To Professor Dalman himself the praise of those who feel compelled to differ from him on certain points will, I am sure, be more acceptable than any expressions of blind admiration.

A. A. BEVAN.

### Doctrine and Development.

*University Sermons.* By Hastings Rashdall, D.C.L., M.A., Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford; author of "*The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages.*" London: Methuen & Co., 1898. Crown 8vo, pp. xvi. 288. Price, 6s.

WITH Dr Rashdall's central position that Christian Theology is a development, and that we must not close the interpretation of Christian doctrine with any particular age or century, but must recognize the process going on in the present as in the past, and wait on the leading of experience, we are in the fullest accord. If Christian theology is to be a living thing, each age must be permitted to express the great dogmatic conceptions in its own way;

and it is a good sign, not a bad one, if "the restatement—let us say frankly the reconstruction—of Christian doctrine is the great intellectual task upon which the Church of our day is just entering, and with which it must go on boldly if Christianity is to retain its hold on the intellect as well as the sentiment and the social activities of our time." But this does not, of course, mean that the present has no connexion with the past, or that modern theologians may safely despise traditional Christianity. On the contrary, the very fact of development links on the present to the past, and requires us to carry forward, not to disown, the truth that has been handed down to us.

Yet here, obviously, two difficulties confront us. In the first place, it is necessary to ascertain with care what precisely the truth handed down to us really is. There is such a thing as arrested development (arrested in whole or in part, more frequently in part than in whole), and development may be thrown on wrong lines. Hence, in order to reach the true idea, in any particular case, we must, perchance, retrace our steps and take up the idea at the point where it was arrested, or save it from accretions that have gathered round it or from the distortions to which it has been subjected in the course of time. To this Dr Rashdall is perfectly alive—as the historian of *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* could not fail to be. But, in the second place, it is no less necessary to guard against the fallacy of supposing that a theological notion or idea that happens to find favour, or to achieve popularity, among us is *ipso facto* a true theological development. To this second difficulty, sufficient attention has not always been paid. We rather suspect it is not unusual just at present to make "modernity" synonymous with "development." And yet it is quite possible that a modern departure may be nothing less than throwing development off the proper lines, and will be disowned by the future. We need only instance the flabby sentimental presentation of the grandest of all doctrines, the Fatherhood of God, that one so often hears from the modern pulpit.

Strong in his faith that Christian doctrines are the result of a development, and that they require to be adapted to the needs of each age, Dr Rashdall, in this volume of *University Sermons*, proceeds to translate some of them "into the language of modern thought." That his effort is in large measure successful can hardly be questioned. The force of his style and the clearness of his thought, as well as his genuine reverence for Divine truth, aid his keen sympathy with the ethical aspirations and the historical spirit of the present day, and enable him to put things in a way that is both helpful and effective. We confess to being attracted by his dislike of invertebrate theology, and of religion without theology

altogether ; and it is refreshing to find a "liberal" theologian frankly avowing, "It is my strong conviction that a Theology which is to satisfy thoughtful men in these days must rest upon a basis of thorough-going Metaphysic." This gives us the assurance that such questions as these, with which the Sermons are occupied,— "Limitations of Knowledge in Christ," "The Historical Value of the Gospels," "The Unique Son," "The Historic Christ," "Spiritual Theism," "The Holy Trinity,"—shall receive a stimulating and suggestive handling. The discourses that challenge criticism are those on the Atonement—"The Abelardian Doctrine of the Atonement," "Justification," and "The Idea of Sacrifice." Here, at least the Scottish theologian—nurtured on *The Shorter Catechism* and *The Confession of Faith*—will demur. While quite ready to accept the Abelardian teaching of the manifestation of the Father's love in the Cross, and while even prepared to emphasize it, he will be loth to allow that there is not also a deep metaphysical truth which the Anselmic doctrine aimed at expressing. Because the old view (he will argue) was lop-sided, that is no necessary reason why it should be wholly discarded : it is only a reason why it should be translated into the language of modern thought. Anyhow, it would not give the complete truth to replace one lop-sided view by another.

But, this apart, Dr Rashdall is to be congratulated on the honesty with which he faces the difficult problems that come before him. It is, indeed, this tendency to face difficulties direct, and not simply to talk about them and around them (which is so common in these days), that constitutes to us one of the chief virtues of his work, and that makes it helpful in a high degree.

No less helpful is he when he turns to practical themes—such as "The Christian Doctrine of Property" and "Differences of Vocation." His own keen interest in all modern movements is evident throughout, and his eagerness to have Christian principles applied to the guidance of them. Here, as elsewhere, the philosopher aids the theologian ; and his philosophy is robust and sane.

But, perhaps, the sanity and robustness of his philosophy is best seen in the last of the discourses—the Murtle lecture delivered recently before the University of Aberdeen, on "Personality in God and Man." This is a very powerful defence of what we may call Psychological Theism—viz., of the necessity and legitimacy of basing our conception of God on our experience of human personality, as given through all the factors of our conscious life (emotional, intellectual, volitional alike), and the futility of essaying a doctrine of the Absolute in terms of pure thought. "The whole tendency of modern speculation confirms the natural tendency of the religious consciousness to interpret the Universe in terms of Mind. So far the Christian

thinker will welcome its results ; only let us have the courage to say that, if we accept so much, we will not be juggled into accepting some miserable abstraction in place of the living God by that old bugbear of philosophical polemics, the charge of anthropomorphism. Of course our God is anthropomorphic ; and so must be every God whom the mind of man can really conceive. When the Hegelian speaks of God as Thought, he is as anthropomorphic as we are when we insist that if God is Mind, he must be Will and Feeling as well as Thought. Indeed, the Hegelian is more anthropomorphic than the ordinary Theologian. For the Hegelian, when he is in earnest about his Theism, always seems to assume that God's thinking is exactly the same as ours, except for the fact that he comprehends all the Universe at once : whereas the Theologians have always insisted that such terms as Thought and Will and Love are always applied to God, *sensu eminentiori*. We apply these terms to Him because they are the highest categories that we have. We must use them, or we must cease to think at all. We shall not think of God more worthily or truly by hypostatizing one side of human nature, and banishing from our conception of God all that gives his highest worth and loveliness to man. Far more philosophical is the position of the orthodox Scholasticism which declares that God is essentially a Trinity—Power, Wisdom, and Love—Father, Son, and Holy Ghost—three persons or eternally distinguishable properties united in one indivisible Unity. Such a God too can be intelligibly conceived of as revealing Himself in man—imperfectly, progressively in the whole history of the human race, pre-eminently and supremely in Him who beheld the open vision of God as His Father, and taught us by character and word and life to think of Him as being essentially Love."

To thinking people, perplexed about the subject of Personality, this Sermon, together with the first in the volume (on "Spiritual Theism"), ought to be a real help. WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON.

### Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire.

By Samuel Dill, M.A., Professor of Greek in Queen's College, Belfast. London: Macmillan & Co., 1898. Pp. 402. Price, 12s. net.

THIS book is an interesting and careful study of an important but comparatively little known period of the world's history, lying between 370 and 470 A.D. The Gothic kingdom of Theodoric had not yet appeared and the reconquest of the peninsula by Justinian was in the further future. Julian the Apostate had died just before



the period begins ; the sack of Rome by the Goths under Alaric, the foundations of the Gothic lordship over Gaul and Spain, and of the Vandal dominion in Africa, the nightmare of the Huns, and the sack of Rome by the Vandals attacking from Africa, all fall within the period. It includes the whole Christian life of St Augustine ; and this fact alone makes it worth the attention of the Church historian.

The period is the time covered by the first book of Gregorovius' *History of Rome in the Middle Ages*, by Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chapters xxv.-xxxi., xxxiii.-xxxvi., by Milman's *Latin Christianity*, bk. i. 2 and bk. ii., to name common authorities ; only Mr Dill's business is not to describe the march of great events, but to show us the way in which the people lived in Rome, in their country houses or on their great provincial estates ; to let us see how the farms were managed and the taxes paid ; how the curse of slavery was eating into every part of the social life of the time, sapping its morals, enervating its spirit, and prostrating its energies ; how the strong ascetic spirit displayed by the noblest Christian leaders was turning the Church aside from the great task of purifying the corruptions of the age. The book is a valuable one, and supplies a long felt want. I do not know of any one which occupies its exact field, although Ozanam's *Civilisation of the Fifth Century* (Lond. 1868), goes over part of the ground. Mr Dill's book supplies also a valuable corrective to the pictures of the times drawn from Jerome among the ancients and from Gibbon among the moderns. The chief fault to be found with the work is a lack of the faculty of grouping the material.

The principal authorities which Mr Dill makes use of in his description of the social life of the times are the familiar *Letters* of Q. Aurelius Symmachus, the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius, the *Letters* of Jerome and of Augustine, the *History* of Ammianus Marcellinus, the *Poems* of Ausonius, the *Eucharistichon* of Paulinus (called Pellaeus, because born at Pella in Macedonia but an inhabitant of Gaul), the enactments of the emperors especially those of the *Theodosian Code*, the *History* of Orosius, Sulpicius Severus' *Life of St Martin of Tours*, the *Letters* and *Poems* of Apollinaris Sidonius, and Salvianus' *De Gubernatione Dei*. The value of the book may be determined by a statement of the authorities on which it is based. Mr Dill's authorities are pagans and Christians, men of senatorial rank, Roman officials and veteran soldiers, professors and bishops, presbyters and simple country gentlemen.

Q. Aurelius Symmachus was the recognised leader of the old pagan nobility of Rome ; his collection of 147 letters, published in ten books by his son, gives probably the most colourless documents, so far as public events go, that ever issued from the pen of a states-

man. But they describe almost unconsciously the society in which he moved with its curious commingling of conservative pagans and aggressive Christians, St Ambrose of Milan being one of the latter. The *Saturnalia* of Macrobius is an imitation of the *Attic Nights* of Aulus Gellius, and its value consists in the incidental allusions made by the members of the company who assemble for discussions to the customs, usages, and manners of thinking of the times. Macrobius, like Symmachus, is a pagan, and one who gives scarce a thought to the fact that Christianity has become the dominant religion in the world around him. Ausonius was probably a Christian, but only in name, for the man himself is saturated with the old pagan feelings. He had been a lawyer, then a professor of rhetoric at Bordeaux, then tutor to Gratian, the son of the Emperor Valentinus; he retired to live a country life not far from Bordeaux. He has left a large collection of writings of which the *Epigrams*, the *Ephemeris* (or an account of a day's life and work), and the *Parentalia*, are of most importance for the purposes of this book. Paulinus Pellaëus, was the grandson of Ausonius, and his curious autobiographical poem is perhaps the most interesting of all the sources consulted by Mr Dill; for the life described was full of the strangest vicissitudes, and the autobiography, which depicts in the beginning the busy indolence of a young country gentleman of somewhat refined tastes, has to relate the loss of all possessions in the Gothic invasion, hard work as a small farmer to provide the necessities of life, and a competence at last reached through the generosity of a Gothic conqueror. Apollinaris Sidonius is at once a member of the old Roman aristocracy, a great landowner, and a Christian bishop. His *Letters* are extremely interesting and Mr Dill has made full use of them and also of his *Panegyrics*. It is scarcely necessary to describe the other sources for they are better known.

The author weaves the information these various writings give him with all the incidental sources of information at his command in order to portray the social life of the times. He divides his subject into five parts:—in which he discusses the tenacity of the old paganism, the social life of the time in Rome and in the Provinces, the gradual failure of the Roman administration and the accompanying ruin of the middle classes, the way in which the Barbarian invasions were regarded by Romans, and the literary culture of the period. Probably the most interesting portions of the book for the general reader are the first, second, and fourth books; at all events these are the parts in which Mr Dill gives us information not easily accessible elsewhere.

During the last quarter of the fourth century and for some time longer, paganism not only flourished, but was not without hope of

undoing the work of Constantine. The attempt of Julian to weave the loftier traditions of an æsthetic and philosophical heathenism, the abstract monotheism of neo-platonism and the moral ideals of Christianity into an eclectic paganism had failed; but the failure was too recent to be accepted as final by the pagan aristocracy of Rome. The insurrection of Eugenius, who promised to stable his horses in the Christian basilicas, showed the strength of paganism in Italy in the end of the fourth century; and the extravagant hopes that the policy of toleration inaugurated by Stilicho would lead to a more direct recognition of the old religion, showed how tenacious were the pagan expectations. This old paganism was firmly rooted in the Senate and in the old Roman aristocracy, whether of the capital or of the Provinces; their wives and daughters might become Christians and aspire even to the ascetic life, but they still cherished the old divinities and the old religious rites under which Rome had grown to greatness. The imperial legislation in favour of Christianity did not seem to trouble them much, and they record their delight when more insignificant people than themselves disregard it. For by this time it must be understood that the emperors did not profess toleration; indeed there never had been toleration in the strict meaning of the word; for non-conformist Christians had never been tolerated, and the Montanists, Marcionists, Donatists, who were all in existence as Christian separatists down to the sixth century, had always been liable to persecution. But from 381, for a quarter of a century at least, the emperors by legislation strove to curb the power of the pagans. At first the laws were directed against those who, having been Christians, relapsed into heathenism or Judaism; but in 391, offering sacrifices to heathen divinities and the visitation of heathen temples were absolutely forbidden; and in 392 all pagan worship was forbidden in long and exhaustive enumeration, including the most private worship of the household gods by incense lights or garlands. It is evident, however, from the frequent repetition of such laws with increasing penalties, that the emperors could not get them enforced; and this is not to be wondered at, because the provincial magistrates and municipal officers, who had to put the laws in force, were often themselves pagans.

It is not to be supposed that these old Roman senators who fought against the removal of the statue of Victory and then pled for its restitution, or who clung to the last to the ancient auguries and state divinations, were fanatical pagans. They were probably as sceptical as Cicero, or if they had a religion it was probably an eclectic neo-platonism; but they clung to all the old, stately ceremonial of the old state-paganism from a sentiment of patriotism, from a reluctance to let go anything which belonged to the ancient

grandeur of Roman ceremonial, and from a dislike to Christianity. Neo-platonism was THE religion of the cultured pagan ; its abstract monotheism, with its idea of the Supreme One whose Temple is the world, with its thought that all the divinities of the nations are but names for the manifestation of the powers of the One, with its justification of divination and auguries, magic and astrology, with its power to give a background of philosophical and religious monotheism to all pagan creeds and thus not disturb the actual practice of any, appealed to them both as cultivated thinkers and as practical statesmen ; and the influence of this neo-platonism was apparently very strong in Rome and in the West. As for the common people, what kept them heathens was the belief in magic and their inordinate cravings for the ferocities of the amphitheatre and the obscenities of the theatres, and their attachment to the pagan festivals and state holidays. The bloody gladiatorial combats went on in Rome until 404 A.D., the emperors being evidently afraid to put a stop to them, and they were only ended by the devotion of a monk who threw himself into the arena amid the execrations of the crowd, and stopped the combat with the loss of his own life. As for the theatres, the Church was held to have won a great triumph when a law was passed declaring that an actress who, *in articulo mortis*, had received the sacraments was not to be dragged back to her degraded calling in case of recovery. It is, of course, to be remembered that according to Roman ideas, actors and actresses were chained for life to a calling which, from the favourite obscene pantomimes, could not avoid being degrading and repulsively immoral. So tenaciously did the people cling to the local deities and the old festivals, that only the very questionable practice of substituting local saints and giving Christian instead of pagan names to the festivals, gave the Church a nominal triumph.

The great rival of Christianity, however, in the end of the fourth century was undoubtedly *Mithras* worship, the superlative, if we may call it so, of those eastern cults which during all the Christian centuries had been growing in popularity, taking deeper and deeper hold on the popular imagination, and proving the greatest antagonists of the Christian faith. It is the opinion of Renan that Mithras worship had attained such a strength in the beginning of the fourth century, that it might easily have ousted Christianity from becoming the imperial religion. However that may be, its presence, its fascination, its advance among the members of the old Roman aristocracy, are all things that must be taken into account when the question of the tenacity of paganism is discussed, and Mr Dill has done well to call special attention to it.

The social life then, which was lived in the end of the fourth and in the beginning of the fifth centuries, was one in which paganism

and Christianity strove for the mastery ; what kind of society was it and how did Christians and pagans behave towards each other ? I think that Mr Dill has shown quite conclusively that the moral corruption of the times has been exaggerated, or at least that it was not so bad as in the times of the earlier empire. I am not quite sure that I agree with him in the ways by which he reaches this conclusion, but with the conclusion itself I heartily concur. I scarcely think that one is entitled to set aside the denunciations of Jerome and Ammianus Marcellinus because of the pictures of family life in the letters of Symmachus. The period before the Revolution in France was admittedly very corrupt ; yet what delightful pictures of the purest Christian lives and the deepest family affection can be got from some of the old French family memoirs of that time. What strikes me is that both heathen and Christian moralists denounce the same vices, and that the ordinary pagan standard has become much higher ; for the morality of a period is to be judged, not so much by the practice, as by the standard set up. It is very interesting also to note that the heathen moralist declaims against pagans and the Christian censor flogs Christians. Christians and pagans evidently mutually respect men of decent living although of opposite religions. Ammianus is very fair indeed to the Christians when he refers to them. Jerome has evidently not only a real respect but a lurking affection for some of the pagans. His letters show how closely the pagan and the Christian intermingled in the everyday, and even in the family life of the times. Take the picture he allows us to draw from his letters of the household of the pagan pontiff Albinus. The wife of Albinus was a Christian. His daughter Laeta was a young Christian matron after Jerome's own heart, who brought her husband into the Church. Jerome portrays the old pagan grandfather with his small grandchild on his knees listening to the Christian hymns she has learnt, and is proud to repeat to him. Other examples might be given from the pages of Jerome, and what makes them valuable is that no man knew better what he was describing. Jerome had been "the secretary and intimate friend of Pope Damasus, and one of the most influential ecclesiastics in Rome" ; he had mingled in the inner life of the great houses he describes. The letters of Symmachus, Ambrose, and Augustine reveal the terms of mutual respect in which the nobler pagans and the earnest-minded Christians lived. They respected each other much more highly than they did some at least of the members of their own communions. The pagan lashes the pagans and the Christian pours scorn on the Christians. I need not quote Ammianus, for Gibbon has summarised his indictment against Roman society. Jerome's descriptions of the worldly-minded clergy

of his day, of the haughty Christian dames, of the monkish imposters have been reproduced again and again, and are carefully sketched by Mr Dill. It is a strange world which the author brings before us in the last years of the fourth and in the beginning of the fifth century. Grave and pure living pagans, with their social meetings modelled on the Symposium of Plato, devout monotheists, but unable to accept Christianity—for paganism was never so much imbued with elevation of thought and pure morality as it was just before its final eclipse—yet forced by religious partisanship to be the zealous maintainers of the bloody cruelties of the gladiatorial shows, to be the relentless opponents of all laws tending to ameliorate the unhappy condition of the unfortunate actors and actresses, to rejoice at all manner of evasions of imperial laws about religion, and to instigate more than one hopeless rebellion against a central government which was too weak to preserve the empire. Great Christian statesmen like Ambrose and Augustine respected by and respecting their pagan correspondents, discussing with them in courteous epistles the highest religious themes, full of practical sagacity as to the pressing needs of upright citizenship, yet forced by circumstances, and by convictions which had grown out of the pressure of these circumstances, to defend the ascetic life which threw aside all civic duties and responsibilities. Great families where the husbands, fathers, and sons were pagans, and the wives, mothers, and daughters were Christians, yet where pure and beautiful family affections abounded. All around the canker of slavery, responsible for most of the private immorality which distressed the family circle. All this characterises the close of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries. While the condition of Rome itself is such that it must have been almost impossible to devise means of teaching and training in virtuous living the common population which had been almost purposely debased for centuries. "It was even more pampered in the reign of Honorius than in the time of Juvenal. The emperors of the third century had added wine, pork, and oil to the dole of corn. There can be little doubt that this mass of deserters from the ranks of honest industry, maintained in idleness by the State, was a hot-bed of vice and corruption. All the social sewers drained into its depths. . . . The hours of the day which were not spent in the baths, in taverns, and low haunts of debauchery were given to idle gossip about the favourites in the games and the races. . . . The obscenities of the pantomime, in which tales of abnormal depravity were reproduced to the life, the slaughter and sufferings of the gladiatorial combats, gratified if they could hardly intensify, the instincts of ape and tiger in a populace which for centuries had been systematically corrupted by the State."

There is a break of about forty years between the two separate sets of authorities upon which Mr Dill is forced to rely for a portrayal of the social life of the times. When we pass from the one to the other the pagans have disappeared, and the contrast is no longer between heathen and Christian, but between Catholic and Arian, Roman and Goth; for the Goths are permanently settled in Gaul and Spain, and the Vandals have founded their kingdom of North Africa. The correspondence and exchange of confidential thoughts do not reveal any alarm on the part of the Romans about this Gothic migration within Roman territories. Alaric's sack of Rome produced evidently more consternation in the provinces than in Rome itself. The Barbarians had often invaded the empire, and this migration of northern tribes and their settlement within the boundaries of Rome had been going on for centuries. But when the Gothic dominion has become an established fact in Gaul—then it is felt that things have changed.

The correspondence of Apollinaris Sidonius belongs to this period of change. Sidonius was as I have said a member of the old Roman nobility and a great landowner in Auvergne; he accepted the office of bishop and his whole character seemed to change; he was the soul of the resistance to the conquest of Auvergne by the Goths; after the conquest he managed to secure privileges and help for his unfortunate people; when he died they lamented him as if they had lost a beneficent father.

The earlier letters give pictures of the life of the great Roman landlords of Gaul. They belonged to the senatorial class who were privileged to the extent that they were exempt from the most crushing taxation. The bureaucratic character of the later empire gave these nobles privileges without public responsibilities. The pictures we have of their lives remind one of the life of the better disposed French nobility in the beginning of the eighteenth century. These great Roman landowners are immensely rich. They lived in magnificent country houses, and left the management of their estates to bailiffs. They spent a good deal of time in paying visits to each other; and life in their friends' houses was exactly like life in their own. When Sidonius went to see his friend Ferreolus at Prusianum, he arrived in the morning and found some of the guests at tennis, others at dice, some reading Horace or Varro in the library, and others discussing the theology of Origen. They dined at eleven o'clock—"a short but ample meal," and sat some time over their wine telling lively tales. "The hours of the afternoon were spent on horseback or in the bath. The baths of Ferreolus seem to have been in the builder's hands, and the company extemporised a bath by the side of a rivulet. A trench was cut along the bank and roofed over with hair-cloth stretched on a framework of branches.

Heated stones were flung into the hollow, and a jet of cold water turned on the glowing heap ; and the bathers having enjoyed the vapour for a time, braced themselves by a plunge in the cold stream. The evening closed with a sumptuous banquet." The life is elegant and frivolous ; there is no trace of immoral living, but very little of deep Christian sentiment. Ferreolus had a large collection of religious books intended for the "use of the ladies of the household." All the while earnest men like Martin of Tours were living a rude, ascetic life in order to spend themselves on mission work among the neglected ; and Sidonius has every respect for such a life but evidently no desire to imitate it. There seems to be no mean between the ascetic and the frivolous, and yet we find traces of wealthy land-owners who lived their whole lives for Christ without abandoning the world and its duties. Let me quote Mr Dill. "The character of one of these hidden saints, a certain Vectus, might have been drawn by the author of the *Serious Call*. He was a man of illustrious rank and great fortune, but he had learned the secret of 'using the world as not abusing it.' He has all the spirit of an anchorite under the soldier's cloak, and regards his position as a trust rather than as a property. The spirit of their master had spread among his serfs and clients. They are as obedient and dutiful as he is gentle and considerate. He has all the tastes of the nobles of his time ; he wears the proper dress of his rank ; he has pride in horse and falcon and hound, and the stately serenity of wealth. He maintains a severe but clement dignity. His hours are often spent in reading the Scriptures and in chaunting the Psalms. An only daughter, whom he tends with a mother's tenderness, consoles him in his widowhood." Sidonius evidently regarded this gentleman and others like him as the very flower of Christianity.

When Sidonius was called by the popular voice to be bishop, he showed what was deepest in him. The old elegant and frivolous life was abandoned. He had not the grace to live as his friend Vector, apart from the compulsion of external duty ; but when that compulsion came he did not falter. He resided in the largest town of his diocese. He received all who came to him for advice, for assistance, for redress. He celebrated the service himself and taught the people daily in the church. He personally superintended the cultivation of the lands of the diocese. He acted as mediator between the people and the neighbouring Burgundian conqueror. His wealth and his influence as a great Roman lord were all at the disposal of his people, who were hard pressed between the requirements of the government and the exactions of the invaders. When Euric became the king of the Goths the pressure became greater. Auvergne, notwithstanding the heroic defence made by the bishop, became part of the Gothic dominions. Euric



was a rigid and intolerant Arian. He had driven some of the Catholic bishops away; put others to death it was said; he had harassed the Catholics so greatly that over wide districts the services ceased, the churches became ruinous, and cattle browsed "round the very altars." Sidonius was able to come to some terms with the king. Indeed after the stormy beginnings of his reign Euric found that he could not get on without the Roman nobles. He needed them to assist him in governing his territories, in acting as his secretaries of state; and matters became gradually arranged between the invaders and the Roman population. The letters of Sidonius appear to tell us that the reorganisation of these conquered parts of the empire depended not so entirely on the Church as is commonly said, but on those bishops who, like Sidonius, were also great nobles and landowners, and on the Roman senators who took service with the Gothic conquerors and taught them the old Roman methods of administration. If any reader wishes to know more about Sidonius than is to be found in Mr Dill's book, he will find a careful summary of the letters in Mr Philpott's article in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, iv. 649 ff., and in M. Baret's interesting preface to his edition of the writings of the great Gallican bishop.

Mr Dill's account of the gradual disintegration of the Empire of the West, through its system of taxation and the ruin which it brought on the middle classes is extremely interesting; but space fails to do more than refer to it.

It is a pity that our author did not make a careful study of the conditions of slavery in Italy, and especially in Gaul, within his period. That would have made the picture he gives more complete. Is it too much to hope some such monograph from his hands?

Another subject is also treated in a rather disappointing way—the ascetic tendencies of so many of the nobler ecclesiastical leaders of the time. I scarcely think that Mr Dill distinguishes clearly enough between the purpose in the asceticism of St Martin of Tours, and in what prevailed in the associations of monks in South Gaul. The subject is, however, one of very great difficulty, and no thoroughly competent historian of the asceticism of the first six centuries has yet appeared; when he does we shall expect an answer to the question, Whether or not the favour shown to the ascetics of the early centuries was not a way that the Church had of keeping hold on dissenters?

We can heartily commend Mr Dill's book to all those who wish some information about the state of Christian life and of society at the dawn of modern Europe.

THOMAS M. LINDSAY.

**Paul the Man, the Missionary, and the Teacher.**

*By Orello Cone, D.D., author of "Gospel Criticism and Historical Christianity," "The Gospel and its Earliest Interpretation," &c.*  
*London: Adam & Charles Black, 1898. 8vo, pp. 448. Price, 10s. 6d.*

THOSE who have read Dr Cone's former work on *The Gospel and its Earliest Interpretation* will be prepared for what they find in this the latest production of his pen. It contains in an expanded form results that were there succinctly set forth, but it is also the fruit of a fresh study of the subject, and an endeavour not only to expound the beliefs but also to estimate the personality and character of the man who "suddenly appeared as one born out of due time with incalculable force and resistless enthusiasm upon the field of primitive Christian activities" (pref., p. vii). The lucidity of thought, penetration of judgment and thoroughness of treatment that characterise the book make it very profitable reading. It follows pretty closely the lines of the *Paulinism* of Pfleiderer (to whom the book is dedicated); and the author, as might be expected, while careful to ascertain the meaning of Paul, is perfectly free and candid in his criticism of that meaning when ascertained. There is just a disposition, I think, to overdo the "hard" and "mechanical" character of Paul's doctrine of salvation, and to accentuate its inconsistency with modern conceptions. It seems so difficult for one to be absolutely impartial in the treatment of Paul, to avoid, on the one hand, the extreme of making him think like a Pharisee, and the extreme, on the other hand, of whittling down the peculiarities of his thought so as to bring it into shape with our own ideas. No doubt Dr Cone gives us a sympathetic interpretation of the Pauline theology, but the acknowledgment of his "limitations" is carried so far that Paul seems to lose all significance for us as a religious teacher. It is hard to see what value he has for the Church, if his thought of Christ is a transformation rather than a development of the original teaching of the Master.

Chapter I. is on "Paul the Man" and deals with formative influences on his mind, traits of his natural character, and his conversion. On the last named difficult subject the author gives us no light. He regards Paul's conversion as mainly an intellectual process. He came to believe that Jesus had risen from the dead (the result of a vision which the peculiar organisation of the man led him to regard as an "objective reality"), and was thereby declared to be the Messiah: and from this principle the step was easy, by a process of reasoning from premises of the Jewish theology, to the conclusion that his death was an atonement for the sins of men; and on this

doctrine is founded "that of the new righteousness by faith, the abolition of the law, the overthrow of sin and death, and by a marvellous stroke of religious genius, the mystic union of the believer with Christ" (p. 65). I do not think this will be considered by many to be a satisfactory account of the matter. The doctrines mentioned are surely more reasonably explained as the result of reflection on the experience formed by the new Life on which Paul entered. The life and experience are primary, the doctrine secondary. I doubt the success of any attempt to explain Paul's conversion that does not regard it as in the first place, and chiefly, a crisis in the spiritual life of the man, and not the turning-point in the history of his intellectual convictions merely.

Part II. contains a series of interesting chapters on Paul's *missionary work*. The author has a poor opinion of the historical trustworthiness of the *Acts of the Apostles*. He thinks "that the construction of a 'composite' portrait of the Paul of history and the Paul of fancy" (by which he means the representation of Luke) "serves rather the ends of amusement than of instruction" (p. 170). The contrast between the painstaking and thorough discussion that M'Giffert in his *Apostolic Age* gives us of the narrative of the Acts and the treatment by Cone is certainly to the disadvantage of the latter.

The strength of the author is put forth in Part III., which is devoted to an elucidation of the *teachings* of the apostle. The chapters that follow are prefaced by the remark that we are not to expect system in the doctrines contained in the epistles. It was not his primary purpose to give to Christianity a theological or doctrinal expression. "He was before all and essentially a missionary, and his cardinal doctrines find in his writings no systematic elaboration, but are presented according to the requirements of the occasion, with varying emphasis and with different forms of expression that sometimes reveal the most outstanding paradoxes" (p. 179, note). The *Law, Death, Life and Salvation, Sin, Atonement, the Person of Christ, the Spirit, Ethics, the Sacrament, Eschatology* are successively dealt with in this part. A brief account of his treatment of the Christology and Soteriology of Paul must suffice.

With regard to the *Work* of Christ, the author holds that the root idea of Paul is his apprehension of the Death on the Cross as a *Vicarious Expiation*. "By his death Christ paid the price of the deliverance of men from bondage to the law, whose curse rests upon all that are subject to it, since being unable to fulfil its requirements, they must bear its penalty of destruction" (p. 261). "Paul thought of God's relation to man in accordance with the judicial idea of Judaism to which the law was inexorable" (p. 258). "The fact of fundamental importance for Paul was that

Christ suffered death, the penalty of the law, and thus satisfied its demands once as the Head of Mankind, so that all might be redeemed from its curse" (p. 262). This may be a just interpretation of the apostle's language; but surely the author goes too far when he says there is no evidence that Paul attached any great importance to the moral qualities of the life of Jesus or to His example (p. 255). The value he attached to the "obedience" of Christ as counteracting the "disobedience" of Adam seems to point to a different conclusion. Our author does not dispute the ethical significance of our Lord's death, but he maintains that its ethical value for the life of faith is, on Paul's showing, entirely dependent on the judicial principle. This subordination of the moral value of Christ's death to the legal understanding of it is not in accordance with the results most generally accepted. Paul seems to leave juridical conceptions behind him when he speaks of the power of Christ's death to destroy sin in the believer. His language is mystical rather than legal, and is the vivid expression of facts of his own experience. The juridical cast of the apostle's doctrine of the atonement is, in Cone's view, its condemnation. "This doctrine of the death of Christ as an atonement for the sins of the world is irreconcilable with modern anthropology which does not regard death as the penalty of sin" (p. 279).

The chapter on the Person of Christ contains much that will be found most helpful for the understanding of the Pauline view. But there is not a little here too that is exaggerated. Few will recognise the following as true. "The personality as well as the name of the Son of Man disappears from a teaching which shows no contact with the freshness and spontaneity of the primitive tradition" (p. 282). Again, when he speaks of Paul's conception of Christology "as based not upon historical facts but on speculation" (p. 185), he seems to me to ignore the essential character of the apostle's statements about Christ and their real origin in his experience of the power of Christ in his own personal life. He upholds the view, abandoned by most modern interpreters, that the idea of the Heavenly humanity of Christ is borrowed from Jewish Theology (p. 293). He also rejects the Pauline authorship of the epistles of the imprisonment because they contain a more *developed Christology* than that of the undisputed ones: but no attempt is made to show that the development is inconsistent with the primary conception of Christ in the earlier epistles. There is much, however, in this chapter that will well repay perusal. Nowhere is the author more successful in his treatment of the subject than in his chapter on the Pauline doctrine of *justification*, in which he shows convincingly that, as distinguished from the process of "rendering one righteous from conversion to, or growth in righteous-

ness," justification with Paul is a declarative act, "the recognition on the part of God that the man to whom it is applied stands in the right relation to Him, is acknowledged and declared to be righteous" (p. 350), and this on the ground of faith in Christ. Nor is faith on this view in any sense a righteousness or taken as the ground of justification because in "the future it will develop into a perfect obedience—a doctrine of which there is no hint in Paul's writings." "The attempt," he says, "to find an ethical basis for Paul's doctrine of justification by faith can hardly be recognised as successful." It is simply on the ground of the relation of believers to Christ into which they come by faith that justification is accorded. It is, strictly speaking, the imputation to the believer of a righteousness that is not of works but of faith. The author refuses to see in the connexion of the believer with Christ formed by faith any ethical basis; but surely this too is extreme in the view of his own admission that "faith is a sympathetic union and a fellowship of spirit and life with Christ" (p. 354). It may be added, that the doctrine of justification by faith appears to the author to be of very doubtful worth. "Indeed," he says, "to men who believe in the continuity of character and who cannot accept the teaching that, on condition of faith in the doctrine that another has suffered for his sins and given his soul for him, his life can be arbitrarily severed at the point where that faith emerges, and the consequences of his past acts annulled, the theory of justification by faith must appear as a speculation which is not to be taken seriously" (p. 366). Scarcely any works on Paul's theology are referred to in the volume except those that have proceeded from the school of Pfleiderer, which gives a certain uniformity of thought to the discussion that tends to become wearisome. But the author has a firm grasp of what he writes about, and the work is an important contribution to the subject, though there is no likelihood that it will settle many of the problems with which it deals.

DAVID SOMERVILLE.

### **Christusbilder. Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende.**

*By Ernst von Dobschütz. I. Hälfte, Darstellung und Belege. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1889. Pp. 294 and 336. Price, 20s.*

THE early Christians occupied a peculiar position in the esteem of their heathen neighbours, as they worshipped, without temple or altar, a God of whom they had no simulacrum (Minucius Felix, ed. Migne, iii. 264). Although they professed to adore a deity who had been manifested in the flesh not long before, yet they had not

among them any authorised representation of his personal appearance. This is clearly shown, not only by many passages in the early patristic writings (such as Irenaeus, *contra Haeres.*, i. 25; Augustine, *de Trin.*, viii. 4), but also from the diverse opinions expressed by them as to the personal appearance of our Lord (Origen, *contra Cels.*, vi. 327; Clem. Alex., *Paed.*, iii. 1; *Strom.*, iii. 470; Tertullian, *de Carn. Chr.*, ix., &c.). This is, however, not a matter of surprise. Christ lived as a Jew among Jews, by whom it was esteemed unlawful to make any likeness of anything. Indeed, we know that in His day their zeal against images was intense, for, when Pilate had fixed in the Temple shields bearing the imperial likeness, the Jews besought, with persistent entreaty, the Emperor Tiberius to have them removed (Philo, *De legatione ad Caium*, ed. Turnebus, 1029). It is this former literal observance of the Second Commandment that renders the results of Palestine exploration so comparatively bald from the artistic standpoint.

It was not until Christianity had spread among other peoples, and had become the inheritor of Gentile traditions, that the legends of original pictures of Christ began to be received. Such legends are twofold. The older series relate to portraits professing to be the work of contemporary artists, and pictures of this class are attributed to Nicodemus, Luke, the Sisters of Bethany, the woman healed of the issue of blood, Hannan, the *sharrir* of Edessa, Pilate's wife, and others. The earliest actual pictures of Him of which we have any record were of Gnostic or Carpocratian origin, and they are mentioned by Irenaeus, Epiphanius, Photius, and others; and were apparently well known in the days of Eusebius. The literature of these has been collated by Jablonsky in his Dissertation *De origine imaginum Christi* (Opuscula, 1809, iii. 395). From the Gnostics they seemed to have passed into the hands of other Gentile converts, especially in places where the current doctrinal views were leavened by Greek, and especially by neoplatonic philosophy, and among those who had departed from such a strict observance of the Second Commandment as that enjoined by Tertullian (*de Idololatria*, iii.). The use of pictures, however, did not receive authoritative ecclesiastical sanction in the Church of the West until the days of Cyril; indeed, all pictures in churches were expressly condemned by the 36th Canon of the Council of Elvira (A.D. 303).

Pictures of this class are only incidentally referred to in the book under notice, but they have a large place in the literature of ecclesiastical art, and have been treated of by W. Grimm, Jameson, Karl Pearson, and others. The author of this book is specially concerned with the series of portraits supposed to be of miraculous origin, the *acheiropoietai*, or those which were produced without human instrumentality. Dr von Dobschütz has in this exhaustive

monograph collected from their original sources almost all the available references to these supernatural pictures, and has traced the historical progress of the several legends concerning them. The volume is one of the most interesting works in the series of *Texts and Researches*, which are being published under the editorship of von Gebhardt and Harnack, of which it is the latest issue.

Legends of the divine origin of certain pictures must have grown up at an early period in some places. Dr Dobschütz regards these as the adoption into Christianity from Armenian, Syrian, and Greek heathenism of the myths concerning the images of the gods which were believed to have fallen from heaven. Such images have been called *diipetes* from the days of Euripides (*Iphig. in Taur.*, 977), and, as in the case of the Palladium of Troy or the Ancilia of the Capitol, they were regarded as emblems of divine protection. The image of Artemis of Acts xix. 35 is called one of these *diipetes*.

This thesis is not new. It is alluded to in the learned treatise of Dr Rainolds, of Oxford, on the Idolatry of the Church of Rome (1598), and has recently been revived by Schwarzlose in *Der Bilderstreit*, &c., 1890. Indeed, it seems a very obvious comparison, but it has never before been so carefully elaborated, or sustained by such a large body of evidence skilfully set forth, as it is in this work, of which this idea forms the keynote.

That introductions of pagan ideas into early Christianity were common is familiar to all students of ecclesiastical history. Gutschmidt has pointed out that the legends of St George of Kappadokia are exact reproductions in a Christian atmosphere of the fables of the Persian Mithra. (*Sitzungsb. d. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.*, Leipzig, 1861, xiii. 175), while Clermont Ganneau has claimed for these relationships to the legends of the Egyptian Horus (*Revue Archéol.*, xxxii. 373).

The miraculous picture whose connexion with the legends of the *diipetes* is most clearly traceable, comes from an adjacent locality to that in which the St George legends arose—Kamulia in Kappadokia. The accounts of these are given by Georgios Kedrenos, and other writers of the Eastern Church. The parent picture of this series was, according to the story, found in the garden of a heathen lady named Hypatia, impressed on a napkin of supernatural origin.

This picture and its miraculous copies were regarded as palladia, and their history is mixed up with that of the several invasions of that most oppressed portion of Asia Minor. The chapter on this last known series of pictures is one of the most interesting in this book.

The genius of Christianity has in general modified the character

of these survivals from paganism. In all other instances, except this Kamulia legend, the images are not impressed on material of supernatural origin, but are the direct impressions of the face of the historic Christ on fabrics of earthly origin. The pictures are made without hands, but on cloths of human workmanship. In some cases they still retain their protective power as palladia, but in others they become simply articles of individual devotion.

One of the earliest of the supposed images of Christ of which we have any record is the brazen statue at Paneas, believed by Eusebius to have been erected by the woman whom our Lord had healed of the issue of blood, with whom at a later date the name Bereniké was associated. As to its real origin nothing definite is known, but we have several accounts of its appearance and of its later history. There is considerable probability in favour of the theory of Stark that it was in reality not of Christian origin, but was a votive monument dedicated to some Syriac Asclepiad divinity (see *Über die Epochen der griech. Religionsgeschichte*, 1861). Although this monument was not believed to be of supernatural origin, yet it seems to have been more or less connected with the two best known legends of *acheiropoiētai*, the Abgar, and the Veronica stories. Wilhelm Grimm nearly sixty years ago set forth reasons to show that these two were respectively eastern and western versions of some original, and that original is connected with Paneas (see his paper reprinted in *Kleine Schriften* 1883, iii. 138). In the case of the Abgar legend, Bereniké is connected with Edessa by Makarios Magnesios, and according to the anonymous Syriac author of the third century, to whom we are indebted for the oldest version of the Abgar legend, Addai the protevangelist of Edessa was a native of Paneas (see Phillips's ed. of *Addai*, p. 21).

Here it may be noted that the author of this Syriac tract did not regard the Abgar portrait as miraculous, but says that "Hannan, by virtue of being the king's painter, took and painted a likeness of Jesus with choice paints, and brought it with him to King Abgar," by whom it was put into a costly frame and hung in one of his palaces. Even this is an advance on Eusebius's version of the story of the mission of Abgar, which has no mention of the picture.

From this simpler original the later Greek legend of the miraculous origin of the picture has developed. It first appears in the *Antirrhetikos adversus Epiphanidem* attributed to Nicephorus, which, if written by him, would date from about A.D. 817 (in Pitra's *Spicil. Solesm.*, iv. 332), but even although this may be spurious, as Cardinal Mai was inclined to believe, yet the passage is practically an expansion of parts of the genuine *Antirrhetikos adv. Constantinum Copronymum* (see Migne *in loco*. p. 281 and 428).



The history of this legend occupies one chapter in this book, and is given in fairly complete detail. The literature of this legend is enormous, and it is difficult to say anything fresh about it. A version embellished with much fiction was published in 1847 at Vienna by a Mechitarist Monk Samuelian.

The story of the development of the Veronica legend is still more interesting. Dr von Dobschütz, while admitting the resemblances on which W. Grimm founded his hypothesis, does not believe in the common starting point of the two legends. He regards the likenesses rather as due to assimilation in growth than to original unity. In some of its earliest versions the legend formed one of the cycle of Pilate stories and the miraculous portrait was part of the machinery used to secure the downfall of the Procurator. Whether this be so or no there is no doubt of the later assimilation, although ultimately the two stories have again diverged. In the form in which the story appears in the *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii*, Bereniké of Paneas had painted a likeness of Christ which she brought to Rome to heal the Emperor. The same name, Beronika is used by John Malalas. After many mutations the legend in its western form developed into the modern version in which its miraculous origin is set forth, first given by Peter Malleus in A.D. 1160, and in which all traces of the Pilate connexion are lost. The use of the name Veronica for the picture itself and its supposed derivation from *vera iconia* is of later date, an example of an ignorant "higher criticism," (for which, see Papebroch in *Acta Sanctorum* for May, vol. vii. p. 356). Its germ is, however, much older, for Gervase of Tilbury, though giving his own etymology from the words *vena incurvata*, yet adds as a kind of play on words that it is a "pictura vera." In the 9th ed. of Addis and Arnold's *Catholic Dictionary* (p. 174) the name is applied to the picture, not to the woman. The mutations of this story are also traced with minuteness and accuracy, and the author shows that the modern legend has nothing but its name in common with the older. Indeed, the differences in development of the two legends are in a sense characteristic of the two churches. The Christ of the Greek story is the great Physician, the Counsellor of Kings, while He of the Latin legend is the helpless Man of Sorrows, on His way to the cross, and ministered to by a woman.

In the treatment of this subject the material is arranged in two parts, in the first or text, the legends are treated historically and analytically, and in the second or appendix, which is longer than the text, the several authorities are quoted at length so that the reader is brought into touch with the author's *apparatus criticus*. The whole work keeps up the high standard of the series to which it belongs, and the author displays a remarkably wide acquaintance

with a literature of which it may be said that for the most part it is as uninteresting as it is diffuse. It is to be hoped that in a future volume he may give us the result of his researches in the Pilate cycle of legends, a subject with which he is eminently competent to deal.

ALEX. MACALISTER.

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**Clément d'Alexandrie: Étude sur les rapports du Christianisme et de la Philosophie Grecque au 11<sup>e</sup> Siècle.**

*Par Eugène de Faye. Paris: Ernest Leroux; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. Pp. i-iv. 1-320.*

THIS is the twelfth volume in the Religious Science section of the Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes Études. Since the publication of Dr Hatch's Hibbert Lectures on the influence of Greek ideas and usages upon the Christian Church, and Professor Harnack's Dogmengeschichte, there has been a renewed interest in the study of the relations between Christianity and Greek philosophy. M. de Faye's volume is a contribution to the discussion of this question. Clement is the pioneer in the assimilation of Greek culture by Christian faith, and nowhere can this great movement of Christian thought in its strength and in its weakness be better understood than in his writings.

M. de Faye has more than a historical interest in the Alexandrian theologian. "Clement of Alexandria," he says, "belongs to a time which is not without its analogy to our own. The moral and religious history of the second century recalls in more than one feature that of the last twenty-five years of the nineteenth century." "What makes the century of Clement of Alexandria so interesting is that, like our own, it was an epoch of transition, in which the fruitful germs of the future are fermenting." The reader of this volume is made aware that the author, while handling his subject in a scholarly and objective fashion, has in his own mind a keen appreciation of the bearing of his study upon the pressing theological problems of our own day. He gives us, indeed, a historical study—but it is a historical study "with a purpose," and this purpose is the more effectively accomplished that it is not obtruded.

M. de Faye is at little pains to conceal his sympathy with the Alexandrian theology. The immanence of God in human history, the presence of the Logos in all that is worthy in human thought and action, the divine function of true culture and philosophy; the essential affinity of the human and the divine; the depreciation of

the acceptance of doctrines on ecclesiastical authority in comparison with a self-witnessing knowledge of divine things; emphasis on the divine goodness, the incarnation, and human freedom; the influence of God on the spirit of man through the indwelling Logos rather than through mere outward ceremonies—features like these in Clement's teaching are expounded with a warmth which argues more than the fidelity of a historical expositor.

The volume is divided into an introduction and three parts.

The Introduction. It is pointed out here that the peculiar character of Clement's theology finds its psychological explanation in the method of his conversion to Christianity. He passed through no such moral struggles as St Augustine. Like Justin Martyr, he was drawn to Christianity, not so much by the needs of his moral as of his religious nature. From philosophy—especially the Platonic and the Stoic—he had sought knowledge of God and life in God, and he became a Christian because in Christianity he found a deeper satisfaction for his religious aspiration than he had found in philosophy. The contemplation of God, and the religious life involved in such contemplation was the supreme good for which he thirsted both in his pre-Christian and Christian days.

1. The Literary Question—specially devoted to an investigation of the exact place of the *Miscellanies* in Clement's theological writings. A detailed account is given of Clement's great work (including the *Exhortation* to the Heathen, the *Instructor* or *Educator*, and the *Miscellanies*). In addition to the "*Exhortation*" addressed to the heathen students amongst his hearers in the Catechetical school, and designed to win them over to confess Christ in Baptism, and to the "*Instructor*" addressed to neophytes, and designed to discipline them in the rudiments of Christian life, Clement had intended (so our author says) to write a companion treatise, the "*Teacher*," addressed to more mature Christians, and designed to introduce them, by the aid of philosophy, into a deeper knowledge of Christian truth—such a treatise as Origen has given us in "*De Principiis*." But Clement was here confronted with a practical difficulty. Many of the Alexandrian Christians were suspicious of philosophy, and might have looked askance on an attempt to express Christian truth with the help of the methods and conceptions of philosophy. He therefore set himself to the preliminary task of breaking down these prejudices. This task he accomplished in the *Miscellanies*, in which he seeks to establish the right of a Christian to make use of the treasures of Greek culture and philosophy, and in which at the same time he combats the Gnostic interpretations of Christianity, whose errors had excited suspicion against the study of philosophy. Clement knew how much he himself owed to philosophy; and in the "*Miscellanies*" he enters a plea on behalf of philosophy as a

handmaid to Christianity. The "Miscellanies" is thus an introduction to his projected treatise, the "Teacher."

2. The Historical Question. Here we have an account of the relation of Clement's views to the current Christianity of his day. "Nobis," said Tertullian, "curiositate opus non est post Christum Jesum, nec inquisitione post Evangelium," and Tertullian expressed the attitude of many Christians towards Greek philosophy and "human" culture. To go beyond the simple gospel, to seek for a reasoned understanding of the Christian faith, was to be disloyal to Christianity, and to run the risk of falling into heresy. Clement, on the other hand, believed that only through an understanding of Greek thought could the Church win the Greek world to Christianity, and far from believing that philosophy was the work of "demons," he saw in it a divine gift. The Logos was the inward teacher of Socrates, Plato, Pythagoras, and Heraclitus. As God had given the law to Israel, so he gave philosophy to the Greeks to lead them to Christ. And philosophy has its part to play in the education of the mature Christian—the true Gnostic. There is no difference in kind, as the heretical Gnostics teach, between "simple" Christians and mature Christians. Faith is at the foundation of all Christian life; but Christian gnosis, as the crown of faith, is the goal of the Christian, and for the development of gnosis philosophy is an indispensable aid.

M. de Faye explains Clement's position with sympathy, but is not blind to the oneness and occasional confusion of his teaching.

3. The Dogmatic Question. Here we have an investigation of the measure in which Clement's theology has been affected by Greek philosophy—an investigation which has a direct bearing on the whole problem of the "origins" of Christian theology. Clement's theology has two sources—on the one side Christianity and the Bible, and on the other, Philosophy and Greek literature. Clement, says our author, feels as a Christian, but thinks as a Platonist—"is incapable of conceiving an idea outside the mental categories given him by philosophy." "What in his conceptions is purely rational, intellectual, or metaphysical, comes from philosophy; what is mystical and religious, that is what belongs to the sphere of conscience and feeling is derived directly from Christianity." Our author gives us abundant material for appreciating how imperfectly the two sources of Clement's dogma have been fused. For example, after the fashion of his philosophical masters, he thinks away all attributes from God, till nothing can be predicated of Him; but then forsaking the transcendental idea of God, he conceives of God as the most real of personalities, who cares for each individual and his moral discipline, as a God of love and goodness, whose supreme aim is the salvation of men. In his Christology also, while the

Platonic doctrine of the Logos is interpreted in a Christian sense, Clement leaves many problems to be solved regarding the relations of the Logos to the historical Christ.

In an appendix, a full bibliography is given for the Manuscripts, Editions, Text of Clement, Literary Criticism of Clement's Writings, Clement's Sources, Clement's Teaching.

D. M. Ross.

### **The Historical Development of the Qúran.**

*By the Rev. Edward Sell, B.D., M.R.A.S., Madras. S.P.C.K. Press and London Mission House, Salisbury Square. Pp. vi. 144.*

By this small volume of less than 150 pages Mr Sell again lays students of Islam under obligation. Probably no other living scholar could have treated the same subject with similar fulness of erudition and sureness of result. In Mr Sell's hands the Qúran becomes a new book, and sheds a flood of light on the character of its author, and the movement he initiated and guided. Arranged in chronological order and laid alongside of the contemporaneous events, the successive Súras become intelligible, and also form themselves into a continuous apology for the life of Muhammad. Certainly the tendency of this scientific treatment of the Qúran is to lessen our admiration for the Prophet. It is pitiful to detect him justifying his personal lusts and piques and changes of policy by pretended revelations. Readers of the Qúran or of the life of Muhammad have always understood that in certain personal emergencies he did attempt to defend conduct that was more than doubtful by citing supernatural guidance, but the extent to which he did this is now for the first time shown by Mr Sell. It is a painful exposure, fatal to the Prophet's claim, and yet each step is made good by evidence that is incontrovertible.

The question will naturally arise, how were Muhammad's contemporaries so blind as not to perceive the amount of humbug in which they were called to believe as divine revelation? The answer probably is, that they were so immersed in various superstitions as to have no very keen sense for what was divine, and also that the whole movement was far more political than religious. In this connection Mr Sell exposes the fallacy of Mr T. W. Arnold's clever book; *The Preaching of Islam*, in which he endeavours to make out that its propagation has not been due to the sword but to peaceful methods. In controverting this proposition Mr Sell's historical method serves him well. Mr Arnold found it easy to cull from the Qúran various passages in which Muhammad speaks in kindly terms of Christians and Jews. But a very different complexion is put upon his words

when they are read in chronological order. In earlier Sûras we find such sayings as: "Let there be no compulsion in religion." "Dispute ye not, unless in kindest sort, with the people of the book." But when he had gained power, and could not brook contradiction, his tune changes. "The Jews say, 'Ezra is a Son of God,' and the Christians say, 'The Messiah is a Son of God.' Such the sayings in their mouths. They resemble the saying of the infidels of old. God do battle with them [or 'kill them']." Direct injunctions to make war upon Jews and Christians are found in the later Sûras. "So long as Islam lives," says Mr Sell, "will these words ring in the ears of every orthodox Moslem, 'God do battle with them!' The legacy of the Prophet is no word of peace, but an inspiring war-cry, which as years roll on ever keeps alive a fanatical spirit. It is a sad ending to the life of so great a man." Or as Osborn says: "The intoxication of success had long since stilled the voice of his better self. The aged Prophet standing on the brink of the grave, and leaving as his last legacy a mandate of universal war, irresistibly recalls, by force of contrast, the parting words to his disciples by another religious teacher, that they should go forth and preach a gospel of peace to all nations. No less striking in their contrast is the response to either mandate—the Arab, with the Qûran in one hand and the sword in the other, spreading his creed amid the glare of burning cities and the shrieks of violated homes—and the Apostles of Christ working in the moral darkness of the Roman world with the gentle but irresistible power of light, laying anew the foundations of society, and cleansing at their source the polluted springs of national and domestic life." Perhaps some who have feared the higher criticism will be reconciled to it when they see the beauty of its method and the value of its results as applied to the Qûran by Mr Sell.

MARCUS DODS.

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### **Human Immortality: Two Supposed Objections to the Doctrine. [A Lecture.]**

*By William James. Westminster: Constable & Co., 1898. Pp. 126. Price, 2s. 6d.*

### **The Philosophy of Greece, considered in relation to the Character and History of its People.**

*By Alfred William Benn. London: Grant Richards, 1898. Pp. x. 308. Price, 6s.*

PROFESSOR JAMES' booklet cannot be appreciated without some consideration of the circumstances of its origin. It appears that there

is in connection with Harvard University a foundation called the Ingersoll Lectureship, established six years ago to provide one lecture yearly on the immortality of the soul. A long series of such lectures, it is evident, delivered by persons of distinction will in time form a valuable contribution to the understanding of the subject, or, at any rate, an interesting reflex of contemporary opinion. For this lectureship it was inevitable that Professor James should, sooner or later, be selected. He is easily first among popular philosophical lecturers in America, a country where the taste for this form of instruction, or relaxation, is much more diffused than in Britain. Whatever he says is sure to be interesting and suggestive, informed with that charming literary gift and insight into human character which makes us wonder whether the world of *belles lettres* has not lost as much as the world of philosophy has gained by Professor James' choice of a calling. And, for the purposes of such a lecture, it is often better to have a man of insight who can be interesting, than a thorough-going specialist who is merely learned.

As the title-page of the book informs us, it deals with two objections only. The first relates to the modern scientific doctrine of the dependence of consciousness on the brain. If, argues the scientific atheist, mind is a function of the brain, it follows that, when the brain is dissolved by death, the soul must perish also. The second objection is a much slighter one, a difficulty which the author says has troubled him in his own mental history, and may perhaps be felt by others. It is, that if all souls are immortal, the cultured few in the next world will be overcrowded by the riff-raff of existence.

Now let us see the author's answer to these two objections, taking the second first, as needing the briefer notice. The answer does not amount to much more than the sound reflection that it is not for man with his narrow faculties to set limits to the future world and decide what is worth inclusion there. Let us rather, he says, strive to rise towards the divine height of appreciation. The billions of creatures who have existed, and will exist before life ceases on the earth, are each and all interesting and valuable enough, if only our faculties were wide enough to encompass them.

The second objection and its answer are of more general interest. Professor James adopts the scientific dictum that thought is a function of the brain, but gives it a meaning of his own which is compatible with immortality. There is more than one kind of function, he says: there is productive function, which the scientific atheists have particularly in view; but there is also permissive function, which is the kind which he himself adopts. He thinks it is not an unreasonable hypothesis to suppose that there is a world-

soul which fills the universe, but does not manifest itself because matter hinders and obstructs it. One's soul is a function of his brain in the sense that the brain is a piece of matter so organised that it *permits* a bit of the world-soul to shine through, distorted and refracted by its imperfect medium, so as to form an individual consciousness. Such a supposition, according to Professor James, accords with the curious psychical phenomena which form the factual basis of spiritualism, and with Fechner's doctrine of the "threshold" of consciousness. Immortality then will consist in the re-union of the individual soul to the world-soul, which is its source.

The first remark which occurs to the critic is that the two parts of the lecture are not consistent with each other. The immortality contemplated by the latter part is decidedly personal; in the former it appears to be a sort of impersonal reabsorption into the world-soul. If the reabsorption-immortality is really what Professor James intends us to expect, it is obvious that the difficulty of the over-peopling of heaven can have no existence.

At the close of his first part Professor James admits a doubt whether his reabsorption-immortality will be found acceptable by those who are interested in a life to come. He hopes that in future years succeeding lecturers will do something to remove its difficulties, but does not himself offer anything in this direction. It is to be feared that Professor James' misgivings are only too well founded. Immortality without individuality is but a cheerless prospect, and succeeding lecturers will have a hard task to make it acceptable to the mass of religious people.

There is another matter in which Professor James has misinterpreted or neglected the requirements of the religious consciousness. It is in his initial acceptance of the postulate that 'thought is a function of the brain.' He holds that the postulate is offensive if it means 'brain produces thought'; inoffensive if it means 'brain transmits or releases thought.' But surely the latter sense can be as offensive as the former. The question really is whether the soul is dependent on the brain, or whether the brain is an instrument of the soul. The latter is what the religious consciousness contends for. But if, apart from our conscious initiative, physical changes in the brain can produce anything that we think or will, it does not matter whether the cerebral function be described as productive or transmissive or releasing. In any case, one ceases to be the cause of one's actions. Those who believe in the originaive power of the human soul will find as much to object to in Professor James' view as in that which it is meant to supersede.

These considerations inevitably give rise to the belief that Professor James is perfectly in earnest when he says at the opening  
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of his lecture : 'I have to confess that my own personal feeling about immortality has never been of the keenest order, and that, among the problems that give my mind solicitude, this one does not take the very foremost place.' Yet, one feels, a problem such as this is not likely to be treated adequately by anyone who does not feel keenly about it, and has not long given it the best of his thought. Unless a thinker's insight is sharpened by passion he is not likely to pierce into the heart of this deep matter. It is Professor James' misfortune of temperament, perhaps, rather than his fault, which causes his essay to leave an impression of coldness and superficiality.

Mr A. W. Benn's work on the *Philosophy of Greece* is the outcome of a proposal made by Professor William Knight of St Andrews. In an article published in *Mind* at the beginning of 1896, entitled *Philosophy in its National Developments*, he put forward the view that the development of philosophy through the world's history should be regarded as a continuous whole, but that, in the various countries, the form into which its problems are thrown is differentiated according to national circumstances. Shortly afterwards there was issued the prospectus of a series of volumes under Professor Knight's editorship to rewrite the history of speculation on the lines suggested by his article, Greece being assigned to Mr Benn. The scheme, as a whole, unfortunately collapsed. But Mr Benn completed his part of it, and the result is the present volume. The author, as everyone knows, has already traversed the same field from a somewhat different point of view, the object in his two large volumes on the *Greek Philosophers* being mainly to study their thought in its relation to that of modern days. Much of what he says now is to be found in the larger work ; but there is, of course, a great deal of new matter, and a different turn is given to the whole.

As might be expected from a writer of Mr Benn's talent and experience, the *Philosophy of Greece* is a sound and praiseworthy performance, but it would be wrong to call it entirely successful. What tact, insight and command of style would it not require to summarise so brilliant and momentous a story in less than 300 pages, and yet convey an adequate impression of its scope and meaning ! Perhaps there is no living English writer who could do it. Some have the learning and some have the literary gift, but who has them both ? Mr Benn has the learning but hardly the gift. He is too determined to be dignified and impressive at all costs. There is no lightness and no humour, too much technology and too many abstractions.

The space allotted to the different parts of the subjects must

strike everyone as disproportionate. What would Greek thought be to us without Plato and Aristotle? Surely, like *Hamlet* with the prince left out. And yet the two have less than forty pages between them, while the Pre-Socratics have three times as many. Mr Benn would have been well advised in this slight sketch to have put all his strength into the pair of central figures, and left everything else subordinate.

Nor does the author altogether fulfil the promise of his title-page to consider the philosophy of Greece 'in relation to the character and history of its people.' There are, it is true, many remarks on the character of the Greeks, too abstract in form, but in many cases not infelicitous. But the element of history is somewhat to seek. Surely nothing would influence a philosophy like theirs so much as social history, the institutions of economic and domestic life. On almost every page of the *Ethics* and *Republic* we can see the traces of two such institutions, slavery and the subjection of women. Their recognition was essential to a due performance of the author's task; but unhappily he has passed them over completely in silence.

HENRY STURT.

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### **John Wesley and George Whitefield in Scotland; or The Influence of The Oxford Methodists on Scottish Religion.**

*By the Rev. D. Butler, M.A., Abernethy. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1898. 8vo, pp. vii. 318. Price, 5s.*

### **The Church of the West in the Middle Ages.**

*Vol. 1. From Gregory the Great to St Bernard. Books for Bible Students. By Herbert B. Workman, M.A. London: Charles H. Kelly, 1898. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 316. Price, 2s. 6d.*

### **The Divine Drama.**

*The Manifestation of God in the Universe. By Granville Ross Pike, Chicago. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 8vo, pp. xv. 378. Price, 6s.*

MR BUTLER has already shown his aptitude for historical study in his work on *The Ancient Church and Parish of Abernethy*, and this neat and handy volume on the appearance and influence of the Methodist leaders in Scotland is another useful contribution in the same line of study, and is to be welcomed for its historical interest and value. In tracing the lines of Methodist influence in Scotland,

the author is careful to claim that Scotland in turn also influenced Methodism. The work of Henry Scougal (1650-1678), Professor of Divinity in Aberdeen, entitled *The Life of God in the Soul of Man*, impressed both the Wesleys, and proved epoch-making in the spiritual history of Whitefield. "I never knew," he writes, "what true religion was, till God sent me that excellent treatise." This is similar to the effect on the mind of Dr Chalmers of Wilberforce's *Practical View of Christianity*, and it should be remembered that the influence of Chalmers has been far more profound in the religious life of Scotland than that of Wesley and Whitefield combined. In addition, it is pointed out that Scotland supplied Methodism with some of its ablest preachers and supporters, notably Dr Adam Clarke (1762-1832), who organised Wesleyan Mission stations in the Shetland Islands, when the work of church extension was confined to the centres of population. Mr Butler begins with Whitefield as the pioneer of Methodism in Scotland in 1741. Whitefield was invited by the Rev. Ralph Erskine on behalf of the Seceders or Associate Presbytery, but the simple and large-hearted evangelist declined to come under their exclusive patronage. The effect of his preaching to audiences of all sizes at Edinburgh, Dundee, Aberdeen and Glasgow, and especially the great religious awakening produced at Cambuslang in 1742, and generally the impressions that followed his labours till his fourteenth and last visit in 1768, are clearly put before us. Whitefield's gift of impressing not only large masses of people, but also students at the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, resembles the power wielded by the late Henry Drummond, and, like Drummond, Whitefield charmed men by the purity and disinterestedness of his character. His natural and singular ability as a speaker, and his instantaneous power of moving the hearts and consciences of his hearers, make him the outstanding preacher and evangelist of last century. Mr Butler does not omit the fact that Whitefield in a new and useful manner, by soliciting collections for orphanages and other charitable objects, united philanthropy and preaching, and in this anticipated the social and religious methods of the Salvation Army. It is this feature accompanying his evangelism that justifies Sir James Stephen's eulogy of Whitefield, as "amongst the foremost of the heroes of philanthropy, and as a preacher without a superior or a rival." The author's account of Wesley's early and student life, of his characteristic doctrines of Perfection and Assurance, and of the difficulties he had to face in his frequent visits to Scotland, is likewise clear and full. Wesley entered Scotland later than Whitefield, and began at Musselburgh in 1751. He was struck by the odd and antique look of the Scottish towns, but the features he had most difficulty in meeting were the

theological and ecclesiastical traditions of the country. Whitefield's greater success and popularity are rightly attributed to his sympathy with Scottish Calvinism, and to the fact that he had no desire like Wesley to encumber his preaching with the founding of separate religious societies, and to impose an organisation not called for in view of the regular services and pastoral methods of Presbyterianism. At the same time, up to his twenty-second and last visit to the country in 1790, Wesley was cordially welcomed in most places he went to, from Dumfries to Inverness, and one mark of esteem and affection he greatly prized was the friendship and correspondence entered into by Lady Maxwell of Pollok. In estimating results, Mr Butler candidly allows that Wesley left little behind him in Scotland in the shape of permanent religious organisation. It is possible to trace something to the introduction of Wesleyan Hymns, and we should not deny that Wesley helped to warm and expand the church life and the spiritual atmosphere of Scotland in last century; but we should be inclined to look far beyond Wesley in accounting for the rise of Church Guilds, and for the growth of the Home Mission movement. But, questions apart, Mr Butler's volume is a solid and excellent bit of work, and not the least useful part is the full Appendix, drawn from Wesley's Journals, and showing that the untiring founder of Methodism, whatever else he brought to Scotland, carried with him a pair of acute and observant eyes.

Mr Workman's first volume, on *The Church of the West in the Middle Ages*, introduces us to a wider and more important field of history, and will excellently serve its purpose in the series of *Books for Bible Students*. In surveying the era from Gregory the Great to St Bernard, he divides his work into three parts. The first describes in five chapters the rise of the Papal Supremacy, and in each of these the author grasps his facts firmly, and succeeds in giving us a very full and compact narrative of events. The fourth chapter on Hildebrand and the fifth on Anselm of Canterbury are good examples of vigorous description and vivid portraiture. Part II. is devoted to Scholasticism, and traces in one chapter "The Intellectual awakening of Europe." The effort to understand Scholasticism will call for considerable 'intellectual awakening' on the part of the young student, and still more the subject of 'realism' and 'nominalism,' on which Mr Workman appends a very useful footnote. Part III. relates to Monasticism, the first chapter describing graphically the work of the monks, and the next and closing one of the volume giving us a delightful picture of Bernard of Clairvaux.

An admirable feature of this work is the full list of authorities

given at the opening of each chapter, and well fitted to guide both the young student and the general reader. The Chronological Tables appended and the Index of names and subjects make this volume still more serviceable. Mr Workman tells a pretty story of Anselm leaving the stormy presence of Rufus and retiring to the chapel, where he fell into a gentle slumber as he leaned against a pillar! We promise that no intelligent reader will go to sleep over Mr Workman's pages. In the second last sentence on page 231, 'Anselm,' printed a second time, should obviously be 'Abailard.' We cordially commend this informing and stimulating volume.

Mr Pike's *The Divine Drama* is an attempt to set before us the gradual steps in "The Manifestation of God in the Universe," but we are not quite satisfied as we leave the field of history and enter the region of evolutionary philosophy and religious speculation. The author in the first three chapters traces the progressive manifestation of God "as universal Being," "as universal Spirit," and "as universal Will." To say (p. 30) that "will is character in repose" is surely to mistake its active and essential element. Passing from this gradual unfolding of God as the first step in the "Divine Drama," the author devotes the next five chapters to the manifestation and action of "the Sons of God," and this is followed by seven chapters on "The Family of God," which really contain an exposition of the several clauses of the Lord's Prayer. There are many true and useful remarks in this part of the work, and the writer's views on social questions, *e.g.* the stewardship of property, are serious and practical. The last three chapters of the volume return to the consideration of God, as "filling all in all," as "working all in all," and as "become all in all."

Mr Pike makes much of the theory of the "Divine Immanence," and of the modern idea of Development. Men are but gradual manifestations of the Divine spirit, and individual specialisations of the Divine mind. We confess that we cannot see quite plainly familiar objects in the Pantheistic haze that seems to float over the pages of this book. The author's treatment in particular of Sin and the future life, and the assertion (p. 22)—"The Devil is no more," are not convincing. Here and there (as on pp. 18 and 363), we meet with sentences that baffle us; but we have to acknowledge that the author's spirit all through is catholic and reverent. The volume is furnished with a complete Index. W. M. RANKIN.

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### 1. Spiritual Apprehension.

*By Rev. J. Llewelyn Davies. London: Macmillan & Co., 1898.  
Cr. 8vo, pp. v.-viii. 354. Price, 6s.*

### 2. The Gospel of Joy.

*By Rev. Stopford A. Brooke. London: Isbister & Co., 1898.  
Cr. 8vo, pp. 378. Price, 6s.*

### 3. Aids to Belief.

*By Rev. W. H. Langhorne, M.A. London: Elliot Stock, 1898.  
Cr. 8vo, pp. v.-xiii. 194. Price, 5s.*

1. THE author thus describes the contents of this book: "The sermons and articles contained in this volume form a somewhat miscellaneous collection."

Yet it would be a mistake to suppose that this is merely a gathering of *membra disjecta*, without any unity except that given by the binder.

"Spiritual Apprehension" is much more than a title. It is a felicitous and, generally speaking, a faithful summing up of the teaching of the book, which is "to promote an inward action towards things invisible and visible." An attitude is herein described and described with grace and penetration.

Dr Davies contends for the pre-eminence of the spiritual faculties, faith, hope, and love, as authorities in our nature.

In the last resort, vision and not reason, is our guide in the higher life; "the understanding has to follow and serve the spirit as best it can."

This subject is dealt with under various topics, through 174 pages, the half and the more valuable half of the book.

"The Wisdom of Man and the Power of God," is an eloquent *apologia* for the preaching of the New Testament. Young preachers are greatly concerned to be on good terms with the scientific spirit, and it is amusing, were it not pathetic, to observe how they hover round the tables of its leaders "to pick up the crumbs that fall from their literary repasts." But Dr Davies is a veteran, and he boldly makes it known that our business is not with the reconciliation of science and religion—at least not at present. That is dangerous, and besides it is impossible, for any sciolist can pick holes in the most deftly constructed harmony.

He points out that science sometimes asserts the altogether *non-moral* character of the evolution of which this world is the subject. "It has been increasingly felt that the universe from a scientific

aspect affords no grounds of duty." This is backed up by an apposite reference to the dilemma in which Huxley found himself.

"He had argued triumphantly that man is an automaton moved by the natural forces," but in his later years he declared his conviction that men were bound to fight against nature in order to save morality. To the same effect Frederick Harrison (*Positivist Review*, Aug. 1895) despairs of any rational reconciliation between science and morality. A choice must be made, and when it comes to that, men will choose human love and human energy against human reason. In other words, Religion is non-rational, and Spiritual Apprehension—what the New Testament calls faith, and Tennyson, vision, is the organ of the higher life.

Dr Davies falls back upon the Pauline conception of the preacher. "His method was to proclaim the good news of the crucified and risen Son of God without any regard to the wisdom of men. He paid no deference to that wisdom, made no attempt to conciliate it; his business was to deliver the message from heaven, whatever might be his hearers' opinion about it. . . . Men were made to know and love the Heavenly Father, and the Heavenly Father was adequately manifested in Jesus Christ; through Christ men were invited to come to the Father, who was seeking them, pardoning them, and reconciling them to Himself."

The pertinent question is asked:—"Can we improve upon this method and teaching of St Paul?"

If this be Spiritual Apprehension, and it rings true, there is yet room in many parts of the Church for the Confession, "I count not myself to have apprehended."

The discourse on the Spiritual Affections is even better than the first. One is inclined to say, it is the finest in the book. It was preached to the students of Edinburgh University, and even Henry Drummond, who was a master in this kind of speech, has not touched a greater height.

"Now abideth faith, hope, and love"—these are the spiritual affections. The subject is introduced by a piece of fine exegetical work, to bring out the essential permanence not only of love, but of hope and faith also. St Paul's purpose undoubtedly is to say that faith, hope, love, all three abide. "They have not the changing and transitory character which belongs to other things of which he has been speaking. It is true that he is asserting the supreme glory of love; it is greater, he says, than faith and hope. But these two sister graces share with it the significant distinction—that they abide."

The dangers of intellectualism—the pride of Knowledge, "Know-ingness"—are touched on with rare spiritual tact and tenderness. One feels this is honest preaching to the times.

It is not possible in the limits of a brief review to go *seriatim* over the sermons. We have indicated the lines on which they move, and Dr Davies in his range of subjects gives himself ample room and verge enough.

One turns with interest to the article on "Broad Church Teaching." It was read at the Church Congress at Nottingham in 1897, as a contribution to a symposium on "Progress of Life and Thought in the Church of England during the Victorian Era." It is a remarkable chapter in spiritual affinities.

Naturally, the paper is a warm appreciation of Maurice, with all the ardour and sympathy of a disciple. But it is more. Dr Davies not only claims for him the rôle of being the forerunner of the New Age. Turning to the High Church and its Manifesto in "*Lux Mundi*," he adds that "the lead of Maurice may be traced in every one of the Essays."

As for the Evangelical Party, he dismisses it into the obsolete. "The chief characteristic of the converted was that they had accepted the Atonement, or believed that Jesus Christ had died for them; in other words, that Jesus Christ had borne upon the Cross the punishment due to their sins, and had thus made it possible for God to forgive them." Then he goes on to say, "These doctrines may still be held and professed with their old vigour by some English Christians, perhaps by some clergymen of the Church of England; but I think it will be admitted that throughout English Christendom in general, they are either openly repudiated, or tacitly ignored, or avowed with bated breath."

Is Dr Davies competent to speak for *English Christendom*? This is a large claim, and we should like very much to know the thoroughness of the induction from which he draws such a sweeping and serious generalisation. This is the grave fault of the book.

We can notice only one other instance. It may be a debatable matter as to who are to be included in the Church, and the notes of the Church are proverbially difficult to define. But surely it is extra-judicial to say "the belief in a class of converted Christians separated by a change of nature from the fellow Christians who look so like them, has almost ceased to be a living one." May one not fairly say it is taking too great a liberty with St Paul to make him responsible for the following? "Paul nowhere gives the least hint of making a distinction in his own mind between the truly converted as constituting the body of Christ, and the other merely professing Christians as not belonging to the body."

Dr Davies, we think, confounds things that Paul held in very distinct and emphatic differentiation. On this point Broad Church Teaching represents neither "*English Christendom*" nor the Pauline Spirit. We believe that the critical, dissolving tendency, that led



Huxley to call Jowett a Disintegrator, is the furthest remove from both.

Standpoint is everything, and the appreciation of parts of this book depends on standpoint. Much of it will be welcomed everywhere as a fresh and piquant statement of modern problems of the religious life. There is verve and practical interest—and with these, the sense of things unseen, yet eternal. Of the rest, the helplessness of the Broad Church of to-day, in face of what might have been its vocation to the people of England, is the best refutation.

2. It is an easy transition from Dr Davies to Stopford Brooke. We know what to expect from this writer. He does not give us everything—he does not give us some things that we value as the best gifts of the Gospel of the Divine Christ. But he knows, as few preachers know, how to make “The statutes of the Lord songs in the house of our pilgrimage.” *The Gospel of Joy* is a book of heart culture.

Some books of discourses are sermons, but not literature; others are literature, but not sermons. This is both, but that is only saying it comes from Stopford Brooke. There are three sermons on “The Armour of God” (Rom. xiii. 12; Ephes. vi. 15-17, and vi. 18). The first is a searching exposition of the conditions involved in taking the armour—moral purity, the clean life. “There are those who know they are doing wrong, who will not let loose their sin, yet whose intellect, imagination and easy fervour run to meet a higher view of life and of religion. The downright truth about them is that unless they banish the dark thing, root it out and cast it from them, they may see the light but will not keep it; may touch it and yet turn it into corruption.” This is followed by a glowing description of “the shield of light,” “the sandals of peace,” and “the sword of the spirit.”

There is a fine illustration from “The Faerie Queen” of how Spenser concentrates the Apostle’s symbol in the shield of the Prince, who is the image of the Magnificence, that is the great doing of the Christian warrior. These illustrations, gathered from the fields Stopford Brooke knows so well, are one of the features of a fresh and telling book.

The third sermon in the series is spoken to that long drawn struggle, wherein a soldier’s heart becomes fainting and dispirited —“Praying always with all prayer and supplication in the spirit, and watching thereunto with all patience”—perseverance of fortitude. Patience, prayer, watchfulness, describe “*the temper of the soldier’s mind within his armour.*”

The Christian Race (Heb. xii. 1) is a well-worn pulpit theme, but those who have read the best sermons on the text will welcome

this one for its exegesis, and still more for its comforting, "catching," optimism. There is always a bit of "topmost blue" in life, and there are ever so many outlooks to it in this volume. This sermon is one of them. We put it alongside M. Arnold's "Rugby Chapel."

In "The heart of St Paul" it was, perhaps, natural to dwell on the emotional side of the Apostle's contribution to Christianity, yet one is not quite prepared for the somewhat too summary way in which the great *thinker* of the Christian religion is swamped in the man of feeling. "He is betrayed into using intellectual forms," and hands down "therewith a grievous heritage to the churches"; and again, "He is sick of chopping logic," and "after the long and barren speculation of ix., x. and xi. chapters of Romans, he settles the whole matter by an outburst of emotion." There seems a certain contradiction between this and an earlier statement that the letters of St Paul have exercised a mighty influence on the heart of man and beyond man's heart, on his intellect—for, indeed, some of the mightiest monuments of the work of the human mind start from these momentary letters of St Paul." Is it quite fair and judicial, therefore, or is it only a preacher's passion to be betrayed into the outburst quoted above?

Perhaps this is the place for recording the impression, that here and there in the volume the tone becomes almost strident in dealing with controverted points, and the preacher is somewhat less than fair in certain representations of orthodox theology. May it not just be barely possible that there is a bigotry of breadth as well as of narrowness? These are the only criticisms of disapproval that one feels inclined to make. For the volume is worthy of its title, and worthy of Stopford Brooke, and that is saying much.

It is not every day one meets with sermons such as "What? In Exchange for the Soul"—one of the best in the book; or that other, "Of what use is the battle"—a ringing call to Christian hope.

The volume concludes with a series on "The Kingdom of God"—Its Ideals, Its Aims, and Its Foundation. "For my part," the preacher says, "I have found nothing more excellent than the teaching of Jesus Christ, and I see nothing which even approaches it in excellence."

The last sermon—"The preaching of the Kingdom," is an ideal bit of Homiletic—sane, tender, and serious,—an almost perfect exposition of the temper of a true preacher of the Word. The subject is thus approached. "The men and women who sit below the minister, the minister himself—if we could look within upon the world of their hearts or the labour of their spirit—are for the most part tossed in storms, crying for light and peace . . . stretching forth their hands to God, or vainly longing for a sight of Him.

This is the voiceless cry which goes up Sunday after Sunday from congregated human hearts. What have we to say to it?" We find here what we miss in so many volumes on preaching—the compassion of Christ for shepherdless men, and the burden of souls.

It has been a real pleasure to read this book, and the publishers have set it forth worthily, in beautifully clear type, and in a form which it is a delight to handle.

In the third volume on our list we turn from the Preachers to the Apologists.

3. This book, as its sub-title indicates, is a series of studies on "The Divine Origin of Christianity." It does not appeal to experts, but that is not its intention. The author has in his mind the intelligent layman who, with a reverent belief in Religion, is yet seriously perplexed in giving a reason for the faith that is in him. The criticism of the New Testament has come from the study to the man in the street. At least the wind-blown echoes of it have. There is, with every disposition to believe, an uncertainty in the average man if the foundations of belief are as strong as once they were. "The Aids to Belief" is an attempt to reassure the ordinary man.

The book opens with an account of the process by which the gospels received their present form. This is given in non-technical language, with sufficient information, and is generally careful and up to date. The first chapter is the most successful in the book. But the author should not include Peter's *Epistles* among those "concerning which there is no reasonable doubt" (p. 17). Further on, indeed, he shows that he is alive to the divided state of the evidence for the second Epistle.

The next section, "On the Trustworthiness of the Gospels," is an examination of passages taken indiscriminately from the four gospels, "showing that the narratives bear clear marks of having been the testimony of eyewitnesses." This runs to nineteen pages.

One feels that Mr Langhorne has overdone this kind of thing. We are inclined to say that many of his comparisons are over refined, and too subjective to carry weight.

*Ex uno disce omnes*—"St Mark's account (vi. 21) of the supper 'that Herod on his birthday made to his lords, high captains and chief estates of Galilee,' is extremely graphic and circumstantial. This information was probably supplied by Joanna, the wife of Herod's steward, as she would be present helping." This is decidedly fresh, and there are others equally good; but serious criticism does not "suspend a hundredweight by a thread."

Had Mr Langhorne taken fewer examples, and made a better

use of them, in bringing to a point *criteria* of trustworthiness, one would be more grateful. But there is too much drawing of a knotless thread. The naïve remark that introduces these illustrations must be quoted. "Whether this has been done before is unknown to the present writer, who has thought that such a survey might be helpful to some at the present time."

The third chapter has the title—"The Spurious Gospels and some Remarks on Miracles."

These gospels are quoted to show "that they possess neither seriousness nor gravity," and from the quotations this is very evident. The "Remarks on the Miracles" are acute and sensible, but the criticism of Hume is so tangled and involved with irrelevances that to follow it craves wary and painful walking. The imaginary journey of the philosopher to see the wonders of the new age of steam and electricity, and under their influence to confess that there are more things in heaven and earth than he had dreamed of in his philosophy, is a spirited bit of writing!

In the remarks on Divine Inspiration there are no unsettling tendencies. Mr Langhorne professes a safe nescience. "It is like life—beyond the wit of man to define."

A general estimate of the book will have been formed. There is competent knowledge, reverence, and love of truth. But the discursive faculty is fatal. Like an amateur sportsman, Mr Langhorne has a hit at every idea as it rises. There is too much scattering.

This might have been a good book, but it wants making again and making differently.

W. M. GRANT.

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### **Histoire du Peuple d'Israel.**

Par C. Piepenbring (de Strasbourg). Strasbourg: Librairie, J. Noiriel; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. iv. 730. Price, F.8.

M. PIEPENBRING is already well-known by his admirable *Théologie de l'ancien Testament*, and, to those who read that valuable periodical, by his frequent contributions to the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*. The *Théologie* is a brief but exceedingly lucid and just presentation of the Theology of the Old Testament, and in our present lack of good hand-books in English on this subject, might with advantage be more widely used by theological students than it is. An English translation appeared a year or two since in America.

With his present work M. Piepenbring enters a more crowded field; recent histories of Israel are numerous, and though English

scholars have given us none that are complete, thanks to translations from the German and the works of some American scholars, the English reader has a tolerable choice of books on this subject. With the French reader it is different, and M. Piepenbring is quite justified in claiming that his work "ne diffère pas seulement de tous les ouvrages analogues de langue française, mais qu'elle réalise aussi sur eux de notables progrès" (Preface, p. 1).

The method and standpoint of the history may be seen from a brief analysis. In an introductory chapter (pp. 1-18) the author describes the land of Palestine and the neighbours of the Israelites, and indicates his general position with regard to literary criticism and its historical significance. Throughout the work M. Piepenbring works on the basis of such critics as Wellhausen, Stade, and others of the same general standpoint, and does not devote any great space to indicating afresh the reasons for his use of his sources.

The History proper is divided into nine periods. The first of these is entitled, "The ancient Hebrews and the work of Moses" (pp. 19-60), and consists of two chapters. The first discusses the primitive religion of the Hebrews, *i.e.* the religion of the Hebrews before the time of Moses; of this we have no direct information, but it may be re-constructed in the light of subsequent survivals and the beliefs and customs of cognate peoples. M. Piepenbring here depends especially on the work of Wellhausen, Robertson Smith, Stade and Schwally. In the second chapter the significance of Moses and of the establishment of the worship of Yahwè is indicated. The second period is "the conquest of Canaan and the epoch of the judges" (pp. 61-124); the third "the ancient kingdom of Israel" (pp. 125-179); the fourth "the two kingdoms from the Disruption to the accession of Jehu" (pp. 180-270). Under this fourth period we find the first of several chapters on the literature of the Hebrews; within this period M. Piepenbring discusses (chap. xiii.) the beginnings of the literature, the Yahwist, and the primitive decalogue. The fifth period consists of "the two kingdoms down to the fall of Samaria" (pp. 271-333), and under this the literature discussed (chap. xvi.) is the Elohist Ex. xx. 22—xxiii. 33, and the classical form of the decalogue, and some ancient oracles—the blessing of Moses, the oracles of Balaam, Isaiah xv. f., the Song of Deliverance (Ex. xv. 1-17). A separate chapter (xvii.) is devoted to the prophetic writers of the eighth century. The sixth period is entitled "the sole kingdom of Judah" (pp. 334-371); the seventh "the exile" (pp. 438-510). Under the latter, in addition to a chapter on Ezekiel (xxiii.), we find another (xxiv.) dealing with various literary productions of this period—*viz.*, the Song of Moses (Deut. xxxii. 1-42); the Lamentations, which are 'not impossibly' the work of three different authors who lived in

this period ; the first sacred collection of Jewish literature (pp. 473-480); the law of Holiness ; the Deutero-Isaiah, whose work cannot be detected with certainty, except in Isaiah xl.-xlviii. ; and some anonymous oracles (Isaiah xiii. 2—xiv. 23; xxi. 1-10 ; Obadiah). The eighth period is the Restoration (pp. 511-582). M. Piepenbring is convinced by Van Hoonacker and Meyer, as against Kosters, that the Aramaic documents contained in Ezra iv.-vii. are credible and that Cyrus actually gave the Jews permission to return to their country, and that a large number of them availed themselves of this permission (pp. 512 f.); but he considers the chronicler mistaken in making the Jews begin the rebuilding of the Temple immediately after the Return in 537 ; as a matter of fact, the rebuilding of the Temple was only begun in 520 (pp. 522 ff.). On the question of what the Law was which Ezra read to the people, M. Piepenbring is of opinion that it was, most probably, not the whole Pentateuch, but the Priestly Code, less some later additions, and probably "all the fragments of the Book of Joshua related to this Code" (p. 559). The ninth and last period of the history deals with the time from Nehemiah to Antiochus Epiphanes (pp. 583-719); for M. Piepenbring's work ends, oddly enough, just at the threshold of the Maccabæan War of Independence. An account of the literature is answerable for by far the larger amount of the space (118 out of 136 pages) devoted to this last period ; we find a succession of chapters devoted to these topics—Jewish Universalism (Ruth, Jonah), Jewish Prophecy (Joel), Jewish Histrigraphy (Chronicles), Jewish Wisdom (Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, Job, Ecclesiastes), the sacred and profane songs of the Jews (Psalms, Song of Songs), Jewish apocalypse (Daniel). A concluding chapter (xl. pp. 720-726) contains some reflections on criticism and faith.

It will be clear from the foregoing summary that a great feature of the work is the full account given of the literature. As has been said before, M. Piepenbring does not discuss critical questions at great length, generally contenting himself with a brief indication of the reasons for his judgments, and with references to previous writers. The space devoted to the literature is mainly taken up with full accounts of the substance of the several books discussed.

The religion and the social morality of the people at different periods are also fully dealt with. It is on the more distinctly political side that M. Piepenbring's history is weakest. To take a single illustration. The chapter already referred to, which gives an account of what we might call the religion of the pre-historic Hebrews, is valuable ; but would not a more due sense of proportion have given us also, what we miss, a much fuller account of the country and people in which the Hebrews settled ? The comparatively slight use made of the Tel-el-amarna tablets is very noticeable and significant.

In a word, the author is much more at home with and makes much better use of the literary than of the archaeological sources for the history.

A word or two may be said on a few details not referred to in the foregoing summary. The first chapter of Nahum is considered unauthentic (p. 365). In his account of Deuteronomy M. Piepenbring adopts the theory of Steuernagel that that book may be analysed into distinct sources according as the several parts use the second person singular or plural.

M. Piepenbring argues against Renan and Vernes for the polytheism of the early Hebrews—and on strong grounds, so far as he bases his argument on the survivals of ancestor worship, the cult of stones and trees, and so forth. But the argument from the use of the name Baal in proper names is exceedingly precarious. I have referred to this subject in a recent number of this Review (vol. viii. p. 283), and therefore will not rediscuss it on the present occasion.

Why should we be troubled with the manifestly corrupt name Ramathaim-Tsophim (p. 95)? There can be little doubt that, according to the original text, 1 Sam. i., ran "a certain man of Ramathaim, a Zuphite of the hill-country of Ephraim"—see Wellhausen, *Klosterman* or *Driver* on the passage.

In conclusion, it only remains to say that though this history is marked by no very novel features and does not make—it does not claim to—any noticeable contributions to the advance of the subject, it is, within the limits already indicated, a clear and full account of the history, and especially the religious and literary history, of the Hebrews. As such it may be warmly recommended to those in search of such a hand-book.

G. BUCHANAN GRAY.

## 1. An Outline of the History of the Literature of the Old Testament.

*By E. Kautzsch, Professor of Theology at the University of Halle. Translated by John Taylor, D.Lit., M.A. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. xii. 251. Price, 6s. 6d.*

## 2. History of the People of Israel.

*By Carl Heinrich Cornill, Ph.D., S.T.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Königsberg. Translated by W. H. Carruth, Professor of German in the University of Kansas. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company; London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1898. 8vo, pp. 325. Price, 7s. 6d.*

BOTH these works are written from the critical standpoint, and aim at popularising the results of the scientific study of the Old Testa-

ment. They are both written with great fulness of knowledge, in a very lucid manner, and in a spirit worthy of their subject. It is frequently no easy matter to turn the German of theological professors into good English, but Messrs Taylor and Carruth have succeeded admirably. Now and again the latter uses expressions and phrases that are hardly English; but these occasional blemishes detract but little from the value of his excellent translation.

1. Professor Kautzsch's *Outline* differs entirely, so far as regards method, from the usual works on Introduction. Instead of discussing the Books of the Old Testament in the order in which they are found in the Hebrew Bible, it treats of the various fragments and larger sources in what is supposed to be their historical origin and succession. The history of the literature of the Old Testament is divided into six periods. The first of these is the "Pre-monarchic Period," to which belong such "relics of ancient popular poetry" as the Book of the Wars of Jahveh, the Song of Lamech, the Song of Deborah, &c.; but "while nothing can be said against the idea of Moses having written some documents, we must not hope to be able to designate any we possess as certainly Mosaic in their phraseology." This, however, does not preclude the existence of many historical reminiscences in the traditions that deal with Moses and his work. The second period is that of the undivided Monarchy, during which we have David's Elegies on Saul and Abner, possibly also some genuinely Davidic Psalms, or at least fragments of such; Nathan's Parable in 2 Sam. xii. 1-4, and Solomon's speech at the dedication of the Temple, 1 Kings viii. 12 f. The conditions for the rise of a real literature must have existed in abundance under David, to say nothing of Solomon; and we possess a number of monuments, such as the "Blessing of Jacob" (Gen. xlix. 1-27), and the original form of the Balaam-Discourses (Num. xxiii. 7—xxiv. 19), against the placing of which, at least as early as Solomon's time, no valid objection can be brought. The sections dealing with the other four periods give a clear and interesting account of the various historical and legal sources, as well as of the prophetic and poetical Books, and the monuments of the Wisdom literature.

Professor Kautzsch's interest is not confined to purely critical questions. He ever bears in mind that the literature, of which he is writing the history, is distinctively religious; and he frequently characterises a writer or discusses the contents and problem of a book in a manner that makes us wish that he had written his *Outline* on a much larger scale. His reasoning is certainly not always convincing; those who desire to study Old Testament criticism must still have recourse to books that follow a different method; but as an introduction to such study and as a brief summing up of the generally admitted results of patient investigation, his treatise



leaves hardly anything to be desired. Its value is greatly enhanced by several appendices:—I. Chronological tables for the history of the Israelites from Moses to the end of the second century B.C.; II. Measures and weights, money, computation of time in the Old Testament; III. List of Old Testament proper names, accompanied with an exact transliteration of their Hebrew forms; IV. Survey of the composition from different documents of several Books of the Old Testament. There is also a very full Index.

2. Professor Cornill's work, which is written for "lay readers," sketches the history of Israel from the earliest times to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. In his introductory chapter he seeks first of all to interest his readers in his subject—"Israel gave the world the true God and the true religion." Strictly speaking, the history of Israel begins with the Exodus from Egypt, and for centuries after that event our only sources of information are traditions committed to writing at a somewhat late date. Moreover, "the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament do not claim to be history, but books of devotion." Nevertheless, the traditions of Israel regarding its early history, though poetic legends have woven about them a misty magic veil which charms the eye and captivates the heart, are thoroughly historical in all essential points, and can sustain the keenest and most searching criticism. Abraham is an historical personage, and between 1550 and 1500 B.C. led a colony of Semites from Mesopotamia to Canaan; but Ishmael and Edom, Israel and Joseph, &c., are only personifications of the races or tribes whose names they bear. In course of time the "sons of Jacob" went to Egypt, where from free nomads they became Egyptian serfs. A liberator was raised up in the person of Moses, one of themselves. In the course of their flight to the desert of Arabia, they were overtaken by a troop of Egyptian scouts; but a mighty north-east wind laid dry the shallow strait of Suez that barred their progress, and they went through on the bottom of the sea into freedom. The pursuing Egyptians were surprised by the returning waters, and Israel was saved. "This overwhelming moment created the people of Israel." This bald summary does great injustice to Professor Cornill; for the spirit in which he writes is not the spirit of denial, and he is even eager to find history in traditions which others might be disposed to set aside as mere poetic legends.

In chapters i. to v. he narrates the history of Israel down to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans; in chapters vi. to x. down to the war in Judea, and the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. The whole story is told very vividly. Constant reference is made to the history of the various nations

with whom Israel was from time to time brought into contact, and the author evidently delights in pronouncing generous judgments upon the heroes of the Hebrew race. He has written a History of Israel which, though much too external to be altogether satisfactory, may be read with profit by others besides "lay readers."

DAVID EATON.

### A Manual of Psychology.

By G. F. Stout. (*The University Tutorial Series.*) London: W. B. Clive, 1898. Vol. I. Pp. xii. 240. Price, 4s. 6d.

THE publisher of that useful collection, *The University Tutorial Series*, may be congratulated on the arrangements he has made for his section of "Mental and Moral Science." In the other sections of the series most of the writers' names are better known in the world of education than in the world of letters. But Mr Welton, the author of the *Manual of Logic*, and Professor J. S. Mackenzie, the author of the *Manual of Ethics*, are writers of high philosophical reputation; and now the *Manual of Psychology*, which completes the set, is from the pen of perhaps the most distinguished of English psychologists, Mr G. F. Stout of Aberdeen, who has just been appointed to the newly established Wilde Readership of Psychology at Oxford.

It will be within the recollection of those interested in the subject that in Mr Stout's remarkable work on Analytic Psychology, published three years ago, the author said that he reserved the problems of Genetic Psychology for further consideration. The "Analytic Psychology" was concerned with the analysis of the human mind in its developed form, as it stands revealed, primarily, to introspection. Such an analysis, the author held, was necessary to pave the approach to those questions of genesis which formed for him the most attractive side of the subject. Now, the interest of the Manual before us, which at first sight would seem to concern mainly those examination students and teachers for whose wants it is primarily intended, lies in the fact that it treats Psychology from the genetic point of view. It will doubtless, when completed, contain in outline those views of the ideal construction of self and the world which will be developed at length at some future time.

Unfortunately for the critic, only the first volume of the Manual is at present before us; and of this volume half is devoted to Sensation, a subject in which the author relies largely on the conclusions formulated by his predecessors. Subjects like perception, attention and volition, which are likely to be more characteristically treated, are held over for the second volume.

The chapter in the present volume which will interest those engaged rather in the study of psychology than in the teaching of it is that entitled "Body and Mind." In it the author takes up the problem of the relation of nervous process to conscious process. The conclusion he adopts is in strong opposition to the tendency so common among contemporary psychologists to regard nervous process as the dominating factor. There are, he says, three possible hypotheses, that mind is a function of matter, that mind and matter interact, and, finally, the doctrine of psycho-physical parallelism which he himself adopts. The first hypothesis, which is that of materialism, Mr Stout decisively rejects. "Whatever plausibility it possesses arises from the use, or rather from the misuse, of the word *function*. . . . When we say that breathing is a function of the lungs, we mean that breathing is the lungs at work. . . . But the process of consciousness cannot be analysed or resolved into such processes as chemical and physical changes in nerve cells."

The hypothesis of interaction is that, of course, which ordinary people adopt in ordinary life. The family doctor is wont to lay it down that the mind acts upon the body nearly as much as the body acts upon the mind. It is a hypothesis, however, which Mr Stout on the whole rejects. The main objection to it, he says, "is that the kind of interaction pre-supposed is utterly incongruous with the conception of causation on which the whole system of our knowledge both of physical and psychical processes is based." In fact, we cannot understand how causation jumps over the absolute gulf which seems to lie between the physical and psychical worlds. Here the critic must question parenthetically the soundness of the argument. If the gulf between the two worlds is absolute, of course causation cannot jump it. But how do you know that it is absolute? Have we not here a touch of metaphysical dogmatism?

Mr Stout's own solution is that of psycho-physical parallelism, i.e. the two streams of causation, physical and psychical, are regarded as flowing side by side, each without effect upon the other. The question then arises: How is it that in experience they are correlated so exactly? For this question the author offers the following answer: Just as the material brain forms an integral piece of the great material world, so also may the individual consciousness be thought to form part of a great immaterial system. Now, the material or phenomenal world as a whole can claim no substantive existence. It must be *phenomenon* to something, and that something can only be the world-mind or great immaterial system. Here we have the explanation of psycho-physical parallelism. The individual mind does not act directly upon matter. It acts upon the world-mind and this

acts upon individual matter. Hence the parallelism in our experience.

This is an interesting theory, and though it does not seem to have a decisive advantage over the interaction theory, we look forward to seeing it developed in a larger work. In any case, it will give a useful exercise in high philosophic thinking to the London University students who will use this Manual.

HENRY STURT.

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### The Kenotic Theory

*Considered with Particular Reference to its Anglican Forms and Arguments, by the Rev. Francis J. Hall, D.D., Instructor of Dogmatic Theology in the Western Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois. New York, London, and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xviii. 247. Price, 5s.*

THE importance of this book must not be judged from its size. Many a larger treatise lacks the note of distinction so evident here. Really this book is a patient, scholarlike, and judicial examination of the most pressing problem of present day Christology. Dr Hall, already favourably known by his three volumes of *Theological Outlines*, will add to his reputation by his *Kenotic Theory*. The book is a fine study in dogmatic method.

It was inevitable that the Problem of Kenosis should come to the front. The problem was in the direct line of doctrinal evolution. During the first four centuries of our era, that is to say, the questions pertaining to the two natures of our Lord, divine and human, were confronted by the great thinkers of Christendom, and were settled as well as discussed. From the fourth century to the seventh, broadly speaking, the problem of the unipersonality of the two natures was confronted, discussed and settled. Next, in logical as well as chronological order, the doctrine of the mode of union of the two natures, just touched by Peter Lombard, was started and carried forward by the Reformation controversies concerning the Lord's Supper. The same question concerning the mode of union of the two natures has recently been again discussed with much industry, insight, and, alas, diversity; nor can the relative problem be in any sense said to be settled. And all this has been in due logical sequence. Is our Lord Jesus Christ at once perfect God and true man? This is the first crucial point for Christology. Again, if Jesus is at once divine and human, is He both a divine person and a human person, or has He these two natures in one personality? This is the next crucial question for Christology. Yet again, if in the Lord Jesus there are at once a divine nature

and a human nature in one person, is it possible to probe further into the mode of union of the two natures? This is the next inevitable question for Christology. And just here comes in the Problem of Kenosis.

Until quite recently, however, the Kenotic problem scarcely touched our English life. It was, I think, Dr A. B. Bruce's justly admired Cunningham Lecture of 1875, *The Humiliation of Christ*, which introduced into our current British theology the Kenotic theories of Germany. Then these theories seemed exotic, the flowers of a foreign clime of thought. The special forms of the Kenotic theory, so admirably arranged by Dr Bruce under four types—of Thomasius, and of Gess, and of Ebrard, and of Martensen—were all associated with great Lutheran questions, and with the Lutheran development of Christology. Therefore, clearly as these several classes of Kenotic views were handled, they were rather of academic than of general importance. Useful and interesting as they might appear in the class-room, they did not seem likely to cause much mental trouble in practical pastoral life.

Now all is different. The problem of Kenosis agitates the English-speaking and the French-speaking lands, as well as Germany. Leaders like De Pressensé and Bonifas, Frédéric Godet and Gretillat, have adopted a Kenotic theory: so have Bushnell and Ward Beecher and Howard Crosby; so have Principal A. M. Fairbairn and Principal Edwards. The latest work of Principal Simon, *Reconciliation by Incarnation*, advocates a Kenotic theory. Thus the controversy has passed from the Schools to the Churches, and has become burning. Largely, too, because of the attempt of the *Lux Mundi* School to acclimatise in the Episcopal Church of England the extremer opinions of Old Testament critics, the Problem of Kenosis has more especially become a burning question in the Anglican Communion. Were such critical opinions compatible with the authority of our blessed Lord? The question was bound to be asked. When, therefore, Canon Gore was compelled, in defence of his positions, to say, "He, the very God, habitually spoke, in His incarnate life on earth, under the limitations of a properly human consciousness"; and when Professor Kirkpatrick wrote, with regard to New Testament references to the Law of Moses, and the Book of the Prophet Isaiah, "it is not, I believe, contrary to the catholic doctrine of our Lord's person to suppose that in such matters His knowledge was the knowledge of His time," and when Dr Plummer argued "it is at least conceivable that Jesus so emptied Himself of the attributes of His divinity, as to be dependent for knowledge upon His earthly experience and the information He received from others"—when such utterances were made by such men, the Problem of Kenosis could not but

become a burning question in Episcopalian circles. For Bishop Ellicott to ask, in his *Christus Comprobator*, "Was the limitation of our Lord's humanity, and the degree of what is technically called His Kenosis, of such a nature that His knowledge in regard to the authorship and composition of the Books of the Old Testament was no greater than that of the masters of Israel of His own time?" was but to voice what had become an inevitable question. The large works, so recently published, of Gore (*Dissertation on Subjects Connected with the Incarnation*), of Ottley (*The Doctrine of the Incarnation*), and of Powell (*The Principle of the Incarnation, with Especial Reference to the Relation between Our Lord's Divine Omniscience and His Human Consciousness*), and smaller works like Mason's *Conditions of Our Lord's Life on Earth*, and Gifford's *Incarnation, a Study of Philippians ii. 5-11*, so justly applauded for its exegetical tact and ability, testify to the agitation amongst Anglicans. Usefully, then, while all forms of Kenoticism are considered by Dr Hall, it is to this Episcopalian phase of Kenosis that he pays special attention.

There are many Kenotic theories, some irreconcilable with the great Christological creeds, and some, it is thought, tenable together with these catholic statements. Dr Hall, therefore, defines his subject as follows:—"The Kenotic theory may be briefly described as maintaining that the Divine Logos, in order to take our nature upon Him and submit in reality to its earthly conditions and limitations, abandoned somewhat at least of what was His before He became incarnate: in particular, it is alleged most commonly, that He abandoned what Kenoticists call His relative or His metaphysical attributes of omnipotence, omnipresence and omniscience, so as to be dependent upon the aid of the Spirit, wholly circumscribed by space, and deprived of knowledge." More briefly, "the modern Kenotic theory in all its forms is to be distinguished by the idea that when the Divine Logos took our nature, He abandoned something which He possessed before the incarnation."

Such being his definition of Kenosis, Dr Hall states the aim of his book to be to convict this theory of being modern, inconsistent with truth, inharmonious with the Bible and catholic consent, illogical, and dangerous. "In this book an effort is made to show that the theory in question is (a) a modern novelty; (b) contrary to the faith of the Church; (c) rejected deliberately by catholic doctors; (d) not warranted by the fact contained in the Gospels, or the statements of Holy Scripture; (e) fallacious in its reasoning; and (f) perilous in its logical results."

In striving after these results, Dr Hall pursues the following method. By way of introduction an account is given of the origin and development of the Kenotic theory; next an attempt is made

to exhibit the catholic doctrine of the Incarnation and its bearing on the truth of our Lord's self-sacrifice ; next the Kenotic theory itself is considered, the arguments by which it is supported being examined in detail ; next the contention is carefully weighed that our Lord was bereft of Divine omniscience during His earthly life ; and finally, some of the more serious issues at stake are sharply formulated.

In the chapter on Historical Introduction, three aspects are presented. The general patristic opinion is shown to be adverse to Kenoticism. Then follows a clear statement of the modern and Lutheran origin of the theory. Following upon this general historical survey, the appearance of Kenoticism in Anglican literature is illustrated.

In the chapter on the Incarnation, the main features of the doctrine emphasised are, that the purpose of the Incarnation was twofold—to reveal and to redeem ; and that both purposes require the concurrence of Divine power and knowledge with human limitations in the Person of the Incarnate. The point is striking and is strikingly put. A valuable statement follows of the catholic doctrines, both of the hypostatic union of the two natures in Jesus, and of the *communicatio idiomatum*, or predication of all the properties and operations of our Lord's two natures to His undivided Person ; and consequent upon this doctrinal statement the corollary is insisted on that our Lord possessed, during His humiliation, two wills and two operations, two powers and two orders of knowledge.

In the next chapter, on the Humiliation of Christ, perhaps the most striking, as well as the freshest consideration of the whole question, is given. The Incarnation involved, it is said, a condescension and humiliation of the Divine Word, and this humiliation is described in the New Testament under the figures of self-sacrifice, of impoverishment, and of Kenosis. Now the idea of self-sacrifice, it is argued, a sacrifice which is to avail for all men, places, and times, demands that when Jesus offered Himself upon the cross, He should not be bereft of those Divine attributes which signify the world-wide power of His Person and its capacity for efficacious contact with all conditions and all times. Upon the second figure of impoverishment little is said. But upon the figure of Kenosis, and upon the crucial passage in Philippians, whence the term has sprung, there is much of supreme interest. The interpretation of the passage for which Dr Hall contends, is paraphrased thus : " subsisting all along in the essence of God, He did not think that His state of equality with God was a thing which needed to be grasped anxiously, but emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, &c." But Dr Hall makes an important point here. The context, he says, suggests a metaphorical

interpretation of the *ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσε*. Paul could hardly have introduced, it is argued, an assertion that Christ emptied Himself of His being on an equality with God with language which implied that Christ regarded His being on an equality with God as inalienable. Moreover, the lesson which the example of Christ is here given to confirm is, not one of abandonment of anything at all, but an example of freedom from absorption in one's own things, and of thoughtfulness for the things of others. Besides, the clauses which follow—"taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men"—are exegetical, and limit the meaning of *ἐκένωσε*, according to Greek idiom. St Paul, therefore, cannot have meant more by the phrase, "emptied Himself," than is signified by the phrase, "taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men." *St Paul was not asserting a literal self-emptying on our Lord's part, but a metaphorical Kenosis.* To substantiate the point, Dr Hall shows that the Pauline usage of *κενόω* is always metaphorical. The whole exegetical discussion is as able in its way as that remarkable piece of exegetical work given in Dr Gifford's study of the same passage in his *Incarnation*.

The chapter entitled Appeal to Catholic Antiquity is an examination of Canon Gore's statements relative thereto. Nor does the best of the argument lie with the Canon. Otley's statement of the moral necessity for Kenosis comes next under review, and subsequently, in successive chapters, the arguments for Kenosis drawn from the moral development of Jesus, from the distinction between the essential and the relative attributes of God, and from the limitations of knowledge ascribed in the New Testament to Jesus. Finally, a formidable catalogue of the serious issues involved in any Kenotic theory is drawn up.

From such a survey the completeness of Dr Hall's method may be inferred, although no sufficient insight in so brief a review can be given into his constant alertness, his scholarlike preparedness, and his entire freedom from the remarks that may wound.

The attractiveness of some theory of Kenosis most thinkers feel. Alas, there are formidable difficulties in the way both of a belief and of a disbelief in any Kenotic theory. For instance, is a denudation of Divine attributes, such as any form of the Kenotic theory demands, even a Self-denudation on the part of the Eternal Logos, otherwise than illogical? If by the attributes of God are meant His unchangeable characteristics, how can inseparable characteristics become separable? Whatever can be separated from Deity straightway declares itself an accident, and not an attribute. If Jesus is God and man, must He not possess all the attributes of both God and man? On the other hand, Jesus grew in wisdom and in stature; He is stated in the Gospels to have been surprised and to have wondered; many things



He came to know by personal observation, and many things by means of the information conveyed to Him by others; often He deliberately sought information by putting questions; by sinless growth—in human ways—He became perfect; His was especially a life in the Holy Ghost. This is the other side of the problem. Such facts predispose to the acceptance of some form of the Kenotic theory. But, after all, is there anything in this human growth and human limitation of knowledge in any way inconsistent with our Lord being perfect God as well as true man? What will our own life be in the heavenly regions? Will it not probably be a ceaseless growth in new experience, whilst retaining mortal memory and mortal knowledge, a new will and an old will, a new knowledge and an old knowledge, a new emotion and an old emotion, a new consciousness and an old consciousness? Suppose an angel to become incarnate, is there any necessity to suppose the angelic mind to be lost, because the new human experience is developing from day to day? Can we not conceive, therefore, however dimly and insufficiently, that the Eternal Word, whilst retaining all Divine attributes and all Divine experiences, may also adopt human attributes, and gain all human experiences. The Divine consciousness, be it said with all reverence, is not yet the human consciousness; nor in attaining the human consciousness is the Divine consciousness necessarily surrendered. Perhaps Dr Hall's book may suggest to many that the tide of catholic Christology which has been ebbing awhile during this Kenotic phase, is beginning to flow again. ALFRED CAVE.

### **The Gospel according to St Mark.**

*The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes, and Indices.* By Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., Hon. Litt.D., Dublin, Regius Professor of Divinity and Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co., Limited; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898. 8vo, pp. cix. 412. Price, 15s.

### **The First Epistle of St Peter i. 1—ii. 17.**

*The Greek Text with Introductory Lecture, Commentary, and Additional Notes.* By the late F. J. A. Hort, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., sometime Hulsean Professor and Lady Margaret's Reader in Divinity in the University of Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co., Limited; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898. 8vo, pp. xvi. 188. Price, 6s.

THESE two volumes are important additions to English literature on the New Testament. They are welcome for their own merits. They are the more welcome that they grapple with the problems of two books of the New Testament which are of very peculiar interest, and

on which there remains much to be said yet. The smaller of the two is of exceptional value, and is in all respects worthy of the eminent man who did so much to bring honour to English scholarship, and whose loss is still deplored by students all the world over. The larger is also a performance of unquestionable merit, planned and executed in the sound, sober, careful English way, without pretence, free of all showy cleverness and specious theorising.

Comparatively little has been done for St Mark's Gospel by English scholars. It is singular that it is so. If there is one of the Gospels that, as things stand, demands attention beyond others, it is the second. And it will repay all the study which is given it. Its features are so interesting and its character is so distinctive. It has problems of its own, which lie at the foundations of the Synoptic question and the whole discussion of the origin of the Gospels. Dr Swete is aware that he has a peculiarly difficult task. But he knows also that he has a singularly attractive subject. He speaks well of the importance of Mark's work as "an independent history," and of "the beauty of its bright and unartificial picture of our Lord's life in Galilee." He says justly that the "briefest of the Gospels is in some respects the fullest and the most exacting; the simplest of the books of the New Testament brings us nearest to the feet of the Master." He starts with a large idea of the interpreter's office, and his work shows that there are behind it years of laborious and faithful preparation. His object has been to help others to understand "this primitive picture of the Incarnate Life." And, if he leaves much yet to do, he has made a contribution to the study of St Mark which renders us his debtors. It is the best commentary which English scholarship has yet produced on this Gospel.

The first two chapters of the Introduction deal with the personal history of Mark and the early history of the Gospel. They are excellent summaries, and bring together in a clear and succinct form all the points that are of importance. There are several things to notice here. There is, *e.g.*, the case of Mark's refusal to accompany Paul beyond Perga. Professor Swete finds some justification for Mark's conduct at this juncture in the fact that he was not sent to the work by the Spirit or by the Church, as Barnabas and Saul had been, and in the idea that the change of plan left him free to return. "He had left Jerusalem," says Professor Swete, "for work in Antioch, and had not engaged himself to face the dangers of a campaign in Central Asia Minor (2 Cor. xi. 26); and he may have felt that his duty to his mother and his home required him to break off at this point from so perilous a development of the mission." In this Professor Swete agrees generally with Professor Ramsay, though he does not mix up the apology with other speculations about the occasion of Paul's

decision to quit the sea-coast and strike across the Taurus. It is perhaps the best that can be said, but it is doubtful whether it meets the case as it is put in the pungent narrative of Acts. Another explanation which Professor Swete offers refers to the long space of silence in Mark's story. He attaches considerable importance to the tradition which connects the evangelist with the Alexandrian Church, and he thinks it throws light on "the long interval between Mark's separation from St Paul and his reappearance in St Paul's company at Rome." But this depends upon a series of somewhat uncertain suppositions. We must assume, first, that the tradition is true, and consequently that Mark was the founder of the Church in Alexandria; secondly, that the date which Eusebius gives for the appointment of Mark's successor there is at least approximately correct; and thirdly, that this date, viz. the eighth year of Nero's reign (A.D. 61-62), is the date of Mark's departure from Alexandria.

Much attention is given to the question of Mark's association with Peter. Professor Swete sees no difficulty in accepting the Petrine authorship of 1 Peter. In this we think him undoubtedly right. He sees no force in the arguments used by Professor M'Giffert in his able *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age* for assigning the Epistle to Barnabas. Neither can he accept Professor Blass's statement that Mark may have gone from Antioch to Babylon shortly after A.D. 46. He agrees with those who take the *Babylon* of 1 Peter v. 13 to be a cryptogram for Rome, and he repeats the arguments, far from conclusive as they are, which are usually employed in support of that interpretation. He finds distinct testimony, therefore, in the Epistle itself to the fact that Mark was with Peter in Rome. He also holds the tradition to be probably true which speaks of Peter as suffering martyrdom in Rome in Nero's time. But he does not accept it in its completeness. The tradition represents Peter as suffering together with Paul; and Harnack holds by that, especially on the ground of Clement's statement (1 Cor. 6). Professor Swete, however, does not think that the "testimony of a bishop who lived in the latter half of the second century as regards matters of fact which belong to the history of the first" is invulnerable or should be taken very rigorously. He goes with Lightfoot, therefore, in dissociating the two martyrdoms. Only while Lightfoot placed Peter's death in A.D. 64, and Paul's in 67, Professor Swete thinks it "open to consideration whether St Paul's was not the earlier." It is hazardous work to cut and carve in this way on a tradition which makes a consistent whole and which is pronounced by Professor Swete himself to be "constant and probably true." His object, however, is to find time for ministrations on the part of Mark to

Peter in Rome. And he makes this out very fairly. He gives good reasons for considering 1 Peter to have been written after Paul's death, and while hesitating to carry the year of Peter's decease so far forward as Professor Ramsay does in his *The Church and the Empire*, he points out that, even if we do not push it beyond A.D. 70, we have still a "considerable interval during which Mark may have ministered to St Peter at Rome." With respect to Papias's report of the presbyter's description of Mark as the *ἐρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου*, Professor Swete takes the sense to be that Mark acted as the "secretary or dragoman who translates his master's words into a foreign language"; a kind of service which Mark could well do to an Aramaic-speaking Jew, as he was himself a resident in Jerusalem, familiar with Aramaic, and a Jew of Hellenic descent on one side. He brings out also, briefly and clearly, how Mark's Gospel in its general scope corresponds in a remarkable way with the presbyter's description of Mark's work as a record of Peter's teaching or preaching limited to reminiscences of things *said* or *done* by Christ.

Other questions belonging to the literary history of the Gospel are dealt with in a careful and sober fashion. The general attitude to these questions is conservative. As to the *date* of the Gospel, the witness of Irenaeus is preferred to that of the Alexandrians. The decease of Peter being accepted as the *terminus a quo*, the *terminus ad quem* is fixed at 70 A.D. The tradition given by Eusebius (*H. E.* ii. 14) and Jerome (*De vir. ill.*), which makes Peter take up his residence in Rome in the second year of Claudius, therefore, is discarded. Jerome's date for Mark's death (the 8th year of Nero) is also rejected, and that of the Paschal Chronicle, which places it in Trajan's reign, is held to be more probable. It is thought, however, that the Alexandrian tradition suggests an earlier time, as the "request for a written record of St Peter's teaching would naturally be made soon after the apostle's death, while the Church was still keenly conscious of its loss." These things, taken in connexion with the character of the Gospel itself—"the freshness of its colouring, the simplicity of its teaching, the absence of any indication that Jerusalem had already fallen when it was written," are held to point to a date "earlier than the summer of A.D. 70." As to the original language of the Gospel, Professor Swete stands decidedly for Greek, and combats strongly the theory of an Aramaic original. He shows very well how inconclusive Professor Blass's arguments are in support of this Aramaic original—those taken from the analogy of the first part of Acts and from the textual condition of Mark. But his strongest argument against that theory is derived from the peculiarities of Mark's language and style, which bear all the tokens of the individuality of the writer.

and preclude the supposition that the Greek Gospel which we have is a mere translation of an Aramaic work.

One looks naturally with much interest to the account which is given of the sources of the Gospel and its relations to Matthew and Luke. The Synoptic problem itself, however, is not formally discussed. We have nothing more than occasional hints of the writer's views on the subject. But it is otherwise with the problems of the sources and the unity. Professor Swete expresses the strong sense that has grown upon him of the unity of the book, and he sees no need of the theory of an *Urmarkus*. He reserves his judgment on the question of the nature and the extent of the editorial revision to which the original Gospel has been subjected. He holds the main source to have been the teaching of Peter, to which he would assign almost the whole narrative of the Galilean ministry. He believes the rest of the book to have been largely influenced by the same teaching. But he is of opinion that other sources must be recognised occasionally, and, in particular, that in the last six chapters other authorities may have been used, "some at least documentary, which had been familiar to the Evangelist before he left the Holy City." This appears to us to be on the whole the most reasonable explanation of the facts.

The sections, however, in which we see Professor Swete at his best are those which deal with matters of language, grammar, and text. He provides us with a valuable analysis of Mark's vocabulary, showing the words which are peculiar to Mark, those that are peculiar to him and one or both of the other Synoptists, those that occur only in Mark and John's Gospel, in Mark and the Catholic Epistles, in Mark and the Pauline writings, etc. We get also an admirable view of Mark's style and a very useful statement of his peculiarities in construction. For all this we owe much to this commentary. All matters of textual criticism, too, are handled with scientific precision and fulness of knowledge. The case of the disputed close of the Gospel is put with much ability. The paragraph is judged to be distinct in structure and general purpose from the genuine work of Mark. It is declared to be didactic rather than historical in object, and to be Johannine rather than Marcan in tone. It is held to belong to another work, whether that of Aristion or of some unknown writer of the first century. Mr Conybeare's suggestion that the writer is the Aristion who is mentioned by Papias as one of the Lord's disciples is regarded as having "much probability." Other difficulties of a textual kind are handled with like ability. We do not see, however, why Professor Swete should regard the opening verse as probably not a part of the original work. One might say the same of the whole paragraph with which the Gospel opens, or for

that matter, the whole chapter. The documentary evidence is substantially the same in each case, and the internal considerations are much too indeterminate.

The exegetical notes are, as a general rule, satisfactory. They are always both full and exact in matters of language and grammar. They are particularly helpful in the use which they make of the Septuagint in illustrating and explaining Mark's Greek. This is one of the features of Professor Swete's work. The exegesis is less satisfactory as an interpretation of the *ideas* of the Gospel. It gives too little space to such questions as those relating to the use of the title *Son of Man*, demoniac possession, the doctrine of Satan and evil spirits, the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, the limitations of Christ's knowledge, etc. On the last mentioned question, as it is raised by our Lord's declared ignorance of the day or hour of His coming, Professor Swete has little to say but this—"As the Eternal Word He cannot be ignorant of this or any other mystery of the Divine Will (Matt. xi. 27, John i. 18). But the time of the predestined end is one of those things which the Father has 'set within His own authority' (Acts i. 7), and which the Son, though He knew it as God, had no commission to reveal (John viii. 26, 40; xiv. 24; xv. 15)." After the earnest and searching consideration that has been given to the problems of Christology in these days, few theologians surely will be found to suppose that the question is answered by saying that our Lord knew that day, but simply had *no commission* to reveal it, and so spoke as if He knew it not. It is the more surprising that Professor Swete should content himself with this, as he sees how definite our Lord's words are, how exclusive the phrase οὐδὲ ὁ υἱὸς is, and how absolute the contrast is made between 'the Father' and 'the Son' in this matter.

There are many things in the exegesis on which we are tempted to linger. Accepting the reading ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐα τῷ προφήτῃ, as one must do, in chap. i. 2, Professor Swete explains the difficulty of the double quotation, from Malachi and Isaiah, by supposing that Mark, or the authority from which he drew at this point, "may have depended upon a collection of excerpts in which Mal. iii. 1 stood immediately before Isa. xl. 3, possibly on a leaf headed ΗΣΑΙΑΣ." The connexion of the first four verses, however, which is a matter of some interest, is not adequately dealt with. All that is said is that the apodosis of the *καθώς* clause is wanting, unless it is found in verse 4. It would have been well to give the simple and reasonable arrangement suggested by Hort. A number of passages in different parts of the Gospel, but especially in the earlier chapters, might easily be referred to, in which the exegesis lacks something. The force of the expression, ὁ βαπτίζων, e.g., in i. 4 is missed. The

problems of John's Baptism (in its specific nature and its historical relations) and our Lord's Temptation are barely touched. The *unroofing* in the incident of the paralytic (ii. 4) is explained in a way that does scant justice to the strong and expressive phrase *ἐξορύξ-αντες*. The student will certainly look for more than he gets on such declarations as the *ἐνοχός ἐστὶν αἰώνιου ἁμαρτήματος* (as regards the *ideas*), and on such critical questions as the relation in which the miracles of the 5000 and the 4000 stand to each other.

But there are also many passages of a different kind. The expositions of the miracles are among the best things in the volume. They are, as a general rule, full, exact and helpful. The difficult parable which is peculiar to Mark is also admirably interpreted. The title which Professor Swete gives it, the "Parable of the automatic action of the Soil," indicates the view he takes of it, and it is the right view. All that is said of Herod's state of mind and of his action in the case of the Baptist, especially in bringing out the force of the *συνετίζει, ἡπτόρει*, etc. (vi. 20, etc.), is to the point. The difficulties connected with the mention of Abiathar (ii. 26), the designation 'sons of thunder,' and the topography of the incident of the destruction of the swine (v. 1, etc.), are very well handled. The puzzling reading, *τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ* (for *αὐτῆς*) *τῆς Ἡρωδιάδος* (vi. 22), is disposed of with laudable caution. This reading, to which some importance is attached by Westcott and Hort, and which would make the girl Herod's own daughter, "can scarcely be anything," says Professor Swete, "but an error, even if a primitive error." Among other paragraphs in which Professor Swete's exegesis is seen at its best, we may refer to those on fasting (ii. 18, etc.), the new patch on the old garment (ii. 21), the choice of the twelve (iii. 1, etc.), the widow and the treasury (xii. 41, etc.), etc.

The commentary leaves something yet to do, both in criticism and in the interpretation of the *thought* of Gospel. But it is an advance on previous English books on the subject. It is particularly useful on all linguistic matters, and has good and serviceable qualities which will make it a valuable help to the English student.

With respect to the late Professor Hort's posthumous volume on *First Peter*, the first feeling with which one approaches it is that of keen regret that it is not more than it is. It forms a small section of a large undertaking—a commentary on the New Testament that was to have been the joint production of Messrs Lightfoot, Westcott, and Hort, and of which Dr Hort's share was the Synoptic Gospels, the book of Acts, and the Epistles of James, Peter, and Jude. And it is but a part even of the one Epistle, extending only to chap. ii. 17. But, fragmentary as it is, all New Testament scholars will be grateful for it and debtors to it. It has all the

choice qualities of Dr Hort's work. In the preface which he contributes to the volume, the Bishop of Durham speaks of the characteristics of Dr Hort's work as an interpreter. He names first among them "his remarkable power of setting aside all traditional opinions in examining the text before him," and to this he adds his historical insight, his unwearied thoroughness, and his constant endeavour to "show through Apostolic teaching the coherence of all revelation and life." He means, as he explains, that "the dominant interest of Dr Hort in interpretation was not philological or historical, but theological." No one is better entitled to characterise Dr Hort's interests and methods than his life-long friend and fellow-worker. And the qualities which he pronounces most distinctive of Dr Hort as an exegete are conspicuous in this study of First Peter. The inquiries that belong to the philologist and grammarian are prosecuted with a master hand. The independence and the historical insight to which Bishop Westcott refers meet us on every page. But these and all other gifts and lines of inquiry are made to contribute to the higher purpose of interpreting the ideas of the book, and giving us to understand its spiritual truths as these belonged to the writer's own experience and teaching. In this Dr Hort's exegetical work stands first among English books on the New Testament. He is not only the scholar, but the philosopher and the theologian.

In all, however, the historical instinct and the critical faculty are the controlling powers. And in this Epistle these gifts have ample scope. It is of importance to see not only what the results are which Dr Hort reached on the well-known problems of this Epistle, but how he came to them. His discussion of the time and circumstances of composition, brief as it is, gives us an instructive example of his combined keenness and caution. The one thing that he thinks appears clear, is that this Epistle was written "during a time of rising persecution to men suffering under it," a persecution which appears to have been wide enough to cover a large part of Asia Minor. In attempting to determine what persecution this must have been, he begins by reminding us of how very limited our knowledge of any of these early persecutions is. But looking at the possibility that the one in view here may have been one of the great persecutions referred to in history, he examines the arguments which are urged in support of a later case than that under Nero. He admits, of course, that the little we know of the Neronian persecution connects it only with Rome. But he points out that the Apocalypse of St John, which he thinks may be placed not long after Nero's death, shows there were persecutions in Asia Minor, "on a wide scale and under the authority of the central power"; and further, he holds it probable that what was "begun



at Rome in connexion with the fire spread through the provinces." With respect to the argument that the name *Christian*, under which men are represented as suffering, is of late date, and that the prohibition of Christianity by law was unknown before Trajan, he expresses the opinion that Pliny's letter really implies that before his time it was illegal to be a Christian *eo nomine* and points to a previous enactment associated with a great persecution, and one like the Neronic rather than that under Domitian. But, apart from this, he finds nothing in the Epistle itself to make it necessary to suppose that at the time when it was written it was already illegal to be a Christian. Nothing more need be meant than that the Christian name was liable to "give rise to contumely and ill usage," which might well happen through "popular suspiciousness and mal-evidence," especially if it was the policy of the Jews to "stir up the heathen against the Christians." The result is that two conclusions present themselves as meeting the case, viz., either (1) that the persecution in question was that under Nero or a secondary one rising out of it, or (2) that Asia Minor had a persecution or persecutions of its own independent of any "bearing an emperor's name." Of these two alternatives the second is favoured, he thinks, by the terms in which the Epistle speaks of the emperor (*βασιλεύς*) and his office.

On the question of the relation in which First Peter stands to the Pauline Epistles Dr Hort rejects Bernhard Weiss's idea that Paul borrowed from Peter. He holds that the few coincidences between Peter's Epistles and those of Paul to the Romans and the Ephesians, together with certain resemblances to the Epistle of St James, bring us to 62 A.D. or a little later, as the date of the letter, which again takes us near the Neronic persecution. In support of Rome as the place of composition he goes into an elaborate examination of the order of the regions mentioned in the inscription, and taking the names to be those of the Roman provinces he shows that the peculiar order in the list is best explained by the exigencies of travel, the Epistle for some reason connected with Silvanus being intended to "enter Asia Minor by a seaport of Pontus, and thence to make a circuit till it reached the neighbourhood of the Euxine again."

Among the more remarkable things in the exegesis we may notice the admirable Notes on the terms 'elect' and 'foreknowledge'; the explanation of the *παρεπιδήμοις διασποράς* on the principle that the terms originally distinctive of the Jewish Church and people are applied to the Christian Church as the true Israel of God; the force given to the *εἰ δέον λυπηθέντες* in i. 6; the interpretation of *ἐν καιρῷ ἐσχάτῳ* in i. 5 as="in a season of extremity"; and of the *λόγου ζῶντος θεοῦ καὶ μένοντος* in i. 23

as="the Word of God *who* liveth and abideth for ever"; the statements on the "spiritual sacrifices" (ii. 5), the phrases *ὑμῖν οὖν ἡ τιμὴ* (ii. 7), *ἐποπτεύοντες* (ii. 12), *πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει* (ii. 13), etc. On these and many other passages, but above all on those which contain the theology of the Epistle, the student will find this brief and incomplete commentary the best of guides.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

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### **Catholicism : Roman and Anglican.**

*By A. M. Fairbairn, M.A., D.D., LL.D., Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1899. Cr. 8vo. Price, 7s. 6d.*

DURING one of the periodical outbursts of blatant and aggressive Protestantism—when the attack upon Sacerdotalism and Sacramentalism is for the most part conducted on the lowest level, and the defence not always upon the highest—it is refreshing to come across a serious, learned, and philosophical attempt to get to the bottom of the ideas implied by that great reaction which has influenced so profoundly the fortunes, not only of the Church of England but of all Churches, during the last half-century. The discussion is here conducted on a high level. Dr Fairbairn cannot be accused of either thinking or talking as if the whole movement were a matter of man-millinery, or arose merely from the craving of little men for spiritual tyranny. Indeed, he is only too disposed to attribute to the school whom he criticises a far-reaching philosophy of life of which many of them—not only amongst the rank and file—are, both for good and for evil, quite innocent. It is perhaps almost inevitable on the part of those who view not merely the movement but the institution within which it takes place from the outside, to take the actors a little too seriously—to see monsters of sacerdotal tyranny or dogmatic bigotry in men who, when known intimately, are found to be really very harmless and tolerant individuals, who quite fail to *realise* the tremendous language which they are prepared on occasion to use about priestly prerogatives or the relative position of Church and Dissent, and whose Christianity at bottom is very like the Christianity of Dr Fairbairn's friends. But the defect, if it be a defect, is one on the right side. It is best to study the ideas of a school in the form which they assume in the men who take them most seriously; and in the original Tractarian leaders it is impossible to exaggerate the seriousness with which their whole being appropriated the system which they had excogitated.

Dr Fairbairn's fundamental thesis is that Catholicism—in its fullest extent Roman Catholicism, and in a lesser degree Anglo-

Catholicism—and Protestantism represent not merely different ecclesiastical systems, but different religions, different ways of thinking about God and man's relation to Him. The Catholic system is, according to him, founded on a distrust of reason. This thesis is supported chiefly by an analysis of Newman's Philosophy. In the main Dr Fairbairn is fairly able to substantiate his charge. Newman became a Romanist because he was afraid of being an Atheist. And the source of this fear was not merely psychological; it sprang from the fundamental assumptions of the philosophy which—probably quite unconsciously—Newman had adopted from the traditional English thought of the pre-Kantian epoch. He could not think of Reason as anything but a faculty of ratiocination—of making deductions from premisses which themselves owed nothing to Reason, but were got simply from experience by an "illative sense." It was just because reason could not give him the premisses which religion demanded that he was impelled to seek them in authority. So far Dr Fairbairn at least has a case. But in one respect I cannot help thinking that he is unjust to Newman. In respect of morality Newman was not a sceptic. It is hardly fair to treat Kant as representing the tendency to trust reason and Newman the tendency to distrust it, when Kant's constructive system was, quite as much as Newman's, built upon confidence in the deliverances of the practical reason. The fact that Newman was not familiar with the philosophy which regarded the moral faculty as a kind of reason must not be made too much of. No doubt if Newman had been acquainted with that philosophy, it would have had important consequences for his whole system of thought: he would have been forced to ask himself whether the reason which he was so much inclined to depreciate on the speculative side was not really the same reason which he was so willing to trust on the practical side. The late Dean Stanley used to speculate on the difference that it would have made to the Church of England had the speculative and subtle Newman known German instead of the learned but intellectually impenetrable Pusey. And it is not merely German theology but, perhaps even more, German philosophy that could not have failed to make their impress on such a mind as Newman's. But still, after all, Newman in basing Religion upon the existence of Conscience was, so far, in much the same position as Kant.

I will not attempt to discuss the exact extent to which this distrust of reason can justly be attributed to the Anglo-Catholic leaders other than Newman. On the whole Dr Fairbairn's account of their thought seems to me as just and discriminating as it is interesting. Nothing can be more masterly, for instance, than his analysis of Manning's character—a far more sympathetic account

of it probably than would be given by many members of his own communion. It would be impossible to expect an avowed and uncompromising opponent to be more ample or more sympathetic in his acknowledgment of the moral and religious results of the Oxford movement. "It is a blunder of the worst kind," he tells us, "to imagine that any form of Christianity can be served by any other form of Christianity being made ridiculous," and, on the whole, he has been commendably moderate in his use of ridicule. Nor can the present reviewer at least deny the justice of his severe criticism upon the intellectual and the religious deficiencies of the whole Catholic (to use the word in the technical sense) mode of thought. The following passage will give a sufficient idea of Dr Fairbairn's position:—

"When we analyse the principles or elements that underlie the Anglican ideal, what do we find? A singularly imperfect and narrow idea of religion, supported by an equally narrow and one-sided theory as to human nature, as to history and providence, as to God and man in themselves and in their mutual relations. On the one side, the ideal rested on the twin pillars of a great doubt and a great fear. It doubted the presence of God in humanity, the activity and reality of His grace outside the limits of a constituted Church, and apart from the sacramental persons, instruments and symbols. It doubted the sanity of the reason He had given; thought that this reason had so little affinity with its Maker as to be ever tending away from Him, its bent by nature being from God rather than to God. And so it was possessed by the great fear that the reason, freed from the authority and guardian care of an organised and apostolic church, *i.e.* clergy, would infallibly break from the control of His law and His truth. It thus made man an atheist by nature, and so confined divine influence to artificial and ordained channels as to make the common life, which most needs to be illumined and ennobled by the divine, either vacant of God or alien from Him. And so it enriched the Church by impoverishing humanity, what it took from the one being its loftiest ideals, what it gave to the other being their sensuous and baser counterfeits. On the other and more positive side, this ideal implied principles that had no place in the mind of Christ, or any real affinity to His free and gracious spirit."

If we feel that our author has occasionally ridden his thesis a little too hard, it is not so much in his estimate of "Catholicism" as in his exaltation of popular and traditional "Protestantism" that a non-sacerdotalist Anglican whose fundamental theology does not differ very widely from Dr Fairbairn's is like to differ from the philosophical Congregationalist divine. He may heartily accept the historical position that Christianity has been saved by Protestant-

ism, and would have welcomed a more emphatic assertion that a very great deal of what was best in the Anglo-Catholic movement was essentially the outcome of Protestantism, but we cannot help feeling that in what he says about Catholicism (at least in its Anglo-Catholic form), Dr Fairbairn is contrasting the actual Catholicism of history with a purely ideal and unhistorical Protestantism. A deeper sense or even more candid admissions of the defects of Protestantism (when such admissions occur in Dr Fairbairn's book they are not quite wisely treated as peculiar to Evangelicism) might have enabled Dr Fairbairn to see that Anglo-Catholicism, though it *was* a reaction, was something more, and did visibly pave the way for much that no liberal Christian can fail to regard as theological progress. In the following passage, surely, Dr Fairbairn degenerates into something very like special pleading :

"There is no sense in which Rome is an authority that Christ is one; and no sense in which Christ is an authority that Rome is one. He is an authority in the sense that conscience is; it is an authority in the sense that the law and the legislature are authorities. His authority is personal, moral, living; it is organised, definitive, determinative, administrative. The authority which springs from a person, and is exercised through conscience, is the basis of freedom; but the authority of a judicial tribunal or determinative conclave is its limitation or even abrogation. The one presents matter for interpretation and belief; but the other decides what is to be believed, and in what sense. The attribute or essential characteristic of Christ's authority as exercised and accepted is Sovereignty; but the attribute and note of papal authority is Infallibility. Christ is not infallible in the papal sense, and the papal authority is not sovereign in the sense predicated of Christ. Christ defines no dogma, formulates no *ex cathedra* judgment concerning the mode in which His own person and the relation of the two natures must be conceived, or concerning the rank and conception of His mother, or indeed on any of those things on which Rome has most authoritatively spoken; while the methods of Rome in enforcing her decrees are those of a legal or judicial or institutional sovereignty."

I myself happen to agree with Dr Fairbairn that there is a great difference between the kinds of authority which may reasonably be conceded to Jesus Christ, and in a lower degree to the writings through which His ideas have reached us. But it would have been only fair to have acknowledged that the difference arises not from a different conception of authority so much as from a different belief as to the reasonableness of trusting to one authority or the other, and the nature of the beliefs which the two authorities offer for our acceptance. It is not really because the Pope or his so-called

General Councils are a "judicial tribunal" that Dr Fairbairn and myself refuse to submit to its decisions, but because we do not believe that its decisions are likely to be true. No doubt there is a great difference between an authority which appeals for confirmation to Conscience and Reason, and one which substitutes itself for them. But it is fair to remember in the first place that to the Roman or Anglican Catholic all that Dr Fairbairn says of the authority of Christ and of the Bible is no less applicable to the authority of the Pope or of the Church; and secondly, that the contrast can only be made out by treating the authority of Christ and the Bible in the way in which Dr Fairbairn (and myself) think that it ought to be treated, and not in the way in which it has continually been treated by Protestants down to very recent times. To the majority of orthodox Protestants, even at the present day, the words "Christ is not infallible in the papal sense," would appear sheer blasphemy. Protestants quite as much as Roman Catholics are in the habit of appealing to dicta of the Johannine Christ to prove their theories as to the "mode in which His own person and the relation of the two natures must be conceived." Till but yesterday Protestants have appealed equally to every part of Scripture to find decisions as to "what is to be believed, and in what sense"; and it is difficult to see how anyone who attributes any authority at all to Christ's word can say that they are wrong; although the liberal Protestant may differ from the conservative as to the kind of questions upon which he will attach weight to that authority. The truth is that authority is so much associated in Dr Fairbairn's mind with institutions and ideas which he dislikes that he is unwilling calmly to think out what it means, and to acknowledge the reasonableness of the principle of belief upon authority, however unreasonable may be the particular applications of it which have been given to that principle by Roman Catholics and High Anglicans. To explain authority in opinion as "the right to define and enforce belief; in the sphere of action, the right to prescribe conduct and to exact obedience," is thoroughly misleading, and decidedly unfair to the view of any intelligent Roman or Anglo-Catholic. The "enforce" strikes an entirely false note, suggesting persecution, thumb-screws, inquisitions, and the like. Some modern Romanists may believe that the Church ought to have the right to appeal to the secular arm to enforce belief in her judgments or the execution of her decrees. But this is quite another matter. Most intelligent modern Romanists and all Anglicans with whom it is worth while to enter into discussion believe nothing of the kind. Even the "right to define" is hardly fair. It suggests the idea that authority means infallibility, and that submission to authority is necessarily

unlimited ; whereas the confidence which intelligent Catholics repose in the authority of the Church is founded upon the belief that the Church is likely to be right. It is exactly the same kind of belief which in matters of science we repose in the persons whom we regard as experts in the matter in hand. It is obvious that the religious belief of the great majority of Christians must rest partly upon the authority of the religious community ; at the very least in so far as their belief rests upon the truth of historical facts, and the trustworthiness and interpretation of writings which they have neither the capacity nor the leisure to investigate.

Nor is any man's religious or moral consciousness independent of the consciousness of the Christian society in which the man lives. Where the present reviewer and (at bottom I suspect) the author he is reviewing differ from the Anglo-Catholic, is that we assert more strongly than he would do the right and duty of the individual to think for himself, and in the last resort to reject the judgment of any ecclesiastical authority whatever when it is opposed to that of his own reason and conscience (for after all the judgments of societies were, in the first instance, the judgment of often isolated individuals) ; and secondly, in the interpretation which we give to the idea of the Church. At all events, for myself, I attach great importance to the judgment of the collective Christian consciousness, but I attach comparatively little importance to the decisions of the fourth-century councils or modern convocations, because I believe that the "mind of the Church," in the highest sense, is often to be found elsewhere than in such assemblies.

It is not only in reference to this particular question of "authority," but in his whole attitude towards the idea of the Church that Dr Fairbairn has taken what appears to me the wrong line of attack. He has tried to belittle the visible Church, instead of elevating and expanding our idea of it. It is true enough that the Church is an ideal to which no single human society or any collection of independent societies has ever adequately corresponded. But still it was as an ideal which was meant to be realised in actual human institutions. To belittle the institutions in which the ideal has been partially expressed is not the way to improve our conception of it. It is true that no definite plan of organisation has been bequeathed to the Church by her founders as binding upon her for all time. But it is a mistake to use "organised," "institutional," "ecclesiastical," etc., as terms of disparagement. The Church, if it is to be a real living society, must have an organisation, though it must adapt itself to the wants of the time. Dr Fairbairn's attitude towards all outward expressions of the Church idea tends only, I cannot but think, to play into the

hands of those who by the Church practically mean the clergy. The Oxford movement owes its strength to the forgotten truth to which it has recalled men, and especially to its revival of the practically forgotten idea of the Church. To elevate and expand the idea of the Church, not to polemise against it, is the true work of the Reformer. What is superstitious and mechanical in the High Church ideas will never disappear so long as the only alternative to them is supposed to be a religious individualism such as is offered to us by Dr Fairbairn. In some respects Dr Fairbairn has done justice to the wider social and intellectual outlook of the younger high and more liberal Churchman. But he has not fully grasped (so I cannot but think) the fact that the idea of an inspired authoritative Church, even as presented by the Tractarians, still more as it is presented by such men as Canon Gore, is at least an advance upon the old Protestant idea of an inspiration beginning and ending with an infallible Bible. To suggest that the authority of the Church, unlike that of Christ, is not "personal, moral, living" simply shows that Dr Fairbairn's conception of the authority of the Church, which he believes himself to reject, has not advanced beyond the sense in which it is accepted by the narrowest High Churchman. Anyone who reads the collection of *Essays on Church Reform*, edited by Canon Gore, will see that the High Churchman's idea of the Church is rapidly developing. The best modern High Churchmen are at least prepared to recognise not merely in theory but in actual Church organisation, the participation of the laity in Church government—even in matters of doctrine. Anyone who reads that volume sympathetically will be disposed to feel that the theory which connects a high view of the visible Church with such notions as a mechanical apostolical succession or with the belief in sacramental magic is on its last legs. They are no more necessary to a high view of the importance of the religious society—yes, if you like, of an "organised" society and an "institutional" Christianity—than a high view of the State is dependent on mythical theories of divine right or social contract. I can only regret that Dr Fairbairn's criticism should tend to strengthen rather than to dissolve, so disastrous an association or (to speak frankly) confusion of ideas.

My review has been very controversial because Dr Fairbairn's book is avowedly a highly controversial one, and not from any want either of profound respect or of strong theological sympathy. But for the disturbing influence of the theological pre-possession which I have tried to point out, I should have had little to criticise in the book. Considered simply as so many studies of the leading personalities described, the book ranks as a fine piece of literature. To the "Catholics" the author is as fair as is possible to an avowedly hostile writer whose deliberate aim is to lower the undoubtedly ex-



aggregated estimate, both on the intellectual and on the moral side, which is natural to those who look back upon the days of the "movement" as to an heroic age. When he deals with personalities with whom he has more sympathy, Dr Fairbairn becomes an almost ideal critic. Nothing could be juster or more discriminating than his appreciations of Lightfoot, Hort, Hatch, Jowett, and the present Bishop of Durham. But I must conclude with a parting protest against the assumption that the Broad Church party is practically extinct. Conspicuous leaders indeed are wanting, but it is not fair either to those who endeavour to tread in the footsteps of Maurice and Arnold and Stanley, or to the younger High Churchmen to ignore the immense extent to which what used to be considered very "broad" views are now accepted as a matter of course by intelligent High Churchmen; while the number of those whose breadth (though they have learned much from the High Churchmen) is unqualified by any adhesion to high sacerdotal or sacramental views is, I venture respectfully to assure Dr Fairbairn, far greater than either he or many Protestant alarmists are aware—far greater, in all probability, than it has ever been at any past period in the history of the Church of England.

H. RASHDALL.

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### Notices.

No one has occupied a more conspicuous or a more honoured place in the ranks of English Nonconformity in our day than Dr R. W. Dale, of Birmingham. His is probably the best known and most outstanding name among the many names that have brought distinction on the Nonconformist Churches, and made them a power in our land during the last quarter of a century. No man certainly is likely to be longer or more gratefully remembered. No man has done more for his own Church or for religion in all the Churches. No man has impressed himself more deeply upon the life of the Communion to which he belonged. No man has combined in larger measure the qualities of Christian minister, statesman, administrator, preacher, and theologian. Nor are there in all the Churches many that can be said to equal him in the influence which he had for good or in the varied and important service which he rendered to Christian faith and life generally. A biography of Dr Dale<sup>1</sup> there must have been. And it has been provided in a way to earn the cordial thanks of all who are capable of appreciating a good subject and a finished bit of literary work. In this case the son has written the father's life without obtruding himself, or setting us aside with the partial judgments of relations and friends. He has

<sup>1</sup> *The Life of R. W. Dale, of Birmingham.* By his son A. W. W. Dale. With portrait. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1898. 8vo, pp. x. 771. Price, 14s.

shown good judgment and good taste, as well as loyalty and filial honour in this memorial volume. He has given us an admirable portraiture of his distinguished father in his private life and in his public action ; in his civic, political, and ecclesiastical relations ; in his pulpit and pastoral work ; and in his theological convictions and achievements.

And the picture is one that we feel at once to be true to nature. It is the picture of a strong, earnest, independent, strenuous man, with whom religion was the primary interest, the very life of his life, but to whom nothing was alien that touched common human existence in any of its connexions—domestic, civil, commercial, or industrial. He was the greatest force in the public life of Birmingham all through his residence there, and from that centre he exerted an almost unparalleled influence over the Midlands and far beyond them. He went on his own way in all things. He was, in all his doctrinal beliefs and ecclesiastical sympathies, a Nonconformist of the Nonconformists, and yet on the Eucharist and other subjects he held opinions which were in affinity rather with other Churches. He was a Liberal of the Liberals, but one who did not swear by every syllable of the party programme. Latterly he ranked as a Liberal Unionist, but judging by the statements of his position on the Irish question, which are given in this volume, we should have to pronounce him a very unusual specimen of the politician known by that name. And so it was with him in all things. Grasping great principles and intensely loyal to these, he moved with free step among their accessories and refused to be bound.

Eminent as he was, however, as a man of action, he has laid his generation perhaps under a heavier debt by his contributions to religious literature. His book on the *Atonement* remains yet the best English book that our time has produced. His volumes on Paul's *Epistle to the Ephesians* and on *Christian Doctrine*, are of great value. No man in recent days has done more to vindicate the evangelical faith, or to reassert and restate its great doctrinal positions. In these works the theology of the great Puritan masters is revived, and made to speak in modern terms with its ancient power. And in his *Living Christ* and the *Four Gospels* and others of his books he opened up fresh fountains of religious thought which have invigorated and inspired many.

A man like Dr Dale is a great gift to the Church of Christ. And it is a rare pleasure to see so noble and fruitful a life so worthily treated. The biographer has laid the religious public under great obligations by this impressive memorial of one of the foremost and most gifted of our Christian thinkers, preachers, and statesmen.

Canon Gore has had no happier idea than that of preparing what

he modestly calls a "Series of Simple Expositions of Portions of the New Testament." No one who understands the needs of the English people can grudge that Canon Gore should turn aside for a time from those more scientific studies on Christian doctrine in which he has done much excellent work, to a duty of this kind. It may seem a humbler task, but it is one that demands a combination of qualities which few possess, and it is one that requires to be done. No greater service can be rendered at present to the largest interests of truth and faith than by bringing the English mind in contact with Scripture, and putting the mass of the Christian people in England in possession of the best results of that scholarly exegesis which has been prosecuted with the most fruitful results in our own day. This is Canon Gore's aim in the series of volumes referred to, and it is being carried out with conspicuous success. The volumes on the *Sermon on the Mount* and the *Epistle to the Ephesians*, which have previously appeared, have been received with much favour, and are certain to be more and more valued. They are followed now by the first of two volumes on the great *Epistle to the Romans*.<sup>1</sup> There is scope here for the exercise of the Canon's best gifts as an interpreter and as a theologian. In direct, simple, lucid terms he unfolds the argument of the Epistle step by step, so that it may be grasped and appreciated by anyone. He translates it into modern forms of thought and expression, and brings it home to the needs and experiences of the religious life of the present day. And he does this not in the vague and inexact way of much that is given us as "practical" interpretation or "popular" theology, but on the basis and in the spirit of scientific exegesis.

There are some things to which exception may be taken. But they are not many. They occur mostly in what is said of the relation of Paul's doctrine to the doctrinal statements of the Continental Reformers and some modern theologians. Ritschl, for instance, is cited as one who has brought back the truth that the "object of the sacrificial death of Christ and, therefore, of the divine justification, is not the individual but the Church." But Ritschl's idea of the Church has other connexions and interests than those that Canon Gore looks to. It is Calvin and Luther, however, that receive the scantiest justice. The statement of the position of the great Genevese Reformer on the subject of justification (see p. 38) throws the emphasis on what was but the secondary thing with him, and would imply that the essence of his doctrine was the highest supralapsarianism. Luther again is represented as making

<sup>1</sup> St Paul's Epistle to the Romans: A Practical Exposition. By Charles Gore, M.A., D.D., Canon of Westminster. Vol. I. (chapters i.-viii.) London: John Murray, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 326. Price, 3s. 6d.

*faith* "a bare acceptance of the divine offer without any moral quality at all—a bare believing ourselves to be saved without any moral reason in it." But this is not a version of Luther's doctrine of faith that will be borne out by a study of his teaching as a whole. Nor can it be said that in this there was any substantial difference between Calvin and Luther. These, however, are only brief and incidental statements, of which the worst that can be said is that they are inadequate. On the other hand, there is the frank recognition of the fact that the terms 'justify' and its cognates have in the New Testament the forensic sense which the Reformers attached to them. At the close of the Introduction, too, there are some admirable and weighty words on the doctrine itself and the loss which results from the neglect of it. "It remains true," says our author, "that no revival of religion can ever attain to any ripeness or richness unless this central doctrine of St Paul's Gospel resumes its central place with us also."

*A Life of Dr John Stoughton*<sup>1</sup> comes as an appropriate and welcome addition to the valuable Christian biographies which have recently been put into our hands. It is a book of moderate size and modest pretensions. But it is the brief account of a long, honourable, and useful career. It is a work of filial piety done with excellent judgment and in the best taste. And it is a work worth having, for Dr Stoughton was no ordinary man. He had a high position, and was much loved in the Christian communion, to which by conviction he attached himself. But his name was known and honoured far beyond these limits. He was a man of a large, generous, appreciative spirit, who could be in sympathy with the best men in all the Churches, and had intimate associations with many who differed widely from him in matters theological, ecclesiastical, and political. He made his mark, too, as a writer. His contributions to the ecclesiastical history of England are his best, though not by any means his only works, and they have merits which have won them wide regard. It is pleasant to see how cordially they were received by Churchmen and men of letters, who looked at things with very different eyes from those of the stout Nonconformist leader.

In this memorial volume we get precisely what we wish to have—a rapid sketch of the early life, a peep into the love of theological discussion and other aptitudes which were seen in the youth and prefigured his future, the things of most general interest in his ministerial career in Windsor and in Kensington, some account of his travels in Europe and in the East, and some insight into his occupations and modes of life in the busy gracious years that followed his retirement from active work. But we also get much

<sup>1</sup> John Stoughton, D.D. *A Short Record of a Long Life*. By his Daughter. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1898. Crown 8vo, pp. xii. 242. Price, 3s. 6d.

that is of interest as regards his preaching, his theological views, his attitude to public questions, especially the great subject of Christian union, and his friendships with many men of note, Dean Stanley, Dean Hook, Matthew Arnold, Archbishop Tait, Archbishop Magee, and others. A selection of his *Letters* is also given, and they are worth reading. But his biographer never allows us to become weary. She gives enough, but never more than enough. How much happier would it be both for reader and for subject if all biographers had such a sense of the fitness and the measure of things.

Dr Stoughton's theological sympathies were wide. They were most, however, with men of the order of John Howe, and he considered it the greatest compliment when two newspapers, of different political leanings, compared him once to the great Puritan. He had a rich, strong, enthusiastic, energetic nature, and a variety of acquirements. But the chief notes in his character were his love of truth and his catholicity of spirit. His successor in the Kensington pulpit describes him truly when he says of him that "he believed and preached the creed, that the road to a better and more helpful understanding between the Churches of Jesus Christ lies, not in mutual depreciation, but in mutual appreciation."

The series of historical monographs edited by Professor S. M. Jackson, of New York University, and known as the *Heroes of the Reformation*, deserves a cordial welcome. If all the volumes are as good as the one now before us, viz. *Martin Luther*,<sup>1</sup> the series will be one of great value. The story of the great Saxon Reformer has been committed to the hand of Henry Eyster Jacobs, Dean and Professor of Systematic Theology in the Evangelical Lutheran Seminary, Philadelphia. He has produced an admirable book, the fruit evidently of wide and sympathetic acquaintance with the times and the man. The great passages in Luther's career are vividly presented. The course of the Reformation movement, with the influences at work in it, is described in a lucid and instructive way. The narrative is made the more interesting by numerous illustrations, which are both appropriate and well executed. The best authorities have been consulted all through, Luther's own writings, De Wette's edition of his letters, the *Corpus Reformationum*, and the works of Julius Köstlin being most largely drawn upon. Careful critical estimates of the chief actors on both sides, and telling sketches of many of the minor figures, add to the value of the book. Of most importance in some respects, however, is the chapter on Luther's theology. The test of a man's competence to write of Luther and the Reformation lies here, and Professor Jacobs will be acknowledged by students of Luther to stand that test. He gives us one of the best accounts of the great Reformer's

<sup>1</sup> New York and London: Putnam's Sons, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 454. Price, 6s.

doctrinal position that we know in anything like the same compass. This may be said above all of his teaching on original sin, predestination, and justification. Of his doctrine of predestination it is rightly said that it was not the centre of his system, but a "corollary to his doctrine of the bondage of the will, and the utter helplessness of man without the grace of God," and that in point of fact it was usually kept in the background, except when "some exaggeration of human freedom provoked the most complete denial of all human agency in man's return to God." Much the same indeed may be said of Calvin. The statement on Luther's view of faith deserves special attention. It disposes briefly but effectively of certain misconstructions of Luther's doctrine which have been current, as if he made faith on the one hand a mere emotion and on the other hand a mental act with no immediate relation to the life. Faith justifies not because of its own excellence but solely because of the object it appropriates. Yet it is a "divine work in us which transforms us." "Embracing such a Redeemer," as Luther himself says, it "brings with it a band of most beautiful virtues, nor is it ever alone."

Mr James Hope Moulton contributes a volume, entitled *Visions of Sin*,<sup>1</sup> to the *Helps Heavenward* series. An introductory chapter on *Sin—whence and whither?* is followed by studies of Achan, Saul, Judas, Caiaphas, Herod Antipas, and Pilate. Two short chapters, in poetical form, on the themes 'The Vision of Darkness in Light' and 'The Vision of Light in Darkness,' close the interesting little book, which is appropriately dedicated to the memory of the author's learned and admirable father, the late head of the Leys School. The character-sketches form the bulk of the volume. They show much insight, and are given in a pointed, piquant style, brightened by imaginative touches and poetic feeling. Those of Saul, Caiaphas, and Pilate are particularly striking. Everywhere the author keeps the practical interest in view, and makes it the more telling by throwing it on the screen of the historical narrative. His object is to help men to heaven "by turning the searchlight of Scripture," as he expresses it, "on By-path Meadow and Vanity Fair, on the lions in the way, and on the grisly shadows besetting the valley through which the pilgrim must travel to the Celestial City." He makes his object good in a way that should interest and encourage many readers.

Students of Syriac are greatly indebted to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for the *Compendious Dictionary*<sup>2</sup> which is in process of publication. The second volume is now to hand,

<sup>1</sup> London: C. H. Kelly, 1898. Demy 16mo, pp. 227. Price, 2s.

<sup>2</sup> A *Compendious Syriac Dictionary*. Edited by J. Payne Smith. Part II. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Small 4to, pp. 137-272. Price, 8s. 6d. net.

and the whole is to be completed in four volumes. The work is beautifully printed and most carefully edited. It is founded on the well-known *Thesaurus Syriacus* which we owe to Dr R. Payne Smith. It gives all that the student ordinarily requires, and it gives it in the most compact and useful form. When it is completed we shall have the best and handiest Lexicon yet provided.

The Bishop of London publishes an Address on *The Position of the Church of England*,<sup>1</sup> which he delivered at Ruridecanal Conferences during the months of November and December of last year. Its object is to assert an entirely peculiar position for the Church of England, a position which the Bishop is bold enough to describe as "the noblest which can be taken by any institution." He will not have it that the system of the Church of England is either in the main that of Continental Protestantism or that of the Church of the Middle Ages. He will not allow it even to be a compromise between two opposite tendencies of religious thought. We are accustomed indeed to hear it asserted of the Episcopal Church of England by her friends and defenders that she is a Church of an almost all-inclusive comprehensiveness, and that it is her glory to be so. But our Bishop holds it to be a mistake to think that this means "compromise." That is an unpolite term to apply to a religious body. What is it then that he claims for his Church? It is that she has the distinctive position of resting "on an appeal to sound learning." An extraordinary claim truly. "It may be said," the Bishop himself remarks, "that this is an arrogant claim." Had he not used the word himself, we should have hesitated so to describe his assertion. But, encouraged by his example, we shall say frankly that, as one first reads such a claim, it looks quite superb in its arrogance, if it were not so pointless. Let us see, however, how much there is in it, and how far other Churches must confess themselves 'unlearned and ignorant,' as certain men were taken to be who had something to do with the first of all Christian Churches. By this proud prerogative of "sound learning" Dr Creighton means "the process of dividing accurately between the Truth and the accretions which had grown round it." This is the thing which the Church of England as by law established has had, and which has been possessed in like measure by none of the other Churches of the Reformation. Very well. But let us see how it is applied. Here the vagueness and incoherence of the claim come out, and here it is seen to reduce itself at last just to the method of "compromise" which was formally disavowed.

<sup>1</sup> By Mandell Creighton, Bishop of London. London: Longmans, 1899. 8vo, pp. 24. Price, 6d.

What of the question of the Church's attitude to the final authority? All that Dr Creighton says is that it "was urged that the reference to Scripture meant an appeal to private judgment," but that the "Church of England refers also to 'the decent order of the ancient Fathers'; that is to say, the methods of the primitive Church." But how much he means by this is left comfortably indeterminate. All that is really said is that "reference to primitive times is particularly valuable for the interpretation of Scripture, for we tend to approach Scripture with prepossessions of our own." True enough. But if this is all that is meant by the Church of England's attitude to "the methods of the primitive Church" in her doctrine and use of Scripture, in what sense has she a singular position among the Churches—a position "the noblest which can be taken by any institution"? Then Dr Creighton goes on to speak as if the Continental Reformation was a thing of "passionate denials," and as if the Church of England was the superior of all Protestant Churches in that she has always taught positive truths "in a simple and dignified system," where other Churches have dealt in negatives. A strange thing truly for anyone to venture to say who has read the Confessions and Catechisms of the various Protestant Churches and knows their history. And so it is, too, with the question of the Lord's Supper. What Dr Creighton asserts is that, in the application of its wonderful and solitary gift of "sound learning," the Church of England refuses to "go beyond the words of Scripture and the practice of the Early Church. It defends the record of Scripture against two unwarrantable attempts to gratify man's curiosity, and leaves the Rite itself as it was left by our Lord." This is all again comfortably vague, and it helps us not one whit. What is the Bishop of London's opinion as to the harmony of the doctrine of consubstantiation and theories of a similar kind with the standards of the Church? Anything that Dr Creighton writes is sure to be clever. This pamphlet is clever, but it is sadly lacking in grasp and gravity and weight. This want in it is seen most of all when at last it touches on the present serious state of things. All that Dr Creighton recognises in the existing "crisis" is this—an "attempt on purely missionary grounds to adapt the services of the Church to what were supposed to be the needs of the people"; a tendency "in a few cases" to "introduce teaching on subjects which were omitted in the revision of the Prayer Book"; a "desire to give greater dignity to the services of the Church as a part of public life"; a "desire to break down, somewhat too precipitately, the barriers of our insularity by emphasising the points of resemblance between the system of the English Church and that of foreign Churches." How the strong men of the English Church



Union must smile when they read these soft phrases! Questions of the kind the Bishop has now to deal with will not be settled by a few pleasantries and smartnesses.

Professor Blass's *Grammar of New Testament Greek*<sup>1</sup> has taken high rank among books of its kind in the original German edition. It has now found a competent English translator in Mr Thackeray, and in this careful and readable rendering it will be a valuable help to many students in Great Britain and America. The work of translation has been far from easy, but it has been done faithfully and successfully. Dr Blass deals with questions of New Testament Greek in a way of his own, which distinguishes his book from the treatises of Winer, Buttmann, Sheldon Green, Schmiedel, Viteau, Burton, and others. It will supersede none of these, and if we were to have but one grammar, it would be one of these we should prefer. But it is the work of a practised philologist and a distinguished classical scholar. It has the benefit of its author's special studies in these lines. It has the distinction of giving us a view of New Testament Grammar, which proceeds on the principle that Hellenistic Greek is a purer language, and one with more regular laws than used to be allowed. It also takes special account of the materials and operations of textual criticism, quoting the documents themselves instead of the various critical editions. With respect to the results of the higher criticism the procedure is more measured. All the epistles which bear Paul's name are used together as Pauline Epistles. The two Petrine Epistles are dealt with together, but the Apocalypse is treated as by one John, the Gospel and Epistles as by another. One of the best features of the book is the practice of illustrating New Testament usage by reference to the Greek of contemporary or approximately contemporary Greek writings, especially the Epistle of Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas, the first Epistle and the so-called second Epistle of Clement, and the Clementine Homilies. It has some of the defects of its qualities. For one thing, though it recognises the Aramaic or Hebrew element; and specifies three ways in which Greek-writing Jews might voluntarily or involuntarily be affected by it, too little is made of this influence in certain parts of the Grammar, especially in its general treatment of the syntax. There are also important questions of a particular kind in syntax which are much too slightly disposed of; as, *e.g.*, the dropping of the second article in the instance of two nouns or appositive clauses connected by *καί* and in the same case. But the book is one

<sup>1</sup> By Frederick Blass, D.Phil., D.Th., Hon. LL.D., Dublin, Professor of Classical Philology in the University of Halle-Wittenberg. Translated by Henry St John Thackeray, M.A., Examiner in the Education Department. London: Macmillan, 1898. 8vo, pp. x. 340. Price, 14s. net.

which the scholar must have. It is concise, while it touches all the most important matters belonging to phonetics, accidence, and syntax. It is made the more useful by three indices, viz., of subjects, Greek words, and New Testament passages.

Under the title of *Great Books*,<sup>1</sup> Dean Farrar republishes a series of papers originally contributed to the *Sunday Magazine*. They were written in the interest of young readers, and with the view of directing their attention to the "rich treasures of the immortal teachers of the past," which are apt to be overlooked in these days when books are so endlessly multiplied, and when the quality of so much that comes first to hand is so poor. The writers specially dealt with are Bunyan, Shakespeare, Dante, Milton, and the author of *The Imitation of Christ*. The volume does not attempt more than a series of popular sketches. But they are well-informed, lively, and appreciative. They should interest young minds and attract them to the study of what is best in literature. Here are the high lessons which Dean Farrar finds in the life of John Milton:—"In childhood a sweet seriousness; in boyhood a resolute diligence; in youth, high self-respect, and the white flower of a blameless life; in manhood, self-sacrificing energy and heroic public service; and, amid the crowded agonies of all his later years, an inflexible fortitude, an indomitable faith. He, like Robert Browning, 'believed in the soul, and was very sure of God.'"

The Principal of the Ripon and Wakefield Diocesan Training College, the Rev. G. W. Garrod, B.A., publishes a volume on *The Epistle to the Colossians*.<sup>2</sup> It consists of an analysis and brief notes, such as may be "useful to students in schools and colleges in their preparation for examination." A series of examination questions is appended. The author has spent much pains upon the book. He has made diligent use of Lightfoot, Hort, Godet, and other scholars of the first rank, who have contributed in various ways to the interpretation and the literary history of the Epistle. We miss, however, the great German commentators, and we find some used, such as Sadler and Barry, who are of much less importance. The main points regarding Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, the Epistles he wrote during that period, the circumstances under which the letter to the Colossians was composed, the nature of the Colossian heresy, the relation in which the Epistles to the Ephesians and the Colossians stand to each other are stated briefly and accurately. The doctrinal ideas of the Epistle are also exhibited in detail. The more difficult passages in the exegesis are treated with comparative fulness, and all that the young student needs to have in the form of geographical and biographical

<sup>1</sup> London: Isbister & Co., 1898. Crown 8vo, pp. 235. Price, 5s.

<sup>2</sup> London: Macmillan, 1889. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. 172. Price, 3s. net.

Notes is given. The changes made by the Revisers are also noticed. There are some obvious faults of repetition in the Notes, and the book errs perhaps in making things too easy for the student. But if it is worth while writing a book with the object of popularising the results of scientific scholarship, and particularly for the needs of men who go up to professional examinations, Mr Garrod has certainly done the kind of work and done it in a reliable manner.

The writings of the late Dean of Norwich were widely appreciated for their devout and earnest spirit. His *Thoughts on Personal Religion* in particular had a very large circulation, and deserved it. The book was one which no one could read without receiving help in the meditative and prayerful exercises of the religious life. A volume on *The Lord's Prayer*<sup>1</sup> by so thoughtful and reverent a writer, will be gratefully welcomed by many readers. It is the result of lengthened thought and frequent revision, having been composed originally in the form of Sermons and used as such for the edification of various congregations. It is essentially a series of meditations in the style with which Dean Goulburn made us happily familiar. But it proceeds on a basis of careful study, and it gives much good matter on the structure of the Lord's Prayer, its completeness, its sources, its different forms, and the context in which it stands in the Gospels. The Lord's Prayer is "a seed of prayer," says the Dean, "containing in germ every petition which the human heart can send up to God, even as the decalogue is a seed of precept, containing in germ every rule which can be given for human conduct. The great marvel in both is their comprehensiveness and brevity, the extraordinary organisation and arrangement, the reduction of the subject treated to a few fundamental elements manifested in those ten short precepts, in these seven short petitions."

The *London Quarterly Review*<sup>2</sup> commences a new series with January 1899. It promises well. The form is inviting and the contents are good. The range of subject is extensive. The proportion of properly theological and ecclesiastical papers is perhaps too small. There is certainly no lack of variety. Articles on the "Effect of the recent war upon American Character," the "Vacation Rambles of a Naturalist," "Egypt and the Soudan," and even on topics like "Sport in the Caucasus," stand side by side with papers on "The Historical and Spiritual Christ," "Methodism and the Age," etc. Mrs Lewis of Cambridge contributes an excellent article on a subject of which she is eminently entitled to speak—"Palestinian Syriac Lectionaries of the Bible." Mr J. Scott

<sup>1</sup> By the late E. M. Goulburn, D.D., sometime Dean of Norwich. London: John Murray, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 302. Price, 6s.

<sup>2</sup> London: Charles H. Kelly. Price, 2s. 6d.

Lidgett writes with force and insight on the "Present Crisis in the Church of England." Under the title of "The World of Books," a series of brief, carefully executed reviews of recent publications is given. The editor is to be congratulated on this first issue. Under his competent hands the magazine should have a useful and prosperous career before it.

The January number of the *American Journal of Psychology* for the current year opens with a long, elaborate, and interesting paper by Frederick E. Bolton, late Fellow in Psychology, Clark University, on *Hydro-Psychoses*. The object of the article is to "investigate the influence that water has exerted in shaping and moulding man's psychic organism." A mass of curious fact and equally curious inquiry is collected and registered. Evidences of man's pelagic origin drawn from his physical structure and instinctive movements, animal retrogressions to aquatic life, water in primitive conceptions of life, water in philosophical speculation, sacred waters, water deities, water in literature, children's animistic conceptions of water—these are among the subjects dealt with. Even the statistics of suicide are introduced, and made available to prove a fundamental psychic difference between men and women. Men prefer active methods of making away with themselves, while women prefer passive. Many more women than men commit suicide by taking poison. This, according to Dr Chamberlain, is an atavistic tendency, women having been the earliest agriculturists, and having first learned the use of vegetables as articles of diet, curatives, and agents of destruction. But in India six out of every seven women who commit suicide have recourse to drowning. There are also some dubious speculations on baptism and the belief in the resurrection of the dead. The idea of resurrection, *e.g.*, is supposed to have grown, in part, out of the common observation of plant life, and to have been connected with the idea of water as the great agent of rejuvenescence.

In the *Primitive Methodist Quarterly Review* for January we notice in particular a curious paper by Robert Hind on *Telepathy in relation to Theological Investigation*, a careful article by W. John Davies on *Ritschl's Theology: its Import and Influence*, and another by W. A. Hammond on *The Secret History of the Oxford Movement*. Mr Walsh is praised for the noble service he has done the country "by presenting in clear, forcible, succinct form, the origin, growth, and present position of this Romeward Movement." The elements of value in Ritschl's theology are frankly recognised. But it is urged against him that "his theory of knowledge vitiates much of his thinking; that his method of trying to keep reason out of theology is arbitrary; that his attempt to restrict all revelation to the historic Christ, to the exclusion of natural religion and mysti-

cism, is narrowly dogmatic; and that his conclusions often contradict what appears to be the plain meaning of the Scriptures."

In the January number of *The Churchman*, of which Archdeacon Sinclair is editor, Chancellor Lias continues his series of papers on the authorship of the Pentateuch; the Rev. N. Dimock gives a further part of a careful study of the *Sacerdotium of Christ*, dealing with the typical shadow in relation to the great reality, and Mr John Alt Porter writes interestingly of the office and work of the "archpriest."

The fourth number of the first volume of the *Archiv für die Religionswissenschaft*, ably edited by Dr Ths. Achelis, of Bremen, contains several articles of much value, among which may be specially mentioned Professor C. P. Tiele's adverse criticism of Darmesteter's revolutionary theory of the age of the Avesta, a Note by A. V. Williams Jackson on the Amshashpands, and a short paper by Dr Th. Nöldeke on "*Gottesfurcht*" bei dem alten Arabern. In the third number will be found the conclusion of an important study by E. Siecke of the God Rudra in the Rig-Veda, another by M. Hartmann on the religious life in the Libyan Desert, and a third by H. Gunkel on the man with the inkhorn in Ezekiel ix. 2.

The *Antiquary*,<sup>1</sup> the well-known Journal devoted to the study of the past, has entered its twentieth year. Its January number is admirably illustrated, as the magazine usually is, and provides much good and varied matter. Of special interest are the papers by W. Carew Hazlitt and Mrs Basil Holmes, the former giving further contributions toward a history of earlier education in Great Britain, the latter dealing with the haunts of the London Quakers.

The *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*<sup>2</sup> has reached its tenth year. It is ably conducted by Professor Gustav Holzhauser, of Munich, who has the assistance of Dr von Buchrucker, of Munich, Professor Zahn, of Erlangen, and a large number of scholars of repute in different parts of Germany. It stands fast by the Confessional Theology of the Lutheran Church, and has done justice to the school which it specially represents. The first part for 1899 contains three papers of some importance. Of these special attention should be given to an elaborate study of the term *Paganus* by Professor Zahn. He points out that, while much has been written on the origin, primary sense, and history of the word *χριστιανοί*, comparatively little has been done in investigating the origin and primary sense of the word *Pagani* which was applied to the adherents of the polytheistic religions by the Christians of the Latin West and the Romansh peoples. In this article he makes an erudite contribution to the subject.

<sup>1</sup> London: Elliot Stock. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Erlangen und Leipzig: Deichert. In monthly parts. Price, M.2.50 per quarter.

The second number of the second year of *La Liberté Chrétienne*,<sup>1</sup> edited by MM. Jules Bovon, Philippe Bridel and Lucien Gautier, opens with a very judicious paper by M. Ernest Martin on the spirit in which the New Testament should be studied.

We welcome a new series of *The Educational Review*.<sup>2</sup> The opening number (January 1899) has much varied and useful matter—notes and topics, University letters, correspondence, reviews of books, answers to correspondents, etc., in addition to five short articles on subjects of general educational interest. Mr Percy A. Barnett writes well on *Atmosphere and Perspective in Education*, Dr Sophie Bryant on *Order and Freedom in School Discipline*. The last paper is on the question—*Is there a Religious Question in Education?* Canon Lyttelton, the head master of Hailebury College, makes a kindly but not very successful attempt to convince us that if there is such a difficulty at all, it is a “very small one”—so small that he thinks “it might almost be maintained that there is none at all.” The Canon is in happy ignorance of how the shoe pinches in thousands of English parishes.

Professor D. G. Ritchie contributes a very interesting paper to the January number of *Mind* on *Philosophy and the Study of Philosophers*. He deals with the conviction to which the average scientific specialist is accustomed to give expression that metaphysical studies are futile, and with the fact that philosophy, especially in its German home, has become so largely the study of its own history. His object is to show that “the nature of philosophy itself may render inevitable this perpetual recurrence to the thought of the past, and that there are “special reasons in our own age why this historical interest should be predominant.” In working out his subject he discusses the three main attitudes to the doctrines of the older philosophers—the attitude of submission to authority, seen specially in scholasticism; the attitude of revolt against authority, represented specially by Bacon and Descartes; and the attitude expressed by Hegel, which means that there is but one philosophy manifesting itself in the succession of systems, so that the history of philosophy is an integral part of philosophy itself. It is “philosophy taking its time.” This third attitude is the one that is coming more and more to be the attitude of the present day, and rightly so, the writer thinks, although it was presented in exaggerated form in Hegel.

There is much good matter in the recent issues of the *Indian Evangelical Magazine*.<sup>3</sup> In the last number for 1898, the Editor, Dr K. S. Macdonald, reviews Tiele's *Science of Religion*, and

<sup>1</sup> Lausanne: Bridel et Cie.

<sup>2</sup> London: Office of the Educational Review, 203 Strand. Monthly. Price, 4d.

<sup>3</sup> Calcutta: Traill & Co.; London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.

Professor Shastri, of the Presidency College, Calcutta, gives an account of the discovery of a Buddhist MS. of the first century of our era. In the first issue for 1899, the Rev. J. A. Joyce, of Murshadabad, writes on the doctrine of the *Trinity*, meeting certain objections current among Hindus and Mohammedans, and expounding the points in which the Christian doctrine of God is higher and richer than that of the Indian books and that of the Koran.

The *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*<sup>1</sup> begins its ninth year with an article by Erich Foerster which fills the whole number. It is entitled *Das Christenthum der Zeitgenossen*, and gives an interesting summary and criticism of the attitudes of representative men of the present day in law, literature, and politics to the Christian religion. Much space is devoted to Bismarck. Among others who receive particular attention are Friedrich Paulsen, Paul Heyse, Gottfried Keller, Gustav Freytag, Friedrich Spielhagen, W. Jordan, E. Curtius, etc.

Dr W. Garden Blaikie contributes a short but interesting paper on Massillon to the March number of the *Homiletic Review*, and Dr J. H. W. Stuckenberg begins a series on *Present Theological Tendencies*. In the first article he deals with "international characteristics of the age which are not themselves theological, but which have a determining influence on theology." Among these he takes *Science* first, and under that head specially the effort to find a substitute for design or teleology, providence, and miracle. From that he passes to *Speculative Philosophy*, and in particular the teaching of Kant. He notices also the effect of the practical movements of the age, and refers to the forces of reaction. He considers the deepest and most characteristic tendency of the age to be the demand for *Objective Realism*, by which he means that "our age is intent on what is not merely subjective, as faith or opinion or conviction, but what has actual existence outside of the mind," so that in religion and theology the great question is "whether the objects of faith really exist."

The *Bulletin de Littérature ecclésiastique*,<sup>2</sup> published by the Catholic Institute of Toulouse, prints a hitherto unpublished letter by Cardinal Newman, recommending the enforcement of positive truth as the best and most convincing method for the Catholic disputant to follow in dealing with atheistic attacks on the faith. He adds, however, that this may not suit the great multitude of men, who cannot be said to be "men of good will." The mass of men, he says, "have very acute apprehensions of arguments in detail which are derived from *sight*, *reason*, and *experience*, and it is on these that the 'new faith' is built." The way to adopt

<sup>1</sup> Freiburg i. B. : Mohr. Monthly. Price, M.1.50.

<sup>2</sup> No. 1. Janvier, 1899. Paris : Lecoffre.

with them, therefore, is to show "how weak the arguments are" on which the "foi nouvelle" is founded, "how badly its champions reason, how many and monstrous are their assumptions, how audacious their statements, how unscrupulous they are in inventing first principles, how many links are wanting in their chain of proof." The second number contains a series of brief notes and criticisms, and two articles of some interest, viz., one by R. P. Lagrange entitled *L'esprit traditionnelle et l'esprit critique*, dealing specially with the origins of the Vulgate, and another by Léonce Couture on the *History of Theology*.

In the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for January 1899, Professor Gerhard Vos continues his series of papers on *Recent Criticism of the Early Prophets*, his subject being *Isaiah*. Among other things he endeavours to show that "the interpretation of chaps. xxviii.-xxxi. in their integrity, not only leaves room for but distinctly brings out the thought that Jehovah's wonderful dealings with Jerusalem are intended to lead to her conversion," while the critically-reconstructed text of these chapters "certainly does not read as a preparation for a call to repentance," but strikes the note of absolute "reprobation." Professor Dosker continues his articles on *John of Barneveldt*. There are elaborate papers also by Professor Henry Collin Minton on *Christianity and the Cosmic Philosophy*, and Professor W. Brenton Greene on *The Metaphysics of Christian Apologetics*, which deserve special attention. The particular subject of Professor Greene's paper is *Immortality*, the philosophy of which question is handled with great ability. The doctrine of the resurrection of the body is briefly discussed at the close of the article. The doctrine is allowed to be less clear than that of the soul's immortality. But it is shown to be not inconceivable, though mysterious; to have at least partial analogies in both nature and life; and to find a measure of support not only in certain moral implications, but in the affirmations of materialistic science on the persistence of the living germ, and its power, under 'favourable conditions,' of "surrounding itself with a new body." We have also a careful and appreciative study of *Schleiermacher* by the Rev. James Lindsay, and a detailed and acute criticism of Herbert Spencer by Dr D. S. Gregory.

Professor E. L. Curtis contributes a short but interesting paper on *The Outlook in Theology* to the January number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. His view is that we are becoming "empiricists, even in our theological reasoning"; that we have already changed much; that we do not understand "creation, inspiration, atonement, divine revelation, even the deity of Christ and the Trinity of God" exactly as our fathers did; that we are hesitating what to put in the place of the old conceptions and terms; that "no one,



perhaps, can definitely state what the new definitions or doctrines will be; that perhaps they will never be drawn very rigidly." Among other interesting papers in this number we may refer to one, mainly historical, on the *Philosophical Disintegration of Islam* by the Rev. Henry Woodward Hulbert, another by the Rev. James Lindsay on *Christianity and Idealism*, and a third by Dr Calvin B. Hulbert on the *Nature of the Divine Indwelling*. Dr Hulbert's paper makes much of "the law of the spirit of life," holding that to be as imperative as a law in nature. He points out that the error of *illuminati* who have arisen from time to time and of various religious sects, has been due to "the failure to see that the Spirit does His work in the hearts of men, not by contravening or overriding law, but in exact adherence to it."

*Theologia Pectoris*<sup>1</sup> is the title given to a volume by Dr James Muscutt Hodgson, Principal of the Theological Hall of the Congregational Churches of Scotland. Its sub-title explains it to be "Outlines of Religious Faith and Doctrine, founded on Intuition and Experience." Its object is to "present in outline what appear to the writer to be the true foundations and the essential elements of Religious Faith." Its method is to discard "the conception of any purely objective authority to which, in the first instance, appeal must be made in support of that which is accepted as true, and good, and Divine." And what it seeks to do is to "show that the chief ideas and affirmations of Christian doctrine are not only consistent with, but are implied in and demanded by the essential principles of Human Nature." It is necessary to have regard to the author's declared methods and aims in reading the book. Otherwise we shall form an idea of his doctrinal position which may do him injustice. Among the subjects which he discusses are the nature of man, the psychology of theism, the media of revelation, the meaning of the miraculous, the nature of inspiration, the grounds of certitude, the nature, penalty, and healing of sin, etc. The best parts of the book seem to us to be the more strictly apologetic; the least successful, the more properly doctrinal. Dr Hodgson says much that is true and good on the fundamental problems, the Theistic question, the idea and the modes of Revelation. On the place of the miraculous he holds by the familiar position that, if we once recognise Christianity to be a religion of redemption, then the "miracles that Christ performed, and the miracle of His Resurrection from the dead, so far from presenting any difficulty, fall naturally into place as incidents of a miraculous, historical interposition on behalf of a being who, by his sin, had placed himself in an abnormal position." On the ideals of personal life and social life he also writes well.

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 207. Price, 3s. 6d.

It is when we come to such questions as the penalty of sin, the nature of forgiveness, the meaning of Christ's mediation, that we have less satisfaction. The influence of writers like Thomas Erskine, and that influence on its weaker side, is seen in much that is said on these subjects. Dr Hodgson appears to be possessed with an extraordinary repugnance to the introduction of anything like the idea of law into the theology of Christ's work. He has also an exaggerated and mistaken conception of what that idea means to those who hold it to belong to the question. He goes the length of speaking of the notion of a satisfaction to Divine Justice, as a "non-Scriptural, and in reality a purely pagan idea." He forgets himself entirely when he allows himself to say that "the forensic theology has taught men to think of God as a veritable Shylock, who must have His pound of flesh before what is called His Justice, or the claims of His Law can be satisfied." This is a cheap and easy way of settling matters, but not one worthy of a responsible theologian. It is difficult to suppose anyone expressing himself in this way, who knows the great and serious works of the best representatives of the so-called "forensic" theology in Puritan or in later times, or, for that matter, has studied the Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles which we owe to the real masters in scientific exegesis in our own day. The great ideas, conveyed by the terms "imputation," "expiation," fare equally ill at Dr Hodgson's hands. The mediatorial work of Christ, too, is reduced to a "revelation of the love of our Father God—a love which seeks to rescue us from our sin and its curse, a love that will spare no pains and no suffering that may be needed to secure the end desired,—but also finds in the spiritual life of which Christ is the Source and the Giver, the Power whereby we are renewed in the spirit of our minds, and transformed more and more completely into His likeness." This is true, and it is accepted so far as it goes by all evangelical theologians, and not least by those who regard Christ's work as an expiation. But the question remains whether this is the whole New Testament view of Christ's mediation. It would be poor comfort to many a burdened conscience, if it were all.

There is a certain vagueness and intangibility in much that is affirmed in this book. The great questions of faith and doctrine are handled too exclusively on the subjective side. The unfortunate result of the method is that the treatment of Christian doctrine is almost all on the side of intuition, and of what commends itself to the individual consciousness as true, the actual teaching of Scripture receiving only the scantiest attention. Nothing but good, however, can be said of the general spirit of the book, which is grave and serious. Many of its statements, too, are just and helpful. It has some omissions which surprise us. Neither the Trinity nor the

Work of the Spirit receives any definite treatment. With all deductions, however, it deserves acknowledgment as a thoughtful and reverent attempt to exhibit the fundamentals of religion and the central doctrines of Christianity as worthy of acceptance for their intrinsic merit, and as verifying their claims by the relation in which they stand to nature, consciousness, and experience.

We have received a *Dialogue on Moral Education*,<sup>1</sup> a lively book by Mr F. H. Matthews, M.A., head master of Bolton Grammar School, in which some good things are said, especially on the subject of the relations in which teachers and pupils should stand to each other, and the great advantage which Universities have in the matter of the moral training of youth; a new and cheaper edition of the Rev. Dr G. S. Barrett's suggestive book on *The Intermediate State and the Last Things*,<sup>2</sup> which has been already noticed with favour in these pages<sup>3</sup>; a new issue also of Dr W. T. Davison's admirable book on *The Praises of Israel*,<sup>4</sup> one of the best volumes in the series of *Books for Bible Students*, and one of the most interesting as well as thoroughly-informed and reliable popular Introductions to the Psalter—a book which it is a pleasure to read and which is enriched by an Appendix of valuable Notes describing each Psalm; the ninth volume of the *Preacher's Magazine*,<sup>5</sup> which continues to be conducted with great ability by the editors, Mark Guy Pearse and Arthur E. Gregory—a magazine full of matter of great use for preachers, teachers, and Bible students; a German translation of an interesting Norwegian address on the *Prophets of Israel*,<sup>6</sup> delivered on the occasion of the Congress at Stockholm in Sept. 1897 by Professor S. Michelet, of the University of Christiania; an extremely handsome edition of William Law's *Serious Call*,<sup>7</sup> one of the choicest classics of the literature of practical religion, a book which did much for the revival of religion when it was published in 1728, which can never cease to be a quickening book for souls who are led to make it their own, and which is now issued in this attractive form, with a preface and notes by Dr J. H. Overton, as one of the volumes of the *English Theological*

<sup>1</sup> London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 257. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> London: Elliott Stock, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. 275.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. VI. p. 321.

<sup>4</sup> London: C. H. Kelly, 1898. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 296 and xl. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>5</sup> London: C. H. Kelly, 1898. 8vo, pp. 578. Price, 5s.

<sup>6</sup> *Israel's Propheten als Träger der Offenbarung.* Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. 40. M.O. 60.

<sup>7</sup> *A Serious Call to a devout and holy life.* Adapted to the state and condition of all orders of Christians. By William Law, A.M. London: Macmillan & Co., 1898. 8vo, pp. xx. 313. Price, 8s. 6d. net.

*Library* edited by Mr Relton; the *Crucifixion of Phillip Strong*,<sup>1</sup> a book which never gets beyond the idea of an example in the view it takes of Christ, but is written with a certain straightforward force, and deals with certain great questions of life and duty, not profoundly by any means, but in a way to arrest attention and cause some searchings of heart; the *Father's Hand*,<sup>2</sup> a series of thoughtful and reverent discourses on God's work in its various aspects of slowness, swiftness, stillness, secrecy and the like, not claiming to give more than hints for life and service, but modest in spirit, simple in style, and likely both to help and to comfort; a Sermon, one of many called forth by the present ecclesiastical crisis in England, in which Archdeacon Furse sets forth briefly the idea and the duties of *A National Church*<sup>3</sup>; a pamphlet by the Rev. A. J. Carlyle, of University College, Oxford, on *Causes and Remedies of the Present Disorder in the Church of England*,<sup>4</sup> clearly and tellingly written, arguing for a regulated liberty, and pleading for a reform of the judicial system and a reconstitution of convocation; an able and instructive discourse on *The Function of the historian as a judge of historic periods*,<sup>5</sup> being the inaugural address delivered before the American Historical Association at Newhaven in January of this year by Professor George Park Fisher, of Yale; a bright and attractive sketch of *John Bunyan, the Glorious Dreamer*,<sup>6</sup> by Lina Orman Cooper; another powerful story by Mr Charles M. Sheldon, *His Brother's Keeper*,<sup>7</sup> the story of a great strike, which is made the means of bringing home to the public mind some of the great industrial and economic questions of the day; a volume by the Rev. A. Welch on *The Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews*<sup>8</sup> attempting to make out the very unlikely supposition that Peter is the writer, containing also a number of papers on "Melchizedek," "Christ's object in preaching to the Spirits in Prison," and other subjects, in which some curious and acute, though not always convincing, reasoning will be found; two further instalments of Professor Kautzsch's translation and exposition to the *Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic Books of the Old Testament*, continuing the com-

<sup>1</sup> By Charles M. Sheldon. London: The Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 267. Price, 2s.

<sup>2</sup> By the Rev. Adam Philip, M.A., Free Church, Longforgan. London: A. H. Stockwell & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 297. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> London: Macmillan, 1898. 8vo, pp. 16. Price, 6d.

<sup>4</sup> Oxford: Parker, 1899. 8vo, pp. 23. Price, 6d.

<sup>5</sup> Newhaven: Tuttle, Morehouse, & Taylor, 1899. 8vo, pp. 23.

<sup>6</sup> London: The Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 144. Price, 1s.

<sup>7</sup> London: The Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 281. Price, 1s.

<sup>8</sup> Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 214. Price, 3s. 6d.

mentary on the *First Book of Maccabees*,<sup>1</sup> and taking us over *Second* and *Third Maccabees*, *Tobit*, *Judith*, the *Prayer of Manasseh*, and part of the *Additions to Daniel*, of which we can only say at present that they are as well done as we found the first part to be, and make an important contribution to the interpretation of these interesting books; a new edition, revised and enlarged, of the *Presbyterian Forms of Service*,<sup>2</sup> a very useful help to worship, prepared by the Devotional Service Association in connection with the United Presbyterian Church; a volume of the *Modern Reader's Bible*,<sup>3</sup> beautifully printed, handy and pleasing in form, which gives the stories of the Old Testament in modern literary style, edited with excellent taste by Professor R. Moulton, of Chicago, and furnished with useful notes and introduction; a German translation, revised by the author himself, of Professor Wildeboer's suggestive and scholarly tractate on the mutual relations of the *Worship of Jehovah and the Popular Religion in Israel*<sup>4</sup>; a revised and enlarged edition of Mr William Brown's well-known and useful book on the *Tabernacle*,<sup>5</sup> full of information, furnished with illustrations which materially help the reader, and containing now some sixty pages of new matter which deal with the length of the Hebrew cubit, the difficulty as to the breadth of the house, the peregrinations of the Golden Candlestick, etc.; an acute and well-written address on *Paul as Missionary to the Gentiles*,<sup>6</sup> by P. Wernle, Privatdocent in the University of Basle; a couple of Academic Lectures by Dr Georg Wobbermin, Privatdocent in the University of Berlin, on certain *Fundamental Problems of Systematic Theology*,<sup>7</sup> dealing in an able and instructive way first with the proof of the truth of the Christian Religion, and then with the Object and Method of Evangelical Dogmatics, in connexion with which latter subject, the Christian consciousness, the teaching of Scripture, and the defini-

<sup>1</sup> Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments. Zweite Lieferung, pp. 33-64. Price, pf.50. Dritte bis sechste Lieferung, pp. 65-192. Price, pf.50 per Lieferung: Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 239.

<sup>3</sup> Bible Stories (Old Testament). New York: The Macmillan Company, 1899. Small 4to, pp. 310. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>4</sup> Jahve-Dienst und Volksreligion in Israel in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältnis. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. 44.

<sup>5</sup> The Tabernacle and its Priests and Services, described and considered in relation to Christ and the Church. Sixth edition. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 315. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>6</sup> Paulus als Heidenmissionar. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. 36. Price, M.0.80.

<sup>7</sup> Grundprobleme der Systematischen Theologie. Berlin: Duncker, 1899. 8vo, pp. 43. Price, M.1.

tions of the Creeds are carefully considered in their several relations as sources of a System of Dogmatics ; a pamphlet entitled *Faith in the Unbroken Apostolic Succession and its Natural Consequences*,<sup>1</sup> a series of short, temperately written letters dealing with the contradictions and inconsistencies of Ritualism ; a pamphlet by the Right Rev. C. W. Sandford, D.D., Bishop of Gibraltar, on *Confession*,<sup>2</sup> exhibiting in clear and concise terms what the teaching of the Church of England really is on the subject, and asking the serious attention of the members of that Church to the dangers of the practice of systematic private confession to a priest, and the "persistence with which it is pressed upon congregations" ; a volume of the *Biblical Museum*,<sup>3</sup> giving a large and well-selected collection of Notes of various kinds, explanatory, homiletic, and illustrative, on the Gospels according to Matthew and Mark—a publication which has been of much use to teachers of Sabbath Schools and Bible Classes, and which is now to be had at the extremely small price of 1s. per volume ; a book bearing the title of *Tracings from the Gospel of John, or Records of the Incarnate Word*,<sup>4</sup> consisting of a series of studies of the Fourth Gospel, which give the results of much earnest reflection in a terse and pointed form, and bring out the meaning of John's narrative, together with its main spiritual lessons, in direct application to personal life and duty ; a handy and timely reprint of the trenchant letters on *Lawlessness in the National Church*,<sup>5</sup> contributed to the *Times* by Sir William Vernon Harcourt, which have a special value on the legal side of the question at issue between the two great parties in the Church of England as by law established ; a further instalment of Professor Godet's *Introduction to the New Testament*,<sup>6</sup> dealing with Matthew's Gospel, which must receive more extended notice than is at present possible, and of which it must suffice to say meantime that in lucidity of style, historical method, critical insight and sobriety of judgment, it is worthy of the reputation which the veteran author has long and justly enjoyed.

The eighth volume of the fifth series of the *Expositor*,<sup>7</sup> which is now in the hands of the public, is in no whit behind the earlier

<sup>1</sup> By A. J. London : Elliot Stock, 1899. 8vo, pp. 40. Price, 1s.

<sup>2</sup> London : Macmillan, 1899. 8vo, pp. 28. Price 6d. net.

<sup>3</sup> By James Comper Gray. Vol. I. London : Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 376. Price, 1s.

<sup>4</sup> By C. E. Stuart, author of "Outlines of the Epistle to the Romans," etc. London : Marlborough & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 432. Price, 5s.

<sup>5</sup> London : Macmillan & Co., 1899. 8vo, pp. 156. Price 1s. net.

<sup>6</sup> Introduction au Nouveau Testament, par F. Godet. Introduction Particulière. II. Première Partie : Les Trois Premiers Évangiles. 2<sup>me</sup> Livraison. Neuchâtel : Attinger, 1898. 8vo, pp. 137-324.

<sup>7</sup> London : Hodder & Stoughton, 1899. Pp. 476. Price, 7s. 6d.

volumes. Old Testament and New Testament questions receive each their due, and there is a sufficient representation of subjects of a more general interest. A large place is assigned to New Testament exegesis, and we are glad to see that it is so. A special value is given to this volume by Professor Ramsay's very instructive papers on the Epistle to the Galatians. Professor Zahn's Articles on the history and the interpretation of the Apostles' Creed are also a feature of the volume. And there are papers of much interest by Professor Cheyne, Professor Rendel Harris, Professor Jannaris (who says a good many things deserving consideration on certain misreadings and misrenderings in the New Testament), Mr Buchanan Gray, Dr Peter Forsyth, and others. The student of Scripture has one of his best aids in the *Expositor*.

An opportune time has been chosen for the publication of a translation of the famous treatise by John of Damascus on *Holy Images*.<sup>1</sup> The Damascene's polemic is of great historical as well as dogmatic interest. It deserves attention for its argument, its style, and its effects. There is much in it indeed that must seem strange to the nineteenth-century reader, and it follows modes of reasoning which are at times far apart from the stringent, scientific methods of our day. But it is concerned with great principles which are never wholly in abeyance, and which have been suddenly thrust of late into an unusual and unmistakable prominence with the English public—principles touching the proper relations between the Church authority and the civil, the point at which the lawful and the unlawful part company in matters ecclesiastical, and the distinction between the spiritual and the idolatrous in worship. The Sermon on the *Assumption* will appeal to a smaller class. We shall not give the same answer as is given by the translator to the question—Which is the shortest way to God? "St John Damascene," she tells us, "speaks with the Church when he says it is through the glorification of matter in the Person of the Eternal Word. Either give matter its proper place, or take away matter which the Lord has Himself exalted, and we are no longer composite beings, but spirits ill at ease in a material world. Take away the King's army, and you uncrown the King Himself. Forget His Mother, and with her the connecting link between earth and heaven. Then we may be heathens once more, groping after the unknown God, and our latter state will be more appalling than the heathendom of old, before the light had appeared to illumine earth's dark places." We have our own opinion of what this way of looking at the great interests of

<sup>1</sup> St John Damascene on Holy Images, followed by Three Sermons on the Assumption, by Mary H. Allies. London: Thomas Baker, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 216.

faith involves. But we gladly acknowledge the good work of the translator in this volume.

Dr Horton's volume on *The Commandments of Jesus*,<sup>1</sup> is in some sense a supplement to his book on the *Teaching of Jesus*. It is due to the conviction which grew on Dr Horton that "the *Commandments of Jesus*, as a rule of life and as the principle of ethics, required a separate and more careful treatment." The subject is a large and inviting one, but by no means a very easy one. It is handled here under such topics as "Repent," which is termed the first Commandment; "Follow Me," which is termed the second Commandment; the "Codified Law" or the "Five Precepts" (*i.e.* the five re-readings of the Mosaic regulations); "Judge Not"; the "Golden Rule"; "Go and do likewise," etc. The style is always terse and clear. The interpretation of Christ's words is given in popular form, but is founded on careful and exact study. The application of it to the ordinary life is never lost sight of, and is uniformly direct and pointed. The book is one which, we hope, will find many readers. It puts those great, yet simple precepts of life which fell from our Lord's lips impressively and convincingly, at once in their grace and in their searching imperativeness. The general principle of the exposition may be gathered from these sentences:—"It has been said that Jesus Christ is the incarnate conscience of the race. His precepts are the dictates of the purified conscience. His person is the power of keeping the precepts. The human conscience suffers not only from blindness, but from infirmity. . . . Our Lord not only frees the direction of moral precepts, and brings them into clear and simple lines, but, what is of even greater moment, He presents in Himself a potency of fulfilment. In Him our conscience has strength as it has right, power as it has manifest authority. In obedience to Him, therefore, has lain for these nineteen centuries, and must still lie, the hope of conscience absolutely governing the world."

The Rev. Hubert Handley, M.A., Vicar of St Thomas's, Camden Town, gives us *A Short Way out of Materialism*.<sup>2</sup> It makes but a few pages of large, readable type. It is made so very brief for a purpose—that it may be read perchance by busy men, who may be in "the gloomy cells of negation," and yet have no time to read the great idealist philosophies. We hope it may arrest the attention of such men. It will help them. Its object is to show, by a few simple reasonings, how the world of sight is dependent on the seer, and the world of hearing on the hearer; so that should we perish, *our earth, our sun, our planets* would perish with us, and *matter* should be seen not to be the "hard, rigid, invariable, indestructible

<sup>1</sup> London: Isbister & Co., 1898. Crown 8vo, pp. 375. Price, 6s.

<sup>2</sup> London: Rivington's, 1899. 8vo, pp. 11. Price, 1s. net.



stuff which common speech suggests and materialistic intellectual habits insist."

Professor James Orr, of Edinburgh, publishes a course of three Lectures on *Neglected Factors in the Study of the Early Progress of Christianity*.<sup>1</sup> They were delivered originally as the Morgan Lecture Course in the Theological Seminary of Auburn, in the State of New York, in October 1897. They have the attraction of comparative novelty in their subject, and they succeed in presenting some things in a very forcible way, which have not obtained the consideration due them. The matters handled concern the extension of Christianity in the Roman Empire, laterally or numerically, vertically or as respects the different strata of society, and intensively or in respect of penetrative influence on the thought and life of the Empire.

Under each of these heads, Professor Orr marshals a considerable body of facts, pointing to a revision or modification of current ideas. He takes, *e.g.*, the estimates made by Gibbon, Friedländer, Chastel, Victor Schultze, and others, on the subject of the size of the Christian population in Constantine's time; and from the Catacombs (a line of evidence which has certainly been far from adequately used), and from ancient literature, Eastern and Western, he brings together a formidable array of testimonies which go to show that Christianity at the end of the third century must have constituted much more than the twentieth or even the tenth part of the population, which is all that most historians have allowed. Evidence almost equally strong is presented next in support of the contention that the higher classes of society came under the influence of Christianity earlier and in larger measure than is usually admitted, and also that the general thought and life of the early centuries were affected much more deeply by it than is usually acknowledged. The book is full of interest. The facts are carefully collected, and strikingly put. Most readers will feel that Dr Orr has made a strong case, and has placed the early career of Christianity in some respects in a new light.

The death of Principal Caird deprived the Scottish pulpit of one of its chief ornaments. Few preachers in our day have stepped so early into fame or have maintained their reputation and power unimpaired for so long a period. Everything that Dr Caird gave to the public in the form of sermons has been eminently worth having, and it is with peculiar pleasure that a new volume containing a series of *University Sermons*<sup>2</sup> is received. These discourses were all preached before the University of Glasgow, but only two of them have been published hitherto. In point of delivery they

<sup>1</sup> London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 235. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> By John Caird, D.D., LL.D., late Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Glasgow. Glasgow: Maclehose & Son, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 402. Price, 6s. net.

extend over a considerable period—from 1873 to 1898. They now appear under the editorial superintendence of the no less distinguished brother, the Master of Balliol. They have for their themes such subjects as the new birth, corporate immortality, truth and freedom, the profit of godliness, art and religion, and such questions as these—What is Religion? Can righteousness be imputed? Is repentance ever impossible? They have the supreme qualities of strength, mass, and a logic touched by imagination and kindling into fire. They are packed with thought, and make a continuous appeal to reason and religious experience. And beyond all else that gives them distinction, they have the magic of the orator. None of these noble discourses deserve closer attention than those in which Dr Caird deals with the distinctive Christian doctrines or with the more characteristic positions of Evangelical Theology. The question of the “New Birth,” *e.g.*, is treated in a very masterly way. Its difficulties are fairly stated and answered. Its right to be accepted, not as a merely speculative dogma, but as a truth which lies “at the very root of the religious life, and the reception of which is of infinite importance for every human soul” is affirmed. And the conviction is expressed that there is not implied in it any “repression of our individuality and freedom,” but that on the contrary the recognition of the absolute dominion and control of the human spirit by the divine is not paralysis, but the intensest stimulus to spiritual activity.” Still better, perhaps, is the argument by which it is shown that justification by faith, rightly apprehended, is no mere theological dogma, “foreign to our human sympathies and moral experience,” but a “doctrine which is in profound adaptation to our spiritual nature and needs, and into which with deepest moral and spiritual sympathy every devout soul may enter.”

A series of addresses, prepared at first for a “Summer Meeting of Clergy,” has been issued by the Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Oxford. The title of the volume is *Some Aspects of Primitive Church Life*.<sup>1</sup> The subjects specially discussed are the organisation of the Primitive Church, the nature of the Apostolic rule, the theories of the Christian Ministry, the Sacramental Principle, the position of the Early Christians in relation to the Roman Government and the surrounding Paganism, the task of the first Apologists, etc. The book is a most readable one, and it gives a great deal of information which is interesting in itself and very attractively presented. It opens up some important lines of inquiry, and shows large acquaintance with authorities, especially English authorities. It looks at all things from the Anglican point

<sup>1</sup> By William Bright, D.D. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. 268. Price, 6s.

of view, and in that respect there is a distinctly provincial note in it. But it states the peculiarly Anglican views of Church order and Church claims in a comparatively sober and conciliatory way. As regards Episcopacy, Dr Bright's object is to show it to have been a true development. An attempt is made now and again, and not with the best success, to grapple with Dr Hort's exposition of the New Testament view of the *ecclesia*, and to turn the edge of his argument. On the other hand, there are some good paragraphs on the position of laymen, their interest in discipline, their relation to synods, etc. The conclusion given is that the primitive status of the laity was unlike the modern Roman, but also unlike the Anglican under conditions of Establishment. The general view which the book presents of the spread of Christian influence, the state of the Christian society, the effects of the persecutions, and the like, is excellent. We find much in it with which we are in sympathy, and a few things which seem to us overstrained in a particular ecclesiastical interest. Whether agreeing with its statements or dissenting from them, those who take it up will read it through and confess themselves Dr Bright's debtors.

The author of a volume on *The Soul Here and Hereafter*<sup>1</sup> seeks for "a keynote to the preparation" which he feels sure there must have been "among the people that 'sat in darkness' waiting through the ages for the coming of the Son of Man." He thinks it is to be found "in the teaching of antiquity—and especially of Plato—on friendship." This being his view, he naturally gives a large place to such topics as the ancient ideas of friendship, Greek, Roman, and Hebrew; the Platonic doctrines of the soul and of love; Plato's ideal friendship; the teaching of the *Phaedrus* and the *Symposium*; the illustrations of Platonic love furnished by the writings of saints, etc. But he also goes into other questions, some of a more general kind and some of a more theological order. He reviews the arguments for the immortality of the soul, the discussions on the relation of soul and spirit, the problems of original sin, and the soul's condition after death.

The book is lacking in scientific method and in the art of distinguishing between things that differ. It does not show sufficient acquaintance with the best authorities in theology and in the exegesis of Scripture. It is strongly Sacramentarian, affirming indeed that "the voice of Christendom tells us that there are seven Sacraments." It is nervously afraid of saying anything "contrary to the common teaching of Catholic Christendom," and wishes at once to withdraw and retract any such thing if it is discovered. Not much is to be expected from a method and a spirit so dependent. There are chapters, however, in which some curious and interesting matter is given.

<sup>1</sup> By R. E. Hutton, Chaplain of St Margaret's, East Grinstead. London: Longmans, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xviii. 258. Price, 6s.

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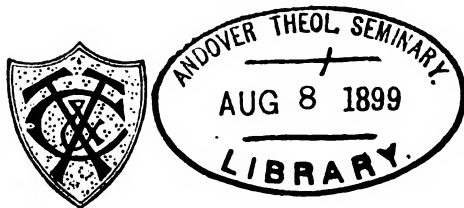
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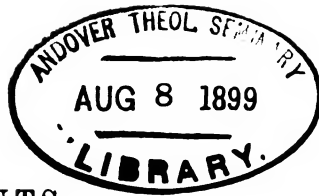
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THIS second instalment of the *Dictionary of the Bible* will be warmly welcomed and eagerly scrutinised by students. And certainly no disappointment will be felt by those who make themselves familiar with its contents, even by those who measure it by the high standard of excellence reached in the first volume of the work. In some respects, indeed, it even surpasses its predecessor. There is the same splendid editorial ability, the same exhaustive treatment in the more important subjects, the same scholarly exactness bestowed on the minor ones, and breathing through all the same reverence of spirit and fearless love of truth. But, besides, some of the articles are of pre-eminent merit, and form original contributions of the highest value. The length, indeed, to which many of the articles run may be complained of as excessive. We have, for example, a very elaborate article on "Genealogy," extending over sixteen double column pages, by Professor E. L. Curtis, not likely to be read by many except those who have a call to read it. But there are students of this branch of inquiry, and their case must be provided for. And it seems reasonable when specialists are asked to contribute that they should be allowed full scope in communicating the results of their investigations. The large space given to the articles on the words of the English Bible is, I think, more open to criticism. These are by the editor, and they are always interesting and instructive, and show a large acquaintance with old writers. But the quotations are too numerous, and swell the bulk of the book unnecessarily; and it seems out of proportion to devote five pages to the senses of the word "Go" in the English version of the Bible, while the article on "The History of Israel" receives only nine or ten.

In giving some account of the contents of this volume, it will not

be possible to do more than call attention to a few of the more notable articles. Most people will admit that the chief value after all of a work of this sort must lie in the character of its mass of short articles on subjects of minor importance on which accurate information is desired. The excellence of these in the volume before us is beyond all praise. No name occurs so frequently in this connection as that of the Rev. J. A. Selbie, M.A. His contributions form a valuable part of the work.

To begin with subjects that are indirectly related to Bible science proper, we have an article by Professor Macalister on "Food," occupying sixteen pages, full of curious and interesting information on the vegetables, animals, etc., that constituted the food-stuffs of the Hebrews. Valuable geographical articles are contributed by Lieut.-Col. Conder ("Jerusalem"), by Col. Sir C. Warren ("Jordan"), and by the Rev. S. Merrill, D.D. ("Galilee").

The "Geology of Palestine" is written by Professor E. Hull. The three articles on "Galatia," "Galatia, Region of," and "Galatians," by Professor W. M. Ramsay, will be welcomed by those who are exercised over the question regarding the locale of the churches to which the Epistle is addressed.

In Biblical Psychology Professor Laidlaw has articles on "Flesh," "Heart," "Inner Man," "Image." They are models in their way, short, but packed with meaning, and fitted to be useful to students. The same may be said of the articles on Eschatology ("Hades," "Heaven," "Hell," etc., by Principal Salmond, who by the way omits mention of his own classic work on "Immortality" in his enumeration of authorities. This reserve is not practised by other writers, but should not the editor supply the lack?

Of the more theological articles, those on the "Holy Spirit," the "Incarnation," the "Kingdom of God," and "Children of God," will attract special attention. The first is by Professor Swete, whose intimate knowledge of the history of the doctrine gives great value to his contribution. Some may be of opinion that the doctrinal method of exposition which the author pursues is less fruitful of results than a more biblical way of treating the subject would have been, such as Gunkel's little book on the Pauline doctrine of the "Holy Spirit" is a specimen of—a work which is not mentioned by the author in his account of literature. Professor Ottley's article on the "Incarnation" is admirable for the full account it gives of the aspects under which the higher nature of Christ is viewed in the Epistles of the New Testament. Especially good is his exposition of the Lordship of Christ. The article does not enter on the theological questions relating to the Person of Christ; but nothing could be better as a statement of the New Testament doctrine. The "Kingdom of

God" is treated by Professor Orr in an article at once full, comprehensive, and up-to-date. On the use that has been made of this idea by those who have in recent years done much to restore it to its place in religious thought, Dr Orr says, "it must remain doubtful how far the idea of the Kingdom is fitted to serve as a principle of an exhaustive system of Theology." "But," he adds, "it is fitted to render service as the bond of union between dogmatic theology and Christian ethics"; and "the social tendencies of our age give it a special value for our own time." Readers will turn with melancholy interest to the article "Children of God," written by the late Professor Candlish, one of the most loveable of men and one of the ablest of theologians. Dr Candlish had pre-eminent qualifications for dealing with this subject, and his article is a most weighty one. It may be remarked that the view he advocates of the New Testament doctrine of man's sonship to God, on grounds that seem to me indisputable, was the view that commended itself to the late Dr Dale in his latter days as the most conformable to Scripture. (See his "Life," pages 654-5).

The articles dealing with the subjects that belong to the department of Introduction are numerous, and are furnished by scholars whose names are a guarantee for the excellence of their work. "Genesis" is done by Professor Ryle; "Habakkuk" by Professor Driver; "Haggai" by Rev. G. A. Cooke; Professor König of Rostock writes on "Jonah" and "Judges"; Professor W. T. Davison is the author of a very readable article on "Job," and Professor Burney deals with "I. and II. Kings." No words are needed to commend the articles by Professor G. A. Smith on "Joshua" and "Isaiah." In the latter the author deals separately with chapters i.-xxxix. and xl.-lxvi., the ideas in each section calling for independent treatment. This necessitates the article being of unusual length, but no one can wish it shorter. "Hosea" and "Jeremiah" are from the pen of Professor A. B. Davidson, and, as one might expect, are particularly attractive. "Jeremiah" is a delightful piece of reading, and is full of light on the character of the prophet and on the ideas of the book. On the fragmentary nature of the prophecies that have come directly from Jeremiah's own hand, he finely remarks:—"We have no literature from Jeremiah in the sense in which we have literature from Isaiah. The flowers of Jeremiah's diction and thought have reached us only after being cut and pressed; the bloom and fragrance yet remaining with them suggest faintly what they were when fresh" (p. 576). The article "Hexateuch" is by Professor F. H. Woods, and is a treatment, showing great mastery of detail, of the composite character of the first six books of the O. T. His conclusion as to the historical worth of the narrative con-



tained in the Hexateuch is, that it has "but little to tell us of the early history of Israel, but much to tell us of the times in which the author lived" (p. 375). The article on the "History of Israel," by Dr W. E. Barnes, is a somewhat disappointing performance. It is brightly written, but slight, and scarcely what one might look for, considering all that has been done by criticism toward the reconstruction of O. T. history. The biographical article on "Isaac" is from the pen of Professor Ryle; those on "Jacob" and "Joseph" are by Professor Driver. With regard to the question how far the Patriarchs are historical characters, both writers hold that they *are* historical, and that the Bible accounts of them are in outline historically true, but that the characters are "idealised and their biographies are in many respects coloured by the feelings and associations of a later age" (p. 534). We would call special attention to the very helpful contribution to O. T. theology we have in Professor Skinner's article on "Holiness." Every sentence of it strikes light.

In the department of the New Testament the editor has been equally fortunate in securing the help and contributions of scholars who have in most cases made the subjects on which they write their own by life-long study. In his article on the "Gospels," Professor Stanton states the Synoptic Problem and the attempts toward its solution with great fulness and clearness. We have two articles on "John"—the one, on the Apostle, his life and theology, by Professor Strong, containing much fresh and original thinking; the other on the "Gospel," unusually long, being the longest but one in the volume, by the late Professor Reynolds. It forms a very valuable contribution to the subject, and is written with the splendour of diction and elevation of feeling by which the author was distinguished. Professor Dods writes on the Epistle to the "Galatians." The article is a short one, but all the main points are handled with a fulness as well as lucidity and force that leave nothing to be desired. "Hebrews" is by Dr A. B. Bruce, who writes with a genuine love of his subject, expounding the great ideas of the book in a way that is deeply impressive and instructive. He advocates the view that the epistle was originally addressed to Hebrew Christians in Palestine. The article on "James" is what might be expected from Professor Mayor, whose work on this Epistle is so well known. It contains a criticism of the view lately propounded by Spitta, that the Epistle is a Christian adaptation of a Jewish book written before the Christian era. Students of St John will find much to profit by in Principal Salmond's careful article on the Epistles. His exposition of the first Epistle and of the mode of thought characteristic of the author is specially helpful. Professor Chase gives a fresh interest to the epistle of "Jude" by pointing

out in detail the coincidences between it and the recently-discovered text of the Greek version of the Book of Enoch.

I must omit mention of the articles in New Testament Theology, that special reference may be made to two writers to whom every reader of the *Dictionary* must feel special indebtedness. They are Dr A. B. Davidson and Dr Sanday. They are towers of strength to the volume, and their contributions are a mine of wealth. Articles from their pen are scattered freely through the volume, but there are two in particular that will be read and re-read. The article "God" is the work of their joint authorship. Dr Davidson writes the first part on the Old Testament doctrine of God. It is a remarkable production, not only for the scientific precision of the thought and the firm, cautious step with which it advances from point to point, but also for its wonderful insight into the religion of the Old Testament, and its splendid survey of the course of the development of the religious idea among the Hebrews. He recognises three stages of the idea of God, each resulting in a clearer conception. The period from Exodus to the revolution of Jehu, when national expression was given to the faith that Jehovah was the God of Israel. The second, the prophetic period, when the popular conception of Jehovah as the national God came into conflict with the prophets' conception of Him as a purely ethical Being. And the third, from the destruction of the State onwards, when the prophetic truth about God, illustrated in national history, came to be "assimilated into personal experience, equated by reflection with the condition of the world, the state of the people, the life of the individual" (p. 202). The whole article is a brilliant one, and abounds in memorable sentences like these: "The Hebrew came down from the thought of God upon the world, he did not rise from the world up to the thought of God" (p. 196). "Each prophet has his own special truth about God to declare, and the truth is perhaps a reflection of his own kind of mind. But as the separate colours combine to form the pure light, all their separate truths unite to reveal the full nature of God, for it takes many human minds to make up the Divine mind" (p. 204). "Writers are agreed that ethical elements entered into the conception of Jehovah from the beginning. There was at least in His nature a crescent of light, which waxed till it overspread His face, and He was light, with no darkness at all" (p. 202). There are drawbacks about joint authorship; for one thing, there is apt to be a want of congruity of treatment; and we miss in Dr Sanday's treatment of the New Testament part of the subject the rigorous adherence to the historical method that is characteristic of Dr Davidson's part. There is a certain anxiety manifested to read later dogmatic

developments into New Testament statements. But he does good service by his exposition of the Pauline phrase, "the righteousness of God," and by his success in showing how, understood in the first instance as God's own personal righteousness, it came to have the special sense the argument of Paul seems to require us to give it, and to mean that condition of righteousness that is the gracious gift of God to man.

But Dr Sanday's claim on the gratitude of the reader is founded on his article "Jesus Christ." It is in length quite a treatise; and in the extent of its learning, its exactness of statement, its critical acumen, its fairness to opponents, its breadth of outlook and spirituality of tone, such a treatise as very few besides Dr Sanday could have written. It is conservative in its main positions, though the freedom of the critic is exercised upon the record. It is not very easy to describe it. It is not a life of Jesus in the ordinary sense. The narrative of the Passion, for instance, is not taken account of, except in so far as there are questions for criticism to settle arising out of it. His aim throughout is apologetic; it is to present a picture of what Christ was and is that will correspond to the divine reality. And while the life of Christ on earth is the main theme, the author does not limit himself to that. In the last section which he terms "The Verdict of History," he completes the picture by adding the impression made by the life of Christ on contemporaries and on the history of the world since. The life of Christ is presented in its broad features. The author tells us in the outset he is to avoid the method of studying Christ from the point of view of His own consciousness of Himself. He therefore begins with the external aspects of the history, unfolding the successive stages of it as these would appear to an observer of the events. He enters at once on the public ministry, reserving for the close all matter which he calls supplemental, *e.g.* the story of the miraculous birth, etc., which would be late in being brought to the consciousness of the Church. His plan includes a treatment both of the teaching of Christ and of His miracles. On His teaching, Dr Sanday says much that is beautiful and suggestive. What he says about miracles will provoke discussion and possibly misunderstanding. More than once we find him using language to the effect that, if a trained nineteenth century observer had been present he would have given a different version of the occurrences from that which has come down to us from the naïve chroniclers of the first. Such a statement might lead us to suppose that he held these occurrences to be natural events, apprehended as supernatural ones by those whose habits of thought led them to expect that Divine action would run counter to natural laws. But Dr Sanday

holds strongly that the miracles are historical, and that any attempt to translate them into our own habits of thought is doomed to failure. He holds that the evidence for miracles is conclusive. What he means then by the above is that Christ in working the miracles ascribed to Him, accommodated Himself to the predisposition of the people of that age to see the Divine in events that ran counter to natural law. It follows that we whose habits of thought are so different would not be convinced by such works if we saw them, and that however fully accredited the Gospel miracles are, they have no evidential value for us, and are in fact a stumbling-block to our faith. Dr Sanday seems to accept this inference. But this, he adds, does not affect "the worth for man of the Person of Jesus, which does not change but is eternal" (p. 628). One remark more. The picture of the life of Christ, he holds, is not complete till we have added to it the impression left by a reading of other parts of the N. T., as well as the testimony borne by the early "undivided" Church; and by the latter he means the findings of the great councils of the early Church. I am unable at this point to follow the author. It seems a perilous course to identify the doctrine of Christ as formulated by the councils with the truth about Him learnt from the Gospels, or to aim at combining the dogma of the Church with the Gospel representation. Such an attempt must provoke needless antagonism to the Christ of history on the part of those who turn away from the metaphysical setting of the truth in the creeds. These creeds of the "undivided Church" do not contribute to the understanding of the Life of Christ; in certain respects they obscure it. We venture to say this, while we accept as true and desire to profit by Dr Sanday's reminder, that "the decisions of the councils were framed by minds of great acumen and power really far better equipped for such discussions than the average Anglo-American mind of to-day" (p. 650). One is not concerned to defend the "average Anglo-American mind of to-day." But the theologians from the time of Schleiermacher onwards that are the boast of the German Church were not pigmies in comparison with the fathers of the early centuries, and Dr Sanday knows well that these theologians, so far from identifying the Gospel picture with that of the ancient creeds, have regarded the latter as in certain respects a serious hindrance to the understanding and appreciation of the former, and have laboured (not without success) to free the historical figure from the formulæ imposed upon it by a worn-out metaphysic. Dr Sanday concludes with some weighty and suggestive paragraphs on the problem of the Person and Work of Christ as it faces the Church of to-day, the points on which enquiry has still to be

made, and the directions to which we must look for further light. The whole article is the work of a living mind and cannot fail to stimulate thought.

We again record our conviction of the great worth of this *Dictionary* and its importance for students of the Word. It is no exaggeration to say that when completed it will form the most valuable work in Biblical Science that has ever been produced in this country. Issued in the closing years of this century and the opening years of the next, it will serve as a lasting memorial of the extraordinary activity of mind that has been directed to the Scriptures and related subjects during the past century; and it will register the mature results of sober and reverent scholarship achieved in that period. It will reflect the striking change in men's way of looking at the Bible that criticism has brought about; but it will reflect also the revival of religious faith that has taken place, that has made it possible to combine the freest relation to the letter of Scripture with reverence for its spirit and with unswerving attachment to the revelation of the Will of God it contains. Nor is it likely that the *Dictionary* will soon become antiquated or be superseded. It must be long before the contents of a work like this, which is in many respects so much in advance of traditional opinion, can be assimilated by the general mind of the Church. We congratulate the Messrs Clark on their having produced a *Dictionary* that holds the field and is likely to hold it for many a day to come. Their enterprise deserves success on a scale worthy of what has been accomplished. This it will no doubt receive. No minister should be without this book. It is a library in itself, and an indispensable help to him in his professional studies. And wherever there is a living interest in the study of the Bible, it ought to find its way; it needs not a professional training to understand and master its contents.

We have two suggestions in the interest of readers to make. The one is that in future volumes or editions the editor and publishers should, if possible, arrange to furnish more maps. We have two in this volume, the one of "the Kingdoms of Judah and Israel," the other of "Jerusalem"; both are excellent, but more are needed. One can make little of an article like Professor Ramsay's "Galatia" without a map or chart before the eye. Also, they would confer a favour on the reader were they to append to the list of authors on the flyleaf a list as well of at least the principal articles that they have written. We wish to know not only the names of the contributors but also the names of the articles which they have contributed, without having to search through the volume for the information.

DAVID SOMERVILLE.

### **A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Samuel.**

*By Henry Preserved Smith, D.D., Professor of Biblical History and Interpretation in Amherst College. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo, pp. 421 and xxxix. Price, 12s.*

THE International Critical Commentary has now reached five volumes in the New Testament series and three in the Old Testament. Dr Driver's Deuteronomy was followed by Dr Moore's Judges, and now Dr H. P. Smith has given us the Books of Samuel.

As it is impossible to mention this last work without recalling at once Dr Driver's valuable *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, it is well to say at once that Dr Smith's Commentary and Dr Driver's Notes are as regards scope very different books. It may safely be said that it will be long before "Driver" is superseded for Hebrew students, but on the other hand (as the title warns us) the English reader must not expect to gain anything from it. It is not even provided with a literary Introduction, and those who wish to know Dr Driver's opinions on the literary problems of the Books of Samuel must refer to the *Literature of the Old Testament*.

The International Critical Commentary on the other hand takes special thought for the English reader by separating the critical and grammatical comment from the English translation and general exegesis. Moreover, complete Introductions are prefixed and literary analysis is not ignored in the notes.

Dr H. P. Smith's volume is a careful piece of work in which no difficulty seems to be shirked. Every awkwardness or obscurity of the Hebrew text is noticed, and the best emendations to be derived from the versions, particularly the LXX in its three forms (A, B, and Lagarde's Lucianic text), and from internal evidence and transcriptional probability, are registered briefly but clearly. The latest literature has been used, such as Budde's *Critical Text* (1894), Nowack's *Hebräische Archäologie* (1894), Benzinger's work with the same title (1894), and the Geographies of Buhl (1896) and G. A. Smith (ed. 3, 1895), and Bäder's *Syria and Palestine* (1894). Grammatical references are made to the twenty-sixth edition of Kautzsch's Gesenius, to A. B. Davidson's *Hebrew Syntax* (1894), and to Driver's *Tenses* (ed. 3, 1892).

The Introduction consists of sections on the Title, Contents, Composition, and Literary Analysis of the Book, and also on Text and Versions, and on Commentaries. A section is also given on the Religious Ideas contained in the Book. The whole Introduc-

tion is tersely and clearly written with a praiseworthy abstention from doubtful conjecture. The weak section of the Introduction is that headed "Religious Ideas of the Books of Samuel." It seems to the reviewer that this is too hastily written and that it does not do full justice to the subject. Dr Smith rightly points out that there is (in the different parts of the book) a diversity of religious view corresponding with the diversity of authorship, but he seems to have allowed this diversity to banish from his view the underlying unity. We see in the different parts of the Books of Samuel *one* religion, though at different stages, and the scattered religious notices allow a more complete unification than Dr Smith has attempted. I could wish that he had more fully developed his own thesis (p. xxxv.) "That Jahweh is the God of Israel is the faith of all parts of the Old Testament." He might then have led us to the further result "That Jahweh is a moral ruler is the faith of all parts of the Books of Samuel." It is a serious blot that Dr Smith makes no reference in this connexion to the attitude of Jahweh towards the double crime of David against Uriah. Even if (with Dr Smith in his commentary on the text of 2 S. 11, 12) we treat Nathan's rebuke as an insertion by a later editor, we still have a striking example of Jahweh's vindication of His own righteousness. The writer of the Court History of David represents the God of Israel as taking up the cause of a mere alien—a Hittite officer—against the chosen king; *The thing that David had done displeased the Lord* (11<sup>27</sup>), *and the Lord struck the child that Uriah's wife bare unto David* (12<sup>15b</sup>). Moreover, in any account of the *Religious Ideas of the Books of Samuel* the story of Nathan's rebuke must find some place; even if the passage which contains it be from the hand of a later editor, it is still just as much a part of our Books of Samuel as 2 S. 21. (the Gibeonites), or 2 S. 24. (the Numbering), passages which are not unnoticed in Dr Smith's survey. Perhaps the later parts of Samuel develop more fully the moral aspects of the God of Israel, but the earlier passages do not give an uncertain sound. Jahweh has respect to the lowly (1 S. 2<sup>8, 9</sup>), he loathes oppression, even priestly oppression (*ib.* 2<sup>17, 28</sup>), and kingly oppression (*ib.* 8<sup>11a</sup>). Dr Smith has hardly succeeded in bringing out such traits as these.

On the other hand, some passages (1 S. 26<sup>19</sup> and 2 S. 24<sup>1</sup>; cp. 1 S. 2<sup>25</sup>) are unduly pressed. "Jahweh," writes Dr Smith, "is a God inscrutable in his actions—a God of moods we might almost call him. He instigates Saul against David for no reason of which the latter is conscious. Yet by inhaling the fragrance of a sacrifice it is probable that he may be placated, and thus his good humour be restored. At a later time he instigates David to com-

mit a sin, apparently in order that he may punish him, just as he hardened the hearts of Eli's sons in order that he might destroy them" (Introduction, p. xxxv).

In this passage it seems to me that Dr Smith is rather reproducing words and phrases from Samuel—and reproducing them in the crudest possible form—than helping us to penetrate to the ideas which lie behind them. Even in modern times, when experience of every kind has enriched our powers of expression far beyond those of the ancient Hebrews, our terms and phrases break down under the strain of conveying spiritual ideas. Again and again we have to fall back on anthropomorphic expressions in order to represent in words some comparatively simple instance of the divine working. Surely, then, we must be very careful in drawing the inference in the case of any part of so ancient a book as the Book of Samuel, that the religious ideas meant to be conveyed by language, crude and materialistic to our modern ears, must needs have been themselves crude and materialistic.

The first of these passages (1 S. 26<sup>19</sup>) is certainly not a safe basis for any theory as to the character of Israel's God. The language is courtly language (*If the LORD have stirred thee up against me, let Him accept an offering*), and does not represent David's real thoughts; indeed, David's utterances throughout (vv. 18-24) are most skilfully chosen with a view to spare the king.

Neither is the second passage (2 S. 24<sup>1</sup>) a witness on which much stress can be laid. Chap. 24 (as Dr Smith tells us) is divorced from its original context; probably it once stood in close connexion with chap. 21. Probably if we had the whole setting of the passage, we should read something about a sin of Israel which provoked the anger of the LORD against Israel. In any case, we ought to hesitate to call Jahweh a "God of moods" on the strength of so abrupt a passage as this. It is very much to be hoped that § 8 on *The Religious Ideas* will be re-written in the Second Edition of the Commentary.

Dr Smith (like his immediate predecessor, Dr Driver) has devoted much attention to the text of Samuel, and has taken account of the work done in this field by Thenius (whose work he duly praises) and by Wellhausen. While agreeing with Dr Smith on the need for this careful scrutiny of readings, we may venture to differ from him in certain places. Thus, in 1 S. 1<sup>9a</sup>, the Heb. text seems to the reviewer to hold the field against any improvements as yet suggested. The order of narration in the M.T. is truly telling:—"*Hannah rose up after the eating in Shiloh, and after the drinking, Eli the while looking on, not merry, but bitter in spirit, and took no further share in the general rejoicing, but prayed.*" We cannot omit with G<sup>8</sup> the clause *and after the drink-*



ing (M.T., also G<sup>41</sup>) without losing a touch which prepares us for Eli's accusation of Hannah (ver. <sup>14</sup>); and if we accept from G<sup>3</sup> in exchange<sup>1</sup> the clause *and she stood before the Lord*, we obtain words which are merely an anticipation of ver. <sup>10</sup>, while we lose the full force of the contrast between the merry feast and the sad-hearted woman.

One may doubt also whether Dr Smith is right in his reading (based on Klostermann and the LXX) of 1 S. 26<sup>20</sup>, "For the king of Israel is come out to seek *my life*, as *the eagle* hunts the partridge in the mountains." For the *my life* of the LXX the M.T. has *one flea*, and for *as the eagle hunts* of Klostermann, the M.T. has *as he* (i.e. the king) *hunts*. The Hebrew text is singularly vigorous in its comparison of *the seeking of the flea* (David) with *the hunting of the partridges*. "Let the king bestir himself with a host of beaters for a worthy sport (the partridge-hunt), but let him not bring 3000 chosen men (ver. <sup>2</sup>) to catch one flea (me, David the insignificant)!"

Again, does Dr Smith do well in accepting Klostermann's הַעֲזִיבִי in 2 S. 1<sup>19</sup> 2<sup>1</sup> G<sup>42</sup>, which Dr Smith cites, presupposes practically the same reading (as far as the consonants are concerned) as the M.T. The comparison of Jonathan to a gazelle (the male creature is meant, as the masculine form of the word shows) is not inappropriate: for the personal beauty of the fallen friend is the uppermost thought (cp. Cant. 2<sup>17</sup>); moreover the mention of *high-places* in the immediate context is in favour of *gazelle* being the right reading (cp. 2 S. 22<sup>34</sup>). Ver. <sup>25</sup> b (which Dr Smith strikes out) supplies a satisfactory defence for the M.T.

In some points we could wish that Dr Smith's Notes were somewhat fuller. We rarely get what we do not want, but we sometimes miss what we want. Thus on 1 S. 13<sup>14</sup> ("Jahweh has sought out a man according to his heart") Dr Smith shows that he is aware that such a compound term as "a-man-after-his-own-heart" (A.V.) though supported by the accentuation is almost unparalleled in the Hebrew language, but he does not make it clear that it is better to connect the phrase *according to his heart* with the verb *sought out*, disjoining it from *a man*. It is God's *choice* which is *according to his heart*; the choice is unfettered by the existence of heirs to Saul, or by any popular sentiment in favour of his house.

In the case of some passages again some additional references might have been given to books of a special character, e.g. on 2 S. 5<sup>7</sup> we expect some references (which we do not get) to topo-

<sup>1</sup> G<sup>41</sup> give both clauses.

<sup>2</sup> Restored by Dr Smith thus, *Grieve, O Israel! On thy heights are the slain.*

graphical literature dealing with the position of Zion. On ver. <sup>24</sup> ("the sound of marching in the tops of the balsams") Dr Smith speaks of the "sanctity of the trees," but gives no reference to Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*, chap. v. Again on 23 <sup>20</sup> ("the two sons of Ariel") we are not referred to additional Note L of the *Religion of the Semites*, though Dr Smith just mentions Robertson Smith's view, "unless towns or sanctuaries are intended."

Finally, in taking farewell of a very useful book, I may be allowed to point out some few misprints, which might be corrected in a Second Edition.

Page 11, line 24. Read, *Benzinger*.

Page 127, line 2 (fr. below). Read ἐρώξετο.

Page 167, line 32. Read יִשְׁכִּיל (with initial י).

Page 204, line 2 (fr. below). "The oracle is therefore imported by a prophet" (some misprint is probable).

Page 205, line 1. After בַּמִּצְפָּה add "So S."

Page 243, line 13. Read מִרְבֵּק (with final ק).

Page 288, line 14. On the dual form of *Jerusalem* add ref. to Kautzsch-Gesenius <sup>26</sup> § 88 c. Rem. 1.

Page 288, line 22. Read יִסְרִין (with initial י).

Page 289, line 5. On צִנּוּר add ref. to Ps. 42<sup>8</sup>.

The Commentary is a very good one, sufficient without being overburdened with irrelevant matter. It is heartily to be wished  
"A Second Edition!"

W. EMERY BARNES.

## Elements of the Science of Religion.

*Part II. Ontological. Being the Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Edinburgh in 1898. By C. P. Tiele, Theol.D., etc., Professor of the History and Philosophy of Religion in the University of Leyden. Edinburgh and London: Wm. Blackwood & Sons, 1899. Pp. viii. 286. Price, 7s. 6d. net.*

In briefly noticing in this *Review* (vol. viii. p. 10) the appearance of the first series of Professor Tiele's Gifford Lectures, we ventured to indicate an opinion that the value of the course would specially depend upon the treatment accorded to what the learned author had indicated as the second division of his subject. The first, or morphological part, might be regarded as presenting in a generalised form the material which in the writer's other works had been given concretely and in detail. It set forth the laws of the facts, with sufficient illustration to make them intelligible. The second part,

it was apparent, would be more synthetic in its character; we hoped to get nearer the personality of the author, to read what a lifetime of special study had taught him as to the great problems of religious thought and life. In this we understood that he would break new ground, so far as his published opinions were concerned, and therefore it was with a keen interest that we took up this further instalment of his lectures.

It may be said at once that, in most respects, the anticipations formed have been amply fulfilled. We have here a thoughtful weighty book, proceeding from a master of that modern Science of Religion, to which some have looked with expectations as unreasonable as the suspicions of others,—wanting perhaps in warmth, but full of knowledge and intellectual acumen, grave, earnest, and dignified, as becomes the themes dealt with, and above all, marked by an impartiality, an evident search after truth, and truth alone, which commands the respect of the reader. So noteworthy is the last characteristic that many passages in the book might be quoted or founded upon in favour of theological conclusions, which Dr Tiele himself would probably be one of the last to draw. He writes in the interest of science, not apologetic; yet there is not a little that the apologist will probably hasten to annex.

The present, like the former volume, contains ten lectures. We briefly glance at the contents of these.

The first considers, and distinguishes between, the manifestations and constituents of religion. Assuming that it is *real* religion which is in question, that which “lives in the heart,” and not that which is “put on like a Sunday garment,” its manifestations are words and actions, its constituents are emotions, conceptions and sentiments. Religion, we are told, always begins with an emotion, and “every emotion embraces three elements: (1) a predisposition in the form of certain longings or aspirations, as yet partly unconscious, and certain latent and vague conceptions, differing according to the temperament and inclination of the individual, which may be described as a mood; (2) an impression produced upon us from without, or the affection itself; and (3) the fact of becoming conscious of such affection, or the perception of such affection” (p. 15). The sentiment is distinguished from the emotion as “the direction of the will which impels to action” (p. 18). Between the two comes the conception. It is not unlikely that Professor Tiele’s psychology may here be challenged, especially as he admits “certain latent and vague conceptions” as elements of emotion itself, and doubtless the whole question of the priority of thought or feeling is raised by it. But accepting his analysis, we note that all three constituents are essential. Religion becomes one-sided when any one of them is over emphasised or

neglected. They must all be present, and must be in equilibrium if the genuine and vigorous growth of religion is to be promoted. To two remarks in this lecture we may direct special attention. One is as follows: "I rejoice that the need of religion, so long obscured by prosaic materialism, is again beginning to make itself felt." The other is that "religion constitutes the deepest foundation, or rather the very centre, of our spiritual life." It is not that these observations are original, but as expressions of a personal faith, they form the foundation stones of a not inadequate theological structure. And they do not stand alone.

The second lecture is on the "Genesis and Value of Conceptions of Faith." The emotion which calls faith into life immediately transforms it into conceptions (p. 26). How are these conceptions formed? It is by the aid of imagination that "the religious man gives concrete shape to the faith that is in him by means of an image of an ideal future and a supernatural and divine world. But imagination can do no more. It can only create images which give utterances to some thought, or give vent to some feeling" (p. 29). Imagination is not vain, because it works on reality, but its workings are susceptible of improvement as the reality is more truly apprehended. The conceptions of faith possess relative, but only relative, value. They may be superseded by higher conceptions. The course of reasoning here is similar to that adopted by Sabatier in his *Sketch of a Philosophy of Religion*, and it leads Dr Tiele into a discussion of the distinctions between *science and knowledge*, and between *knowledge and faith*, as also into an interesting criticism of a passage respecting Reason and Authority in Mr A. J. Balfour's *Foundations of Belief*. As, in the previous lecture, our author dissociates himself from Materialism, so, in the conclusion of this, he dissociates himself from Rationalism. The difficulty in giving adequate expression to faith is "not because it stands on a lower platform than science, but because it has a higher aim. It must make shift to express itself in a language which is too poor to express everything. It is, so to speak, a king in exile, a son of God in human form" (p. 47).

Lecture III. discusses the relation of Philosophy to Religious Doctrine. Philosophy is here taken in its widest sense as including all speculations as to the ultimate source of the universe. Philosophy and Faith existed before they were reduced to systems, or arranged in scholastic or ecclesiastical dogmas. They became differentiated "when laymen attempted the solution of questions hitherto regarded as the sole property of priests and theologians" (p. 59). Philosophy aims at a complete and connected cosmogony; religious doctrine is a theory of practice—the truth it represents is substantiated by the evidence of conscience,

and it then proceeds to ask what bearing this truth has upon human life (p. 62). They are often in conflict, which sometimes arises from misunderstanding, but more frequently from a difference in the development of the two; one progresses while the other is stationary. Some remarks upon Creeds lead Professor Tiele to point out the elements which together constitute every religion. These are "a doctrine regarding God (or theology), a doctrine regarding man's relations to God, ideal and real (or anthropology), and a doctrine regarding the means of establishing and maintaining communion with God (soteriology, or the doctrine of salvation)" (p. 73). "All religions," he says (p. 75), "are religions of redemption, and all religious doctrine is a doctrine of salvation. This is one of the most striking, and at the same time most certain, results of our science." The mention of these three elements lays the groundwork of the three succeeding lectures, which respectively treat of "The constant element in all conceptions of God," "The Relationship between God and Man," and "Worship, Prayers, and Offerings." The root idea, Dr Tiele holds, in every conception of godhead is power—"the conclusion to which the study of religions has led us is, that a god is a *superhuman power*" (p. 80). By superhuman, he is careful to explain, is not necessarily meant supernatural or supersensual, but "for the religious man the chief question is, what his god can effect, what he has to hope or to fear from him" (p. 84). Omnipotence is of course early associated with omniscience and omnipresence as attributes of Deity, and to these an advanced culture adds beauty and morality, the satisfaction of the aesthetic and the ethical sentiment. But at the basis of all is the idea of power—"men worship that only which they deem above them" (p. 97), the powers of nature cease to be manifestations of the Divine, in the sense of evoking worship, as soon as they are brought under human control. But not only "God above us," but also "God in us," is a belief common to all religions" (p. 103). The latter is characteristic of the theanthropic as distinguished from the theocratic religions. The theanthropic religions lay the chief stress upon man's relationship with God. The effect of such a view is to stimulate hope and give rise to "the representations of Paradise and the predictions of a glorious future for man upon earth" (p. 109). "No one will deny that the idea of relationship with God is but imperfectly expressed in all these images, and that they are but attempts to give it shape; yet the religious thought that underlies them is that man 'is of God, and through God, and to God,' and is destined at last to be reunited with Him" (p. 115). The same thought finds expression also in the conception of a mediator so widely exemplified in the various

forms of religion. The mediator is divine as well as human—the god-man—and this doctrine, says our author in a noteworthy sentence, is so prominent and central “because it satisfies the deepest needs of the religious soul” (p. 120). When we turn now to the consideration of Worship, with its special forms of Prayer and Offering, we find that it springs from “a sentiment of kinship with the superhuman powers, as well as a sense of entire dependence upon them, which impels the religious man to seek communion with them . . . and to re-establish such communion when he thinks it has been broken off through his own fault” (p. 127). The reciprocal character of worship—man approaching God and God drawing near to man is fully recognised; at the same time it is pointed out that prayer as well as answer must be thought of as coming from God. A beautiful saying of a Persian mystic is quoted in this connection. One had complained to him “that his prayers to Allah remain unanswered, and he had been persuaded by Satan that they were all in vain. ‘But why,’ asks the prophet, ‘have you ceased to call upon God?’ ‘Because,’ replied the doubter, ‘the answer—Here am I—never came, and I feared to be turned away from the door.’ Whereupon the prophet says:—‘Thus hath God commanded me: Go to Him, and say, O sorely tired man, was it not I that urged you to serve me? . . . Your invocation of Allah was my *Here am I*, and your pain, your longing, your zeal, were my messengers’” (p. 133). Again we may compare an eloquent passage of Sabatier (Eng. transl. p. 33), “no prayer remains unanswered, because God to whom it is addressed is the One who has already inspired it. The search for God cannot be fruitless; for the moment I set out to seek Him, He finds me and lays hold of me.”

The seventh lecture is occupied with Religion as a Social Phenomenon—the Church. In connection with it there are several important and interesting discussions, one of the most remarkable being on the question whether the Church in the larger sense exists at all. Are local church organizations the only form in which a common religious life can find its natural, if not its only true home? (p. 164). Are these the only form in which the ideal Church can be realised? One author speaks, he says, from strong conviction when he declares that this would be to regard the religious development of some twenty centuries as a huge aberration, which must be all wiped out, so that a fresh beginning may be made. “This is surely not the teaching of the philosophy of history, but rather a flat denial of its plain lessons” (p. 165).

The eighth lecture brings us face to face with what we must regard as the central problem of the volume—“The Inquiry into the Being or Essence of Religion.” The difficulty of the question is acknowledged, and a *caveat* is entered against the abuse of the

distinction as applied to religion between husk and kernel, as though "the external manifestations of religious consciousness were mere unimportant incidents" (p. 186). But the question is, What is it that we can characterise as the abiding, the unchanging, the essential element, as distinguished from the ever-varying phenomena in which it is revealed?" (p. 187). Various attempts to answer the question having been considered, Faith is first set forth as constituting that religious frame of mind in which religion has originated. But this answer also Dr Tiele sets aside as one which he has outgrown. True, faith is the life of religion, but so it is of the whole range of our spiritual activities—of morality, science and art,—even of superstition,—as well as of religion. The essence of religion, he concludes, is to be sought for in a certain sentiment or disposition, or frame of mind in which all its various elements have their source. This is Piety, manifesting itself in word and deed, in conceptions and observances, in doctrine and in life. But the essence of Piety, and therefore the essence of Religion itself is Adoration, in which the two phases of religion are united—on the one hand, self-consecration, on the other, the desire to possess the adored object, to enter into that closest communion, that perfect union, which forms the characteristic aim of all religion, and to which all true believers earnestly aspire (p. 199).

The ninth lecture discusses the Origin of Religion—not its historical origin which belongs to the morphological part of the inquiry—but its psychological foundation. The question is, What induced men to put themselves into relation with the higher powers which they discerned in the universe? The various hypotheses which trace this tendency respectively to some process of reasoning, to the moral consciousness, to sentiment, and to the opposition of self-consciousness and world-consciousness, having been passed under review, the lecturer declares himself in favour of the opinion that man is religious because he cannot help it, because he has in him the Infinite and so, according to the well-known words of St Augustine, cannot rest until he rests in God. It is not, as Max Müller puts it, the perception of the Infinite that is the origin of religion,—this is to ante-date reflection. It is the presence of the Infinite, that man has it within him even before he is himself conscious of it, and whether he recognises it or not (p. 230). The *whence* of Religion having been thus determined, it remains to consider the manner of its appearance,—in other words, the Place of Religion in Spiritual Life, which forms the subject of the concluding lecture. What, it asks, is the relation between religion, on the one hand, and science, art, and the ethical life, in all its departments, on the other? (p. 242). The difference between them largely is that while these give an imperfect, religion

gives a perfect, satisfaction. They are akin, but it is an erroneous theory which derives all the others from religion. On the other hand, there is no fear either of their being unduly dominated by it or of its being superseded by any of them. Religion and civilisation in its highest developments are not incompatible; the former hallows the latter. And the Science of Religion, by "throwing light upon the part that religion has ever played in the history of mankind, and still plays in every human soul" . . . "will help to bring home to the restless spirits of our time the truth that there is no rest for them unless 'they arise and go to their Father'" (pp. 262-3).

There is no denying the massive power of this book, and as we have already hinted, and as will be abundantly evident from various points in the foregoing outline of its argument, it may fairly be held to point to much which the author never intended to advocate. We only desire to note further that not the least interesting passages are criticisms upon British writers, and that there is a carefully prepared index to the two volumes. ALEXANDER STEWART.

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### Handbooks on the History of Religions.

*The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, by Morris Jastrow, jr., Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Languages in the University of Pennsylvania. Boston, U.S.A.: Ginn & Company, Publishers, "The Athenæum Press." 1898. 8vo, pp. xii. 780. Price, 12s. 6d. net.

AMERICA possesses at the present time some of the most active and able workers in the realm of Assyriology, and this volume is the product of one of the leaders in this branch of Semitic study. It is now nearly twelve years since Professor Sayce delivered his Hibbert Lectures on Babylonian Religion with their large and luminous, sometimes audacious, generalisations and the ample store of translated texts. Twelve years are certainly not a long interval, but in such a field of research as cuneiform literature they count for much. For there is no ancient race which possessed such ample records of its civilisation as the Assyrian and Babylonian, and there is no land—not even the Nile Valley—that contains them in larger quantities than the plains watered by the streams of the Tigris and Euphrates. Their soil is ever yielding them to the explorer in quantities and rapidity that far outstrip the pace of decipherment. Many thousands of these clay documents still remain to be transcribed and interpreted in the museums of London and other



European capitals. Hundreds of thousands still remain buried in the soil.

The texts are in many cases extremely difficult, and this is especially true of the religious and astrological tablets. Every fresh document may throw a new and unexpected light upon a doubtful word or expression, and any newly-discovered syllabary or portion of one may alter the reading of some doubtful sign.

Very soon after the publication of Sayce's treatise, attention was drawn to the epoch-making discovery of the Tell el Amarna tablets. These documents contained one most important addition to our knowledge of Babylonian mythology, viz. the legend of Adapa (see Jastrow's work, p. 544 foll.), which Winckler and Abel first published in the work *Der Thontafelfund von el Amarna*, and was republished with comments by E. J. Harper in Delitzsch's *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. ii. Heft. 2.

Another work of considerable importance appeared three years after the above-mentioned Lectures by Sayce. We refer to Jensen's *Cosmologie der Babylonier*. This dealt mainly with the astronomical and cosmical ideas of the ancient Babylonians based on a very careful examination of difficult and obscure texts. It contained transcriptions of these and also of portions of the Creation Series as well as the Flood story with an elaborate commentary appended. The great value of Jensen's work is well nigh universally recognised. I can only mention Knudtzon's *Assyrian prayers to the Sun God* and Tallquist's as well as Zimmern's contributions on Babylonian formulæ of conjuration. The name of Zimmern suggests the mention of Gunkel's instructive and stimulating *Schöpfung u. Chaos* to which the Assyriologist has made useful contributions. Lastly the results of the Babylonian Expedition organised by the University of Pennsylvania and published by Dr Hilprecht, have yielded us much desired information respecting the most distant periods of Babylonian religion and culture, though in many respects indefinite.

These are the chief contributions to our knowledge of Babylonian life and religion since Sayce delivered his lectures on the subject with which the present work deals. Many others might be added, especially L. W. King's work entitled *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery. Cuneiform Texts from the Kouyunjik Collections in the British Museum*. Jastrow's book is certainly the most elaborate treatise of the kind that has yet appeared, and it is written by one who is a leading authority on the subject, who has gathered together the materials derived from his prolonged study of the literature of Assyriology. Fortunately Jastrow has a literary instinct and knows how to write for Englishmen. The flow of his bright, crisp sentences, undisturbed by the terrible parentheses and bracketed

references of our German friends and their English imitators, renders his work a real pleasure to read. His translations have the merit of being intelligible as well as scholarly; and the thought is so admirably woven that the work has a fascination for the reader, who is surprised to find not a single dull page. It is interesting to compare this book with Chantepie de la Saussaye's recent second edition of his *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, in which the separate sections dealing with ancient Oriental and European religions are written by recognised experts in each department. Here we have the entire subject of Assyro-Babylonian religion presented to us by Dr Alfred Jeremias in sixty large octavo pages. Instead of this Jastrow gives us an entire volume of about 700 pages with very full references in the footnotes to cuneiform documents and the most authoritative literature on Assyriology. What in Jeremias' contribution to Chantepie de la Saussaye's two volumes on the ancient religions of the world is succinctly expressed in a sentence or a paragraph, is unfolded by Jastrow with great wealth of illustration in an entire chapter.

"The period which beheld the rise of large organised kingdoms out of small communities grouped around a religious centre belongs to the fourth millennium B.C. The large kingdom again had its religious centre. The establishment by Hammurabi of his empire in 2250 B.C. is of great importance. He permanently united the North and South Babylonian kingdoms under a single monarchy, with Babel as its capital" (De la Saussaye, i. p. 169).

This paragraph is well illustrated by an entire chapter (chap. viii.) in Jastrow's masterly treatise devoted to the *Pantheon in the days of Hammurabi*, occupying nearly fifty pages.

This leads me to speak of the most valuable feature in this work to the student of the comparative science of religion, viz., its *historical treatment* of the subject, whereby the *successive stages* of the growth of Babylono-Assyrian religion are unfolded. The more careful study bestowed on the earliest documents of Babylonian life and religion, to be supplemented, as we hope, by increased material of even earlier date, furnished by the *spolia opima* of Dr Hilprecht's investigations, will enable us to see the gradual evolution of the stately Babylonian religion and mythology from the most primitive forms of local worship. For Babylonian religion, though it bears so prominently a sidereal character, was not sidereal in origin. For the first time Jastrow's work enables us to see the primitive factors at work. His opening pages are specially instructive. From the primitive animism which ascribed life to the phenomena of nature—to trees, stones, and plants, as well as sun, moon, water, rain, and storms, and also to the ground, he derives the subsequent religious beliefs of the early Babylonians.

"To secure the favour of the rain and the sun was not sufficient to the agriculturist. He was obliged to obtain the protection of the guardian spirits of the soil."

Here we see the germ out of which, through the influence of social and political interrelations, the growth of towns and their domination over others, there arose the more highly developed cults of the chief Babylonian deities, and we perceive how the varying relations of these deities to one another were determined.

"Again, when through association the group of arable plots grew into a hamlet, and then through continued growth into a town, the latter, regarded as a unit by virtue of its political organisation under a chief ruler, would necessarily be supposed to have some special power presiding over its destinies, protecting it from danger and ready to defend the rights and privileges of those who stood immediately under its jurisdiction. Each Babylonian city, large or small, would in this way obtain a deity devoted to its welfare, and as the city grew in extent, absorbing perhaps others lying about, and advancing in this way to the dignity of a district, the city's god would correspondingly increase his jurisdiction."

These principles are illustrated very fully in the ensuing pages descriptive of the individual deities of Babylonia and their cults—their local character and history being traced in each case with a masterly hand. Šamaš was the exception. "Less than is the case with the other gods is he identified with any particular city" (p. 69). His character was essentially ethical and his function that of judge (p. 71, *cf.* De la Saussaye, i. p. 179).

How profoundly political interrelations governed the development of Babylonian religion may be seen from the fact that

"Amalgamation of two cities or districts is portrayed in the relation of the two patron deities as husband and wife, the stronger of the two being the former, the more subservient pictured as the latter. The more pronounced superiority of the one place over the other finds expression in the relation of father to child, while that of master and servant emphasises the complete control exercised by the one over the other" (p. 94, *fol.*).

That these developments became in the last resort matters of compromise and arrangement between local priesthoods should be clearly understood (*cf.* De la Saussaye, p. 173). The description of the old Babylonian pantheon is succeeded by a portraiture as vivid of the days of Hammurabi (2250 B.C.). Here we notice important new factors introduced by the great political changes which that monarch created. Marduk thereby assumed a dominant position. This is the religious correlate of the greater authority and central position won for Babylon, the capital. Marduk was its patron deity, and the elevation of this god into so commanding

a position was the direct result of Hammurabi's victorious and centralising policy, which brought the various states of the lower Euphrates watershed under a single control, Babylon being the supreme dominating centre (p. 116). Even Nebo is overshadowed by Marduk, and is obliged to yield his place in Borsippa to the new deity, whose cult was now in the ascendant (p. 126), and to whom Hammurabi ascribes his success, and by whom he regards himself as beloved (p. 117). We note in passing with satisfaction that Tiele's theory of the late origin of Nebo's worship is disputed (p. 126, footnote).

As we pass from the Babylonian to the Assyrian pantheon entirely new factors are disclosed. (1) By far the most prominent is the cult of the national god Ašur; (2) we note the smaller compass of the pantheon; (3) fewer minor deities. Ašur is far more intensely national than Marduk. The former is distinctively a local deity, and was never worshipped, so far as can be ascertained, as a manifestation of any of the powers of nature. Though Tiele suggests the identification of Ašur with Sin, while Jastrow is not indisposed to regard his symbol of a winged disc as expressing some phase of the Sun, so much only seems clear that Ašur is not the centre of any great mythology like Marduk. True, the alternative name Anšar, mentioned in the Creation tablet, is also claimed for him,<sup>1</sup> and Jastrow goes so far as to suggest that Ašur, "the good one," was originally a kind of punning epithet. But might not Assyrian theologians, on the other hand, seek to connect their own national God Ašur with an older grandiose mythology by the close resemblance of name, and thus the name of Anšar for the Assyrian deity was really an afterthought? Ašur is in truth quite unique in character, and is more essentially Assyrian than any other deity. It is "the only instance that we have of a God expressly giving his name to a city." Thus while Marduk survives the destruction of Babylonian independence since he embodied distinctive ideas in mythology and played a great universal role in cosmogony and the world of human life, it is far different with the national deity of Assyria, and with the fall of Assyria her patron deity is disrowned and dies. During the existence of the Assyrian supremacy, Ašur reigns in the Assyrian pantheon without a rival. All the other deities are like vassal-princes, who swell the pomp of his regal court (p. 192). Here again we note how the divine order of Assyrian religion is moulded on the type of the earthly. The unique position of Ašur is well explained:—

"For the Assyrian kings the same motives did not exist, as for the Babylonians, to emphasise their control over all parts of

<sup>1</sup> See Delitzsch, *Weltschöpfungsepos*, p. 94, footnote 1.

their empire by adding the chief gods of their districts to the pantheon. Assyria was never split up into independent states like Babylonia before the days of Hammurabi. The capital, it is true, changed with considerable frequency, but there was always only one great centre of political power" (p. 191).

We are obliged to make only cursory reference to many chapters in this instructive volume, *e.g.* "Gudea's Pantheon" (preceding Hammurabi's age) described in chap. vi., and the specially interesting chap. xi. on the "Survivals of animism in Babylonian religion," revealed in the vast world of spirits divided into different classes to which the incantation-texts bear witness. Chap. xiv., describing the Neo-Babylonian period, may be said to conclude worthily the historical survey, covering more than three millenniums, through which the author has conducted us. This is succeeded by a very full chapter on "Magical texts," and another on "Prayers and Hymns." In the latter the author remarks that the prayers and hymns of the Babylonians have not yet received adequate attention. Unfortunately those which have been discovered in Asurbanipal's library are in a very defective condition, colophons being broken off, so that we do not know anything about the occasion which prompted them (p. 299 and footnote). After this follows an instructive chapter on Penitential Psalms, upon which Zimmern, fourteen years ago, published his first and epoch-making work. Jastrow clearly and succinctly sketches the theology of these Psalms:—

"The two facts which presented themselves with overpowering force to the penitent were the anger of the deity, and the necessity of appeasing that anger. Beyond this conclusion the Babylonians and the Assyrians did not go, but this reasoning also sufficed to bring the conviction home to him that his misfortunes were the result of some offence. . . . One became conscious of having 'missed the mark' only when evil in some form came to remind the individual or the nation of the necessity of securing the favour of the deity again. Still within this sphere there were great possibilities of ethical progress."

The remarks that follow should certainly be studied in the original work (p. 314, foll.) by the Biblical student anxious to know something of the religious atmosphere that prevailed outside the Jewish communities in the exile period.

Passing over two excellent chapters, one dealing with *Omens* and the other with the "Cosmology of the Babylonians," and another on the "Babylonian Zodiacal System," we come to chap. xxiii. on the Gilgamesh epic. Here Jastrow follows Delitzsch in reading Par-napištim rather than Sit-napištim (as Jensen and Zimmern). The reading Pir-napištim on the basis of Scheil's

recently discovered tablet is very improbable; see pp. 488 and 507, footnotes. The study of this chapter should certainly be supplemented by the perusal of Jastrow's interesting article in Dr Bezold's *Zeitschrift (ZA)* for March 1899 entitled "Adraḥasis and Parnapištim," where the important consequences of Scheil's discovery are clearly set forth. Jastrow shows that one can remove the deluge episode from the Gilgamesh epic without disturbing the narrative, and the Deluge story evidently had originally two forms, to one of which Parnapištim belongs, while Adraḥasis belongs to the other. The tablet brought to light by Scheil comes from Abu Habba, the ancient Sippar, and it bears the name Adram-ḥasis (= Ḥasis-adra(m) = Xisuthros). It seems therefore to be identical with the Berossus version. From the mention of Šurippak Jastrow infers that in its original form the tale grew up out of a local inundation which overtook that city and compares this with the Sodom and Gomorrha episode of the O.T. This is very ingenious, but it illustrates Jastrow's weakness as well as his strength. His strength lies not only in his Semitic acquirements, but in that "scientific use of the imagination," to use Professor Tyndall's happy phrase, which makes his writings so attractive as well as valuable; but his gift sometimes betrays him, e.g. in his approval (p. 476, footnote 3) of Stade's far-fetched speculation on Gen. ii. 20, *Z.A.T.W.* 1897, p. 210. On the other hand, we have other suggestions which are certainly of value to the Old Testament student, e.g. p. 476 and footnote 2, and in the above article in *Z.A.* the proposed rendering of Gen. vi. 9 (*cf.* v. 24) given on p. 299. Jastrow thinks that it was the Adraḥasis legend that the Hebrews borrowed in its older form and carried with them when they first crossed the Jordan.

We can only enumerate here the remaining chapters of the book, contenting ourselves with the remark that they stand on the same high level as those which precede them. These remaining chapters deal with "Myths and Legends," "Views of Life after Death" (based largely on the "Descent of Ištar to Hades" in the Gilgamesh series, and on Jeremias' monograph, as well as Jensen's "Cosmologie"), in which Hebrew students should note the remarks on the Babylonian *Kināh* and *Sheḥl* (p. 504 foll.); followed by "The Temples and their Cults," very fully set forth, but suffering, like the rest of the book, from the lack of figured illustrations. A valuable "Conclusion" ends this remarkable volume. It is likewise endowed with a very full Bibliography (covering 32 pages) and a detailed Index.

We have but little space for criticism. In the first place was it worth while to devote so much space in preface and text to the Halévist controversy, now that Fried. Delitzsch has abandoned the

position (most creditably to his candour) which he stoutly maintained ten years ago in his *Assyrian Grammar* (p. 61 foll.)? Notwithstanding all the great ingenuity and argumentative ability of the Anti-Sumerologists, cuneiform is a mode of writing ill adapted to a Semitic language with its varied gutturals and sibilants, and can hardly have originated among Semites.

Lastly we should recommend, even in a treatise to be read by the intelligent public unacquainted with Hebrew, the use of a few diacritical points to distinguish, *e.g.* ן from נ and ם or ץ from ז.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

### Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi.

Von D. Emil Schürer. Dritte Auflage. Bde. II. und III. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. Price, M. 24.

ALL students of the Bible will welcome this new edition of the second part of Schürer's great work on the history of the Jewish people in the time of Christ. Appearing originally in one volume with the title *Lehrbuch der Neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte*, it was found necessary to divide it in the second edition into two volumes, and to alter the title to the present one. Of this 2nd edition vol. ii., with the sub-title "Die inneren Zustände," etc. (884 pp.), appeared in 1886, and four years later vol. i., "Einleitung und politische Geschichte" (with index to the whole work, 751 pp.). The second part now appears much enlarged and improved in two volumes (vols. ii. and iii. of the whole work), vol. ii. (584 pp.) entitled "Die inneren Zustände," vol. iii. (562 pp.) "Das Judentum in der Zerstreuung und die Jüdische Literatur." A third edition of vol. i. is promised shortly.

The importance of the work as a whole can scarcely be over-estimated. There is no other work in any language to equal it. Hausrath's *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte* (2te Aufl. 4 Bde. 1873-7) is an interesting and fascinating book, but not to be compared with Schürer's for thoroughness and usefulness as a work for constant reference. Holtzmann's *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte* is a very convenient and reliable hand-book, but is too small for the advanced student; the same applies to Stapfer's *La Palestine au temps de Jésus Christ* in French, and Muirhead's *The Times of Christ* and Edersheim's *Sketches of Jewish social life in the days of Christ*. Except for these and the work before us the student of the period extending from the beginning of the second century B.C. to the fall of Jerusalem has to collect his information

from Histories of Israel, Lives of Christ, Bible Dictionaries and scattered monographs. Such a student will recognise that it is no slight gain to have these sources of information collected and grouped under the proper headings. German writers as a rule are very attentive to the bibliography of their subjects, and Schürer is no exception. One may safely say that all the literature of any worth is recorded. Indeed, the additions to the literature account for a large proportion of the new material. The work of English scholars is recognised, and the references to it are generally up to date. The names of Charles, Conybeare, Ryle, Taylor, Ramsay, and others are prominent, and the *New Bible Dictionary* is referred to.

The ordinary reader would perhaps sometimes be more grateful, if a short estimate of the books cited were appended; but this scarcely enters into the plan of the author, and to be of much service would necessarily cause a considerable enlargement of the work.

As a rule the newest editions of books are used, but possessors of Reuss's *Geschichte der Schriften des Alten Testaments* need to notice that the sections of the second edition correspond to those of the first. Weber is still quoted in the first edition, and the new edition of Taylor's *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* seems to have escaped notice.

Vol. ii. has to do entirely with Palestinian life. The chief matters treated are Hellenic culture in Palestine and the relation of the Jews to it, Hellenic cities, the strictly Jewish province, the Synedrium, the Priests and Temple service, the Scribes and the results of their activity, Pharisees and Sadducees, School and Synagogue, life under the Law, the Messianic hope, and the Essenes. The first eleven pages of the book are new. In the second edition Schürer takes his information as to the extent of the Jewish population in Palestine from Josephus. He now goes back to the time of the Maccabees, and shows that this was the period during which the Jews really entered once more into the possession of the Holy Land. This position seems fully justified, for Ezra's companions were but a handful of men, who settled in a limited part of Judaea. Individuals wandered thence into Galilee and beyond Jordan, but were so few and unprotected that Judas could only ensure their safety by bringing them into Judaea. But under the later Maccabeans this was changed, and the extent of the Judæan settlements in Galilee and Peraea is well discussed in these pages.

The section on the nature and number of the Hellenistic cities in Palestine is in the main a reproduction of the same subject in the second edition, but carefully worked over. As in that edition, thirty-three Hellenistic cities—or more properly now thirty-two—



are described, and their history is briefly told. Almost every page shows by slight changes in phraseology and modifications of previous statements how detailed the revision has been here, as indeed in the whole work. One change will be noticed by all interested in Palestinian geography. In the last edition, on the authority of Waddington, the existence of two separate cities Kanata and Kanatha was accepted, the former being identified with Kerak, the latter with Kanawāt (so also G. A. Smith in his *Geography*, p. 600, and Buhl, *Geographie*, p. 363). Schürer now refers both names to one city, which he identifies with Kanawāt, the district of which, he says, probably extended to Kerak and Der Chulēf, i.e. about sixteen miles.

These pages, together with the first part of Vol. III., afford the material for a most interesting study of the relation of the Jewish to the other nations at the time of Christ. Without such a knowledge much connected with the early spread of Christianity must remain vague or unintelligible. But they have a value also for the reconstruction of Jewish history during the late Persian period, for which we have very few historical data.

For the presentation of the peculiarly Jewish life of Palestine comparatively little has been done of late, hence the sections dealing with this subject bring supplementary knowledge of detail rather than any radical change of view. Josephus, Philo, and the Mishna are the chief authorities, and there is still much to be done in the critical study of all three. Future workers will have the benefit of the critical texts of Josephus by Niese and Naber, and Cohn and Wendland's invaluable text of Philo has now reached the third volume, but a really critical edition of the Mishna seems to be as far off as ever.

Of the improvements in detail, there is one of great interest in regard to the origin of the Sanhedrin. Schürer here agrees with E. Meyer (against Stade and Holtzmann) that the heads of families—of both priesthood and laity—did not in Ezra's time form a corporation. Later, however, by the nearer approach of these heads, the Sanhedrin as a collective body was formed. As the Sanhedrin is an aristocratic body, its rise must be referred to the Persian period, for where Hellenism created new organisations they were democratic. Schürer further differs from Holtzmann in believing that the meeting of the Sanhedrin in the palace of the High Priest to condemn Jesus was exceptional, and that its usual place of meeting (the βουλή in Josephus) was a special chamber on the west side of the Temple-hill.

In the section on Halacha and Haggada, Schürer contributes little or nothing original, but sums up well the results of the latest research. There is a large field here for further work. We can

see what sort of biblical or theological literature was current at the time of Christ; we know a few of the rules of conduct that were observed and some of the philosophic doctrines that were then being discussed. But when we come to the mass of material in Targums, Midrashim, and Mishna, it is almost impossible to put one's finger on a single passage and say with certainty that it was written or even taught in the time of Christ. A critical study of this literature would be a great advantage to New Testament scholars, but the work is large, and even critical texts of many of the works are still wanting. In the meantime, Schürer's references to the literature are useful, and the reader will do well to remember that his representation of the Jewish method of thinking and legislating is necessarily tentative and incomplete, and may have to be modified by further investigations.

In the following sections there are new and valuable additions to our understanding of the terms *עַם הָאָרֶץ* and *הֵיכָל*, the buildings of the synagogues and the titles connected with them, and the triennial cycle observed in the reading of the law.

The chapter entitled "Das Leben unter dem Gesetz" (Life under the Law) is in some respects very disappointing. The title would lead one to expect a presentation of the life of the common people, with their customs, thoughts, and feelings as moulded by their subjection to the Mosaic Law. But for this, it is not enough to pour out a long stream of ordinances, decrees, disputes from the Mishna, and call this a picture of actual life. The Mishna contains under several headings—such as Sabbath, Blessings, Vessels, etc.—a series of decisions of the authorities on the correct fulfilment of legal requirements. Some of these were decisions given in actual cases brought before the courts; some, on the other hand, are mere academical discussions, which do not seem to have affected actual life at all. Again, these decisions, when they were of practical import, did not weigh in a mass on any individual Jew. Some affected the butcher, the baker, or the cook, others the Temple servants. The terrible burden of the Law, as described by Schürer, was never borne by any individual Jew. In fact, the ordinary man was probably as ignorant of the minutiae of these decisions as the ordinary Englishman of the details of the common law of his country.

In his interpretation of the most characteristic sayings of these legal teachers Schürer is markedly unsympathetic. Thus he quotes such sayings from the Mishna as these: "He who fulfils only one command will have good allotted to him; his days are prolonged, and he will inherit the land" (*Kiddush*, i. 10); "According to the trouble expended will the reward be" (*Aboth*, v. 23); "Know that all will be brought into account" (*Aboth*, iv. 22), etc.; and

then sums up as follows : "Thus this hope of a future recompense was the chief incentive to all zeal for the Law. Indeed, the whole religious life of the Jewish people in our period turned about these two poles : fulfilling of the Law and hope of a future glory." Then the saying of Antigonus of Socho is quoted : "Be not like servants, who serve their masters for the sake of the reward ; but be like those who serve without regard to the reward." This of course is damaging to Schürer's statement above, hence it is disposed of in the short sentence : "This is in no way a correct expression of the root-idea (*Grundstimmung*) of Pharisaic Judaism." But it does not stand alone, nor is it in opposition to a more sympathetic interpretation of the very sayings quoted by Schürer above.

If Volume II. tells us much that throws light on the life of Christ, Volume III. is indispensable to all interested in the early spread of Christianity. Few things in history are more startling than the rapidity with which Christianity was accepted in so many parts of the civilised world. This was due in part doubtless to the dissatisfaction with the popular religion in some of these countries. But the largest factor was undoubtedly the previous existence of bands of Jewish settlers. These men possessed one remarkable characteristic : they were energetic in making proselytes. Much of the old provincialism and narrowness fell away from the Jew when he left his own small country and associated with the other civilised peoples. He felt he had a mission to these, and the prophetic visions of the future glory of Israel among the nations now took a new meaning for him. His teaching of the unity of God, His spirituality, the absence of images, the hope of a future life and other features of his religion attracted many of the heathen and made them think it possible, even before the time of Christ, that light might come again as in time past from the East. Thus the Jews did a great work abroad as forerunners of Christianity, and it was nearly always in their meeting-places and through their influence that the Gospel of Christ came first to the nations. Hence the first part of this third volume, dealing with the Jews in the Dispersion, is most attractive. At the same time it shows some of the best work of the author. Schürer's monographs on "Die Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom in der Kaiserzeit nach den Inschriften dargestellt" (1879), and "Die Juden im Bosphorischen Reiche und die Gemeinschaften der *σεβόμενοι θεὸν ὑψίστον* ebendasselbst" (1897), are well known to scholars. The same keenness in discerning the value of the inscriptions is manifest here. There are more than fifty pages of new material in this section. The newly-discovered inscriptions from Asia Minor and papyri from Egypt have been used to the full as evidence for the extent of the Dispersion and the internal organisation of the

Jewish communities abroad. The work of other scholars in this field is, of course, associated with Schürer's own. The names of Ramsay and Mahaffy are prominent, while Hogarth and Grenfell are laid under contribution.

Unfortunately, Schürer's interest in the Dispersion is largely confined to that in the Graeco-Roman world. A few pages are all he gives to the Jews in Mesopotamia and Aramaean Syria. To Arabia a dozen lines only are allotted. Yet from the disappearance of Simeon in the early days of Israelitish history to the time of Mohammed, there seems to have been contact between Jews and Arabs, and the presence of Jewish tribes in Arabia in the sixth century seems to have been due to movements that took place during the period treated in this book. As to the organisation of the Jews in Mesopotamia, we are very badly provided with information, and can only wait for the careful and critical sifting of the Talmuds.

The last 428 pages of this volume are devoted to an account of the Jewish Literature of the period, Daniel being the only canonical book included. The division is naturally into Palestinian and Hellenistic literature, but we are rightly reminded that no hard and fast line can be drawn between the two classes. Such works are counted Palestinian as show *substantially* the standpoint of Pharisaic Judaism as formed in Palestine; Hellenistic are those which show in any noteworthy manner the influence of Hellenism.

The external history of the works mentioned is the chief contribution of Schürer in this department. Accounts of manuscripts, references to early quotations in the Fathers, critical estimates of the value of available texts, with lists of editions, commentaries and monographs, make the book invaluable to any one who wishes to pursue more detailed investigations. Many critical editions have been published since 1886, and the progress thus made is carefully recorded. Further help will be afforded in the study of some of the Jewish writers of Alexandria, when Archdeacon Gifford's text of Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica* appears. Schürer still supports the genuineness of the writings of Aristobulus in opposition to the polemic of Elter; but declines to accept the arguments of Conybeare and others for the authenticity of Philo's *De vita contemplativa*.

Enough has perhaps been said to show what a fund of material is contained in these two volumes. It would be a great boon if a careful translation of this new edition could be made, so that every English student of the time of Christ might avail himself of the riches provided.

G. W. THATCHER.

### **The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels.**

*Re-edited from two Sinai MSS. and from P. de Lagarde's Edition of the "Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum." By A. S. Lewis and M. D. Gibson. London: Kegan Paul & Co., 1899. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$  ins. x 9 ins. Pp. lxxii. 320. Price, £2, 12s. 6d.*

IMPORTANT additions have recently been made to our relics of the literature of the dialect known as "Palestinian Syriac." The lady, who with her sister, Mrs Gibson, has braved the toils of more than one journey to Mount Sinai, and has introduced to scholars the text of the now famous *Codex Lewisianus*, published four years ago a Lectionary in Palestinian Syriac, which she had acquired during her travels in the East, and has recently edited from Sinaitic MSS. a still more valuable and interesting Lectionary of the Holy Gospels. It forms a handsome volume, and is brought out in a style which reflects much credit on the work of the printers. The production of such books is an unremunerative labour of love. The debt we owe to the able editresses precludes hypercriticism. To the printer we will impute the spelling 'Carshuni' on p. xiv., and the same word with a *K*, almost opposite, on p. xv. The hand of the Cambridge resident appears in the termination *Magdalene*, p. xvii., and we pardon the ladies for not being aware that Mr Stenning is no longer a Demy of Magdalen, but has attained a well merited position by his election to a Fellowship at Wadham, the College where he was educated, and which through its Hody Exhibitions has done much to promote the study of Hebrew in Oxford.

Our knowledge of the dialect and literature to which Mrs Lewis' Lectionaries belong dates from the middle of last century, when the Assemani, in their Catalogue of Syriac MSS. in the Vatican, described a Syriac Evangeliarium, in a peculiar script and dialect. It remained an unique specimen till a quarter of a century ago, when Dr Land published, in addition to some fragments of the Gospels, portions of other parts of the Scriptures and of hymns and homilies, from MSS. in London and St Petersburg. Other publications have followed, which show that though the existing remains of Palestinian Syriac Literature do not comprise a large amount of matter, they are varied in character, and represent a translation of part, at least, of the Bible, translations of Patristic writings, and Liturgical works. These editions are mentioned by Mrs Lewis, and she adds a notice, which seems to point to something of special importance. Amongst some fragments brought from Cairo to Cambridge by Dr Schechter in 1897, are palimpsest

leaves of Palestinian Syriac, written over in Hebrew. The original handwriting is a copy of parts of the Old Testament. 'Where the text of Hosea ends that of Joel begins, a space of nine lines being left between them, and there is no trace of a rubric.' Such an arrangement seems to belong to a copy of the Bible, rather than to a Lectionary. A like deduction may be drawn from the break in the text, and the colophon, between *Colossians* and 1 *Thessalonians* in the fragments of the Pauline Epistles, which were edited by the present writer.<sup>1</sup> At the time of that edition, it was thought that the MSS. to which the Oxford fragments belonged were unique in containing Hebrew transcribed over Christian writings. Dr Schechter's fragments seem to be of similar character. Perhaps his leaves belonged to the same MSS. as those from which the Oxford leaves were taken. We would express the hope that they will soon be published, that scholars may form an opinion of them.

The text contained in Mrs Lewis' two MSS. taken together, comprises about the same portions of the Holy Gospels, which were already found in the Vatican Evangelarium, but sixty verses, which were wanting in the latter codex, are contained in Mrs Lewis', so that a valuable addition is made to the amount of Palestinian Syriac text. More important, however, is the evidential value of the later discovery. The two younger MSS. support the older codex, and have a point of curious and close connection with it. All three have at the conclusion of Lesson xlviii. (John viii. 2) the words *Here endeth the Gospel of John*. Whatever may be the explanation of this inappropriate Note, it demonstrates a common, if remote, origin for the three texts. But the three MSS. are also independent, in so far that neither can well be a copy of either of the others. They seem to show that works of the kind were not uncommon in this dialect of Syriac speech, while, in conjunction with the other fragments, they indicate that a knowledge of the dialect was perpetuated in widely separated localities. We would remind those of our readers, who have not made a special study of "Palestinian" Syriac, that the title is rather provisional and conjectural than accurate and final. When J. D. Michaëlis and Adler observed that many of the grammatical forms were akin to those of the Chaldee and the dialect of the Jerusalem Targum, and that many of the words in the Lectionary could only be illustrated from the same sources, the work received the name of *Jerusalem Syriac Version*; but as there was no reason for connecting it with one particular city, it was subsequently called 'Christian-Palestinian,' in contrast to the more distinctly *Jewish* Palestinian dialects, to which it is related. Yet of none of the Christian-Palestinian frag-

<sup>1</sup> *The Palestinian Version of the Holy Scriptures, Anecdota Oxoniensia*, 1893.

ments can we affirm for certain that they were written in Palestine. The Vatican Lectionary was written in an unknown place called 'Antioch of the Arabs.'<sup>1</sup> Mrs Lewis' *Evangelitaria*, and several other Palestinian documents, are preserved in the Convent of St Catherine, on Mount Sinai. The vendor of Mrs Lewis' other Lectionary informed her that it came from the village of Rashif, in the Lebanon; the colophon, with date and place, has disappeared. Again, some of the Palestinian remains have come from Egypt, and it has even been suggested that the dialect is not Palestinian after all, but that of a people of Jewish descent, who had their home in Egypt. The Palestinian *Liturgy of the Nile*<sup>2</sup> is proof that there existed in Egypt a community of Christians who used the Palestinian dialect. Mrs Lewis' Lectionary may have belonged to this community, as its origin in the Lebanon is unconfirmed by evidence outside the verbal statement of the vendor, and one reading of a rubric assigns Gen. ii. 4-19 to 'the day of the consecration of the water of the inundation.' But the reading is doubtful, and the editress inclines to prefer 'water of baptism.' It may have been that the 'Palestinian' Christians had their headquarters in Egypt during the centuries to which most of our fragments belong. But if so, they were immigrants, driven from the Holy Land in early days of persecution. Others of the same body perhaps found refuge amongst the fastnesses of Sinai. The descendants of the expelled Jewish Christians preserved the use of the obsolete ancestral dialect, as the Nestorians to this day employ the ancient and sometimes unknown Syriac in their church services. In Mrs Lewis' Lectionary most of the rubrics are in Syriac, but in her *Evangelitaria*, and in the Vatican, they are in Karshuni, Arabic written in Syriac characters. We wish it were possible to identify the 'Palestinian' Syriac with the language spoken by our Lord. Related they undoubtedly were, but, and we say it with regret, facts and inferences have not yet enabled us to bridge over the interval between the Palestinian Remains and the dialect of Galilee in the time of Christ, and to estimate the changes which must have taken place.

The Vatican *Evangelarium* and the two which Mrs Lewis discovered contain the same work, though in somewhat different form in each codex. It is a collection of Lessons from the Four Gospels for the ecclesiastical year. Lessons i.-cxlii. are arranged in the same order in the three MSS., and with a few slight

<sup>1</sup> There were at least six Antiochs, and, in the eleventh century, more than one might have been under Arab domination, but none of these was in the Holy Land. The suggestion that the Antioch named above was "perhaps near Jerusalem" seems a mere conjecture.

<sup>2</sup> See *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October 1896.

variations, consist of the same portions. Other Lessons follow in Codex B<sup>1</sup> up to No. ccvi., most being contained in Codex C, and in similar order. A large proportion occur also in Codex A, but the order is very different. The text is the same in all three. There are *variae lectiones*, more, indeed, than are found between any three good copies of the Peshitto, but not comparable with the amount of variation which there is between the Curetonian text and the text of the codex Lewisianus.<sup>2</sup> The difference of matter, and in the arrangement of it, prove that the three MSS. are not three direct copies of one lost archetype. They represent more than one line of descent, or may be regarded as adaptations of an original form of Lectionary. The circle embraced by writings of this class is seen to be much wider than might have been suspected from the single example of the Vatican Evangelarium. B is dated "from the years of Adam," 6612, C 6626. If (with Mrs Lewis) we take these dates according to the Era of Constantinople, we get A.D. 1104 for B, 1118 for C. The date of A is A.D. 1030. The reader will find an excellent photograph of B facing p. 168, and one of C facing p. 201. These are not mentioned in the contents.

The Lectionary represented by the three MSS. is 'Malchite.' This epithet refers to a Sect rather than a Rite. The *Malcaje* were the 'King's Men,' who followed the Court party in accepting the Creed of Chalcedon, when many of the Eastern Christians remained Monophysite. They borrowed largely from the Greeks in the arrangement of Services and Lectionaries, while the Nestorians and Jacobites had their own more distinctly Syrian Uses. 'Malchite' is now applied as a descriptive epithet for Greek Service Books in a Syriac rendering, whether in the idiom of Damascus and the Lebanon, or in the Palestinian dialect. MSS. of the former are extant, which were written in the same century as Mrs Lewis' Palestinian B and C. Mrs Lewis quotes some words of mine, as if I denied by them that the Palestinian Lectionaries are translations from the Greek. Perhaps I expressed myself too strongly. It might have been better to say, "there is no proof that they are mere translations." Dr Nestle's one instance does not amount to a demonstration. Indeed this seems unattainable, till we have some undoubted portions of a complete version of the Scripture, with which to compare the Liturgical portions of A, B, C, and Mrs Lewis' other Lectionary. We may venture to conjecture that the Translator, while modelling his Lectionary on the

<sup>1</sup> In the edition under review, A stands for the Vatican Evangelarium, B for the older, C for the younger of the Evangelia edited by Mr Lewis and Mrs Gibson.

<sup>2</sup> See *Church Quarterly Review*, April 1895; *Critical Review*, January 1896.



Greek, had before him a Syro-Palestinian Bible, perhaps a Peshitto, perhaps a Hareclean. From the latter Mr Margoliouth has shown that a reading is borrowed in the Liturgy of the Nile. If the reader will compare the Menology of A, as given in *Scrivener*, ed. iv. vol. ii. p. 32, with that of a Greek Lectionary in vol. i. of the same work, he will see that the translator and redactor allowed himself considerable liberty in adapting the Scripture Lessons to the Commemorations common in his native land.

A long and very useful list, with Mrs Lewis' initials subscribed, is given of "Variants in the three Codices." The first place is given to "Omissions due to Homoeoteleuton." The reference seems to be to Homoeoteleuton in the Greek Text. Such omission would imply that the translator went on rendering *ex tempore*, and made no attempt to revise his work, which is hard to believe, though we do not deny that a certain number of omissions may be due to careless haste. Others have arisen through carelessness in transcribing the Syriac texts of the present MSS. The cause of many is to be sought in the character of the work. Passages in an Evangelium are adapted to a particular purpose. We do not expect in such a book the scrupulousness which marks the copying of an Evangelium.

The list of other Variants will be studied with interest by those to whom the body of the work does not appeal. The comparison is made with the Text of Westcott and Hort. A slight examination will suffice to show that B and C, while presenting some readings of their own, combine to support the text of A, and consequently the type of Greek text, which has long been recognised as forming the basis of that document. B and C, like A, contain the *Last Twelve Verses of St Mark*, but not the *Pericope de Adultera*. They have only viii. 1, 2, appended to the Lesson from John vii. 37 f. At the end of Lesson lxvii. C has a reading of exceptional interest. Instead of the familiar words of Matt. xii. 36, it alone reads, "Every good word that men shall not speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment." The opinion of Dr Rendel Harris is quoted, that this once constituted the limb of a Logion.

A few readings are added from the remains of another Lectionary, now bound up with B. They all belong to St John. At viii. 2 is *Here endeth*, as in A, B, and C, but the rest of the Note is wanting.

G. H. GWILLIAM.

# Kaehler's Dogmatische Zeitfragen.

*Dogmatische Zeitfragen, alte und neue Ausführungen zur Wissenschaft der christlichen Lehre. Zweites Heft: Zur Lehre von der Versöhnung. Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf.; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1898. Pp. vi. 482. Price, Heft 1, 5s.: Heft 2, 8s. 6d.: the two parts together, 12s. 6d.*

PROFESSOR MARTIN KAEHLER'S well-known book, *Die Wissenschaft der christlichen Lehre von den evangelischen Grundartikeln aus*, of which the second edition was published in 1893, ensures a welcome to other writings from his pen. And one is glad to see the successive parts of his *Doctrinal Questions of the Day*.

The First Part gives mainly reprints of previous pamphlets revised, such as "Christianity and System," "The Progress of Humanity and the Eternity of Man," "Unconscious and Conscious Christianity," "Why is it so Hard to Gain a Firm Faith To-day," "Justification of Petition in Prayer," "The New Testament View of the Church," "The Importance of the Doctrine of the Last Things for Theology and the Church." These essays were worth reprinting, and they show the class of subjects in which Dr Kaehler is most at home. He desires to have a voice in the settlement of present-day controversies. He has, too, the gifts of clearness, definiteness, and style.

In this Second Part, Dr Kaehler treats of the Doctrine of Reconciliation (*Versöhnung*—not the exact equivalent of our English term "Atonement."). The treatment is suggestive and full. Indeed, standing as this doctrine does midway in the System of Doctrine, implying so much else and involving so much besides, Dr Kaehler, like all recent investigators of the subject, really presents us with a large contribution towards a system of Christian doctrine. The examination of the general theme is prefaced by a careful study of the usage of the word *Versöhnung* in German theology. Then follows an introduction, in which the dominating position of the Doctrine of Reconciliation in Protestant Theology is shown. After this preface and introduction, the subject is treated in a twofold way, Biblically and systematically. The points of view from which the Biblical testimony are considered are as follows: The Son of Man and His Mission to Humanity; The Son of God and His Obedience; the Death and Resurrection of the Lord, on the one hand, in the light of His preaching and life, and, on the other hand, in the light of the preaching of His Messengers. Under this last heading, a very luminous statement is given of the teaching of Peter, Paul, and John, of the Apocalypse,

and of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The main questions debated in the Dogmatic Section are: The Reconciliation through Jesus as the Ground of the Christian's Faith, Life and Conduct (it is argued that the change of relation between the sinner and God, betokened by the forgiveness of sins, is indubitably effected by Jesus): Who is the Reconciler? (the answer given is, God); The Effecting of Reconciliation (here the ideas of Atonement, Forgiveness, Substitution, and Punishment are studied); Who has God Reconciled, the Church or the World? Consequences of Reconciliation in Life and in Conduct.

Like all Kaehler's work—he most resembles Julius Koestlin among modern German theologians—this study is pre-eminently Biblical. But search is made in Holy Scripture for the solution of pressing German problems mainly. The Doctrine of the Atonement has had a development all its own in English-speaking countries, a development almost unknown, or at least not sympathetically known, in Protestant Germany. Consequently, this essay of Kaehler's is a contribution almost wholly to the doctrinal questions of the day in Germany.

ALFRED CAVE.

### Dogmatische Zeitfragen.

*Alte und neue Ausführungen zur Wissenschaft der christlichen Lehre, von Martin Kähler, D.u. Professor der Theologie. Erstes Heft. Leipzig: Deichert (Georg Böhme); London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1898. 8vo, pp. xii. 276. Price, M.5.*

It is not often that a more interesting or rewarding theological volume than the above-mentioned work by Professor Kähler, of Halle, issues from the German press. No one in the Fatherland is better fitted than he to discuss "Dogmatic Questions of the Day," for his mind is a singularly impressive combination of Biblical scholarship and spiritual insight. These papers show a knowledge of the Scriptures which astonishes one by its accuracy and profundity, and wins one by its simplicity and reverence. We may well be grateful to him for having been persuaded to collect these scattered studies in theology into a single volume, for had they not been exhumed from the pages of old periodicals our loss would have been great. Kähler is not so well known in this country as he deserves to be. And no doubt for this in great measure he has himself to thank. His *Wissenschaft der christlichen Lehre* is written with a more than German disregard for

the amenities of style, its matter is difficult and obscure, while the terminology is often unintelligible to the uninitiated. But, fortunately, the papers here presented—intended to elucidate and supplement the *Wissenschaft*—are properly lectures, spoken before they were written, or at least before they were published. Consequently, they are clad in a more colloquial dress, and avoid, so far as possible, the obscurities of technical phraseology. It is not at all necessary to know his *Wissenschaft* in order to enjoy them to the full. They are, in the strict sense, contributions to Systematic Theology. One of the functions of *Systematik*, according to Kähler, is to mediate between the historical investigation and criticism, carried on by theology as a science, and the changing needs of the Christian Church. And what he endeavours to do in this volume is so to interpret the results of theological research in various directions, as to render them serviceable to the Christian life of ordinary people.

The essays contained in this volume are nine in number, and the mere enumeration of their titles is sufficient to show how timely and apposite their discussion is. They are: "Christianity and Systematic Theology," "The progress of humanity and the eternity of the individual," "Conscious and unconscious Christianity," "The attitude of the Church's preachers and professors to modern theology," "Why is it so difficult at the present time to reach a steadfast faith?" "The Scriptural Confession of the Spirit of Christ," "The justification and the trustworthiness of petitionary prayer," "The true conception of the Apostolic Churches according to the New Testament," "The significance of 'the last things' for theology and the Church." We cannot hope to deal in this review with all these lectures, worthy as they are, without exception, of the most careful study. There is not a page which does not testify to the spiritual genius of the author, and to the sureness with which he strikes the New Testament note upon the various topics discussed. But perhaps we shall best gain some idea of his style of thought by entering more in detail into the argument of one or two of these essays.

Perhaps the third essay is as characteristic as any. It has for its title, "Conscious and unconscious Christianity." Kähler begins by adverting to the buoyancy and certainty of the faith of the Apostle Paul, whose words, "I know whom I have believed," might well be taken as the motto of his own devoted life. This assurance made him strong, and, so far as we can re-echo his words, we share the power and immovable firmness of the Christian character. To know whom one believes is apostolical Christianity.

But nowadays knowledge would appear to be taking the place of faith. Science, it is said, proves that there are many things in the

world incompatible with our Christian beliefs. We know that miracles do not happen ; we know that Jesus was only one religious genius among many ; we know that the narratives of His life are only fairy tales. If this be so, and we still profess Christianity, does it not appear as though we must be content only to know in whom we do *not* believe. Unconscious Christianity, indeed, is a discovery made by those who wish to preserve the moralising power of Christianity without adhering to its creed. All, they say, live in the power of Christianity, only they do not know it. Take the veil from their eyes, and they will recognise themselves as Christians. But, it may be objected, when they awaken to a sense of their Christianity, will they not be of very different opinions as to what Christianity means? How are we to escape the separation and division which inevitably accompanies the attempt to *know* what Christianity really is? Nothing is simpler. Let us only be consistent : let us say, Christianity in its very essence is unconscious, and though we must certainly be aware of the *fact* that we are Christians, yet we need not be conscious of any specifically Christian experience. Christianity consists in a certain kind of moral life which can exist without being conscious, for it is not thought, but life and action.

Now, is this vague sentiment, with its pale recognition of a ghostly Christ, really *faith*? Is it the legitimate descendant of the apostolic confession? It is impossible to think so. It may be said, of course, and with much truth, that there are large provinces of the inner life of religion which might fitly be termed unconscious. It is a true instinct which leads us to prefer the theology of the heart to mere orthodoxy, and no one can be blind to the danger we run, in religious speculation, of agreeing less the more questions we ask. What we have to do, then, is to attempt to determine the true limits of conscious and unconscious Christianity.

There is a fundamental conception in apologetics which may be stated in the form, that the soul is Christian by nature (*mens naturaliter Christiana*). Kant himself tells us that when we follow the soul home, so to speak, we hear sounding in its depths the call and categorical command of duty ; and duty can have its perfect work only when that higher Power, whose voice it is, is taken as an ally against the lower forces of our nature. Many words of Schiller might be quoted in which the same thought is clad in a poetic and imaginative dress. He and many others are witnesses that the soul is naturally Christian in its highest efforts and its noblest dreams.

Such is the view taken by many of the greatest thinkers of the age. But let us pause and put the question—Is this genuine Christianity? No ; no more than hunger is repletion, or need,

satisfaction. It is a longing for Christianity, but it remains unconscious of its real aim until satisfied by a truly divine experience. Observe, for instance, how matters stood in Israel of old. There we find not only a yearning for satisfaction, but a sure hope that some day it will come; and yet, alongside of these, the deepest and most painful dissatisfaction with the present. What the prophets and psalmists looked for so eagerly was not a better knowledge of God, not a nobler morality, but life from God, nay, God Himself. And this, and nothing less than this, is what was brought by Jesus, Son of God and Son of Man.

Again, what view do the Apostles take of the matter? It is plain from their writings that they regard personal Christianity as consisting in trustful surrender to the living Christ, invisible and yet indissoluble fellowship with the glorified Lord. And when we consider this view of genuine Christianity, is it not clear that there is a vast difference between recognising that one has been unconsciously influenced by Christianity, and the claim to be consciously a Christian? For the latter implies the free resolve "to step from the courtyard into the sanctuary," and there claim the Man whose name is the greatest in all history as the foundation and aim of one's life. For this no great amount of knowledge is necessary. It is in the power of the least cultured to say, "Christ is the highest in the highest realm that I know." We have, indeed, no right to deny the comfortable name of Christian to anyone who is striving after this deep fellowship with Christ, without as yet rejoicing in the full possession of it; but he must *strive*, he must *know* that this is the aim of his life.

Let us ask, finally, what is the importance of knowledge about Christ for fellowship with His Church? Now, it is true that religion is an affair of the heart, but can Christianity remain merely that? To say that it can is in many ways attractive, but what more does it do for us then than help us the better to perform our earthly duties? And yet we know that Christianity is not designed to reconcile us with this world and make us at home here, but to point us beyond. Further, participation, in a living and practical way, in the work of the Church demands from us a clear consciousness of what we are about. The Christian fellowship is not a *natural* organisation into which individuals grow up without knowing it. What links us to it is our decided surrender to Christ, i.e. a moral *act*. Now the outward and overt expression of this is confession, but who can confess himself a disciple of a Person without knowing him? And if it still be said, it is better to love Christ than to possess knowledge, knowledge even of Him, then you cannot meet that assertion with a simple Yes or No. The point really is, what sort of knowledge is meant. The knowledge

which makes the Christian is not empty, formal, traditional information, but the knowledge, rich and ever-new, which springs from the obedience of faith as nourished by Scripture.

To sum up, let us confront the words of Jesus, "I know my sheep and am known of mine," with the words of Paul already quoted, "I know in whom I have believed." Conscious Christianity is the only genuine form of our religion.

A dry synopsis like the foregoing can give no adequate idea of the richness and wisdom of Kähler's pages. What he writes is the outcome of profound, devout, inexorable thinking on the deepest things in life. The reader is conscious of a wonderful affinity between the tone and temper of the argument and the spirit of the New Testament writers.

Perhaps the most interesting and instructive among the other lectures is the last, which discusses the significance of eschatology for theology and the Church. Kähler begins by adverting to the disinclination evinced by theologians at present to say anything at all on the topic of "the last things." But, he contends, the Christian hope is an integral part of our religion, and as the origin of hope lies not in the force of our minds, but in the nature of the object hoped in, we must keep that object clearly in view. Now, among Protestants it used to be the custom to define "the last things" as *four* in number—death, the return of Christ, judgment, eternal life. But, in reality, there is only one, one "last" Person, Christ Jesus, who is also the "first"; so that the doctrine of the last things is part of our confession of the living Christ. After a most illuminating account of the gradual revival of interest in this whole subject in the Evangelical Church of Germany at the beginning of this century, Kähler proceeds to draw out in detail the benefits which he believes must accrue to theology from a clear and positive eschatology.

First of all, he insists that eschatology gives the Church a sense for history, such as is entirely lacking in the writers of antiquity. It forces the theologian not only to ascertain what in the past is probable or real, but to attempt to understand what has happened in the light of the far-off consummation. Again, without eschatology, no Christology; for the doctrine of the last things is bound up, indissolubly, with the question of the Person of Christ. None but the Judge can be the Saviour. Christ is unintelligible unless His Person is of infinite significance *both before and after*. Once more, without eschatology, no soteriology. Salvation really relates to the divine wrath which rests upon the world; it means, at its centre, the forgiveness of sins, and we see sin as it really is only when we conceive ourselves standing before the judgment-seat. Still further, without eschatology, no Christian ethics. Some have

thought it incompatible with a truly ideal system of ethics, but the very opposite is the case. For only those can give themselves to work for God with utter self-forgetfulness who possess a joyous assurance of salvation. The asceticism proper to the Christian life could not otherwise be faced. As Tholuck has well said : "None but the Christian can live entirely in the present, for his past is blotted out, and his future is assured." The Christian draws his strength for duty *here and now* from the hope of a new and glorious future. And without eschatology, no theodicy. Without a clear doctrine of the last things, pessimism has us at its mercy, especially when we keep in sight the sorrows and privations of the individual life. Kähler sums up his argument by affirming that there is, for the Church, a source of victorious confidence in the belief that the living Saviour will return in triumph. Christ demands watchfulness and courage, lest we be crushed by the sense of our responsibilities ; He demands patience in success as well as in failure. The delay in Christ's return is a proof of God's long-suffering rather than an evidence of His powerlessness. Our hope lies not in the ardour of our own faith, but in the indwelling of that Christ with whom our life is hid in God.

We may refer briefly to the wisdom and sagacious penetration of the fourth lecture on the relation of "modern" theology to the Evangelical Church, to the deep spirituality of the discussion of the value of prayer, and to a specially interesting paper on a subject which still requires elucidation—the moral and religious life in the Apostolic Churches. Kähler desires to correct what he considers the unduly pessimistic view taken nowadays of those congregations which Paul addresses in his letters ; and he contends that the exegesis of the Pauline literature would gain not a little were expositors better acquainted with the experiences of modern missionaries. But enough has been said to show how eminently valuable a contribution has been made in this book to the better understanding of the relation which ought to exist between traditional theology and modern thought. In Kähler's hands, dogmas and formulas, which may too hastily have been cast aside as antiquated and outworn, become suffused with light and charged with fresh vitality. One cannot take leave of his work without again expressing the hope that what he has written may find a wide audience in this country, and win for him something of the same unique influence which in his fatherland he has long enjoyed among those best qualified to judge.

H. R. MACKINTOSH.



**The Epistle to the Hebrews: The First Apology for Christianity. An Exegetical Study.**

*By Alexander Balmain Bruce, D.D., Professor of Apologetics and New Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College, Glasgow.*  
*Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1899. Post 8vo, pp. 1-451.*  
*Price, 7s. 6d.*

AN "Exegetical Study" by Dr Bruce is always sure to rouse high expectations. No one approaches the N.T. with a clearer eye, and few can place before their readers a more vivid picture of what they see. This is the kind of work in which Dr Bruce is seen at his best. He is not hampered by having to labour slowly from verse to verse, from clause to clause. His exegesis can move forward in broad sweeps. He can focus from time to time his luminous impressions.

The book is not strictly new. Most of its chapters have already appeared in the *Expositor*. But the whole has undergone revision. Portions here and there have been rewritten. A new chapter has been added on the "Theological Import of the Epistle." And many valuable footnotes have been furnished, bearing on the detailed interpretation of the text, which bring the work into line with the recent literature on the epistle.

Dr Bruce makes it perfectly clear that his aim is "to interpret the spirit of the book." That means, in this case, "power to realise that none of these now familiar truths" (e.g. the New Covenant, Christianity a higher type than Leviticalism, the supreme worth of Christ's priestly offering), "were commonplaces for its author." "It was the vivid perception of this fact," he says, "that awakened in me a desire to unfold its significance to others" (p. 389). Accordingly, from the outset, he deals with the Epistle in the light of what he conceives to be the writer's aim, namely, "to show the excellence of Christianity to a community possessing a very defective insight into its true nature." That is why he adds as a sub-title to the book, "The First Apology for Christianity." Everyone will admit the truth of the first part of the above description. The second confronts us with various controverted questions. Was it the defective insight of his readers into the true nature of the Christian faith which primarily roused this powerful Christian thinker to write his Epistle? The answer depends wholly on our conception of the situation implied in the letter itself. Dr Bruce leaves us in no doubt as to his own view. He adheres firmly to the traditional opinion that the Epistle is addressed to Jewish Christians exclusively. While regarding the

question of locality as one of secondary importance, he is inclined again to favour tradition, and assign the community addressed to Jerusalem, or, in any case, to Palestine. As to the spiritual situation he is equally explicit. "They were in danger of apostatising from the faith, because of persecution endured on account of it, and also because of doubts concerning its truth" (p. 7). But the latter danger he evidently regards as by far the more prominent of the two. It is this which the writer keeps ever before him. For those doubts regarding the truth of Christianity are largely due to the hold which the old Levitical religion still has upon them. And the apostasy is likely to take the form of a relapse into Judaism. It is for this reason, chiefly, that the writer engages in so elaborate a comparison of the two systems. It is for this reason that he sets himself to prove Christianity to be the final, perfect religion, calling men into an intimate relation with God which had never been dreamed of under the law of Moses.

In this conception of the situation there is, naturally, abundant room for discussion. As to the *readers*, Dr Bruce wastes little space in dealing with the hypothesis that the Epistle may be addressed to Gentile Christians. He quotes with approval Westcott's opinion that this theory (supported by such strong names as Weizsäcker, Jülicher, and Von Soden) is simply "an ingenious paradox." Now we willingly admit that there are powerful arguments in favour of an exclusively Jewish-Christian Church (although surely not Jerusalem), but we can scarcely think that the fact is placed beyond all doubt. What one is so apt to leave out of sight is the distinctively O.T. background of early Christianity as a whole. Take, for example, a book like Clement's letter to the Corinthians. This is a Gentile, writing to a predominantly Gentile Church, and yet the whole Epistle is saturated with the O.T. Or, look at Paul's arguments in "Romans" and "Galatians." No one would now deny that in the Roman as well as the Galatian Church a large Gentile element must have existed. And yet the Apostle never imagines that the O.T. foundation on which he builds up most of his elaborate reasonings will fail to have weight. Add to this the fact that in every Gentile Church, proselytes and God-fearers who had been imbued with O.T. teaching formed an important stratum, and it is not so entirely unreasonable to believe that in the Church with which our Epistle is concerned, Gentiles also may have held some place. We have seen nothing yet to weaken the presumption that the "first principles of Christ" enumerated in ch. vi. 1, 2, are more applicable to converts from heathenism than to Jews.

As to the *spiritual situation* of the readers, Dr Bruce, of course, admits that one side of the peril besetting this Church is a wavering

under the stress of persecution and hardship. But the other side is that which chiefly appeals to him. The readers are persons "who have never had insight into the essential nature and distinctive features of the Christian religion" (p. 9). Besides, there are "things connected with Christianity which are stumbling-blocks" to them. Mainly these: (1) "the superseding of an ancient, divinely appointed religion by what appeared to be a novelty and an innovation"; (2) "the humiliation and sufferings of Jesus regarded as the Christ"; (3) the lack of a priesthood and sacrificial worship in Christianity. This conception of their condition implies the risk of a relapse into Judaism. Therefore, while the writer will, at times, keep in view their need of strengthening and encouragement in the Christian life, his main aim must be to save them from the peril of Judaism by setting forth the incomparable superiority of the new religion over the old, on which they are casting lingering looks.

Where we find ourselves compelled to differ somewhat from Dr Bruce is at this point. Keeping strictly by the hints which the Epistle gives us, we cannot help feeling that the chief purpose of the writer is to brace up Christians who were becoming heedless (3<sup>8</sup>), faithless (3<sup>12</sup>, 4<sup>11</sup>), sluggish and slothful (6<sup>12</sup>), timid (10<sup>19</sup>), faltering and uncertain (10<sup>22</sup>, 35), weary and disheartened (12<sup>1</sup>, 3): that he has to deal, in short, with a *mood*, rather than a definite group of religious difficulties. To save them from moral and spiritual languor, from the awful peril of renouncing Christianity altogether, it is needful to remind them of the unspeakable excellence of the Christian faith, and above all, to show them the exact provision it makes for their need. To bring near to them that unseen world which their slowness of mind and heart was failing to grasp, Christianity is shown to be pre-eminently the religion of free access into God's presence. To prove that they have every reason for hope, although the ground of it lies beyond what is visible, they are taught (no doubt, far more fully and clearly than ever before) that in Christ they have an ever-living High Priest who knows and sympathises with their troubles, on whom they can for ever depend as their representative in the presence of God. Nay, their hope rests on the very promise of God Himself, who has entered into a new covenant with them, of which Jesus Christ is the mediator. And the writer bases his elaborate arguments on the O.T., as the standard of reference for all religious truth in the Christian Church. He himself calls his letter a "word of exhortation" (13<sup>22</sup>): each section of doctrine finds its issue in some solemn entreaty or warning. But in none of them is a falling back into Judaism hinted at, although this might be one of several possible dangers. Not even in his direct references to the O.T. For

these have little to do, in any case, with the Judaism of N.T. times. They go back to a far earlier stage, the stage represented in the O.T. And that stage is not disparaged, but, as Dr Bruce admits, generously recognised (p. 17). It is only shown to be utterly inferior to the type of religion which Christ has brought in. If the earlier type produced saints like Moses and Aaron and the other heroes and heroines of Israel, surely this new covenant, so superior at every point, is well worthy of being seriously considered. Surely its provisions are ample for bringing conviction to the most faint-hearted, even for making men proud that they are privileged to be sharers in its blessings. And so we are willing to admit, although in a slightly different sense from Dr Bruce, that this Epistle is truly a splendid apology for the Christian faith.

Beginning with an Introduction, Dr Bruce goes on to expound the Epistle in sections, taking them, for the most part consecutively: once or twice, as in chapter 2 of the Epistle, coming back to questions of special importance for separate discussion. Within our limits, it may, perhaps, be most useful to give a short *résumé* of the new chapter which has been added on the "Theological Import of the Epistle," as this admirably sums up the results of the detailed exegesis. Afterwards we will return to a few points of particular interest.

The outstanding distinction of the Christian faith, as described in this Epistle, is "that it brings men near to God." In this respect it is contrasted with the old Levitical religion. This contrast really rests on the difference "in their respective provisions for dealing with human sin." Leviticalism could not make the worshippers certain of God's willingness to receive and forgive. That means that its sacerdotal system was a failure. The writer must, therefore, prove that Christianity satisfies the needs of the case. Hence the Priesthood of Christ, entirely sufficient, occupies a central place in this Epistle. This is simply one aspect of a larger idea which the author took for granted, that of salvation by *mediation*. The question is: What kind of mediator will be adequate to such a function. To clear his readers' minds of difficulties which might arise, seeing that Jesus had no connexion with the priestly tribe of Levi, the figure of Melchisedec is introduced. The line of argument followed in chapter 7, by which the "Order of Melchisedec" is set in its true light may, as Dr Bruce reminds us, appear strained to modern readers. It would be good, therefore, if so important a doctrine as the Priesthood of Christ could be built up on a more satisfying foundation. He finds valuable suggestions in the Epistle itself for this purpose. These centre round two great principles: *self-sacrifice* and *solidarity with*

*sinner*s. "If you want a name for one who is uniquely self-devoted and endowed with unparalleled sympathy with sinful men, what better can you find than *Priest*?" (p. 433). The one principle finds utterance in chapter 2<sup>11</sup>: the other, the sacrifice of Christ is repeatedly brought forward (*e.g.* 2<sup>9</sup>.7<sup>27</sup> 9<sup>14</sup>). But this writer is extraordinarily versatile in his way of dealing with Christ's priesthood and sacrifice. He views the death of Jesus, Dr Bruce points out, under five different aspects (pp. 436-437). (a) He died once, thus sharing the common lot of men (9<sup>27</sup>). (b) He died "as a testator, who by a will, bequeaths an inheritance" (9<sup>16</sup>). (c) His death was the crowning-point of a manifold experience of suffering which trained Him for His great function of being "Captain of Salvation" (2<sup>10</sup>). (d.) His death, as that of "a sinless man," "broke the connexion between sin and death as its penalty, and so delivered sinful men from the fear of death as penal" 2<sup>14</sup>. 15). (e) His death "was a priestly act of self-sacrifice" by which He "perfected for ever them that are sanctified" (10<sup>14</sup>). While recognising the supreme importance of the last view, Dr Bruce considers that it is a serious loss for any theology if it does not also lay stress on the third aspect which looks upon the cross as coming to Christ, "because He cared supremely for the Divine interest and for duty." But this conception of Christ as priest involves a very high idea of His nature and person. He is the Son and the Sanctifier. That means absolute holiness and a place within the sphere of the Divine. This position specially appealed to the writer. "The greater the condescension, the greater the merit of the self-sacrifice, and the higher the dignity the greater the condescension" (p. 440). At the same time, full justice is done to the self-humbling of the Son. "Nowhere else in the N.T. are the earthly lot and human behaviour of Jesus depicted in such vivid and life-like colours" (p. 443). Of course, this is with the view of setting in clear relief His ability to sympathise with those undergoing hard earthly experiences. As we have seen, the particular aspect of Christianity emphasised in the epistle is the open way into the presence of a merciful God. Therefore, *faith* must come into the foreground, for "faith in man answers to grace in God" (p. 447). But there is some difference in the form which faith takes here, as compared, *e.g.* with the epistles of Paul. In the latter, Dr Bruce observes, "the action of faith . . . is confined to the moral and religious sphere." Here a larger view is adopted, faith being regarded "as a principle which enters into and is the secret spring of all great heroic conduct." "It is the faith which sees God, the world above, the life beyond the veil, which, in the view of our Epistle, emphatically *saves*" (p. 449).

This brief outline of Dr Bruce's summary may give a slight

idea of the rich, thought-provoking material which the book contains throughout.

We may note, in the remaining part of this review, how some of the crucial passages in the epistle are dealt with. Take, *e.g.*, chap. 9<sup>14</sup>: ὅς διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου κ.τ.λ. To reach the explanation of this difficult expression we must feel our way by means of *ἐαυτόν* and *ἁμωμον* following. In the fact that His sacrifice was Himself, there belong to it "certain moral attributes lacking in the Levitical sacrifices: voluntariness and beneficent intention, the freedom of a rational being . . . capable of self-determination, the love of a gracious personality in whom the soul of goodness dwells." But further, in being a *spotless* sacrifice, spotless in the ethical sense, the sacrifice of Christ "possesses incomparable worth and virtue." This prepares us for the third reason of its value. In the old legal sacrifices, the important matter was the shedding and sprinkling of the blood according to correct ritual. In Christ's sacrifice, that of vital moment is the *spirit* in which His blood was shed. The writer might have added some epithet of moral quality; but instead, he chose "eternal" to remind his readers that the "spirit in which the act was done can never become a thing of the past" (p. 339). Thus the sacrifice becomes "retrospective as well as prospective," valid for past, present, and future. "For an eternal spirit is independent of time, and gives to acts done through its inspiration validity for all time" (*loc. cit.*). This seems an eminently suggestive interpretation.

On chap. 10<sup>10</sup>: ἐν ᾧ θελήματι ἡγιασμένοι ἐσμέν κ.τ.λ., Dr Bruce protests against the "starved exegesis," which finds here only the thought "that it is God's will that we should be sanctified in this particular way," and argues (surely with justice) for the deeper idea "that it is God's will that sanctifies through the offering."

Readers of the Cunningham Lectures on the *Humiliation of Christ*, will turn with interest to the *crux* in chap. 2<sup>9</sup>. Here Dr Bruce abides by his old interpretation, regarding the crowning as antecedent to death, "an exaltation in the humiliation." Will the language admit of this explanation? Dr Bruce translates διὰ τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου "with reference to the suffering of death." But surely that is to beg the question. Whatever may be made of the difficult ὅπως-clause at the end, the preceding words must mean: "on account of the suffering . . . crowned, etc." And this is undoubtedly true to the normal N.T. standpoint. The glory of Christ is the reward of the shame and humiliation which went before. The remaining words are, of course, beset with difficulty. But may not the ὅπως-clause be simply explanatory of what might seem to be a startling paradox? That the suffering should be the path to glory and honour might be unintelligible to dull-

minded readers unless some light were thrown on the meaning of that death. It was "a tasting death on behalf of every man." The next verse shows the reasonableness of this extraordinary experience.

On chap. 6<sup>1-2</sup> we are told (and the hint is most fruitful, as far too little has been made of the rhetorical structure of the N.T. Epistles) that the "feeling of impatience with never getting beyond the elements . . . gives rise to an elliptical abruptness of style" (see also p. 324). Perhaps occasionally Dr Bruce is apt to read something of this impatience, from his own standpoint, into his author, as when, on p. 45, he tells us that the subject of angels "was probably a weariness to the writer of our Epistle." No trace of this, at least, appears on the surface. As we cannot go into any further details, we would simply direct attention, among other things, to the admirable treatment of a pedantic exegesis of chap. 4<sup>12</sup> (p. 165): to the delicate and sympathetic discussion of *μετριοπαθεῖν* and its context (pp. 177-182); and finally, to the handling of the hard passage, chap. 6<sup>4-8</sup>, which seems to us a model of sane and luminous interpretation.

There was room for a more definite estimate of the writer's affinities with Philo and the Alexandrian school. For such affinity undoubtedly existed, and important light must be thrown upon the use of the O.T. in "Hebrews" from a clear perception of the actual relationship. But what has been said will suffice to show that in this volume we have a most living, powerful, and penetrating contribution to the understanding of the Epistle. It is a real invigoration to be guided through a discussion so full of the zest of personal appreciation and genuine sympathy.

H. A. A. KENNEDY.

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### **The Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews, with a Critical Introduction.**

*By George Milligan, B.D., Minister of Caputh, Perthshire. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1899. Post 8vo, pp. i-xx. 1-233. Price, 6s.*

THIS volume is constructed on different lines from that of Dr Bruce. It aims at gathering up the doctrinal teaching of the Epistle, and presenting that in a systematic form. There was certainly room for such a work. And Mr Milligan has carried out his plan with painstaking care and scholarly ability. In parts the book is rather heavy reading, owing to a certain lack of crisp-

ness both in thought and style. But throughout, one is conscious that the author has seriously grappled with the many problems which the Epistle presents. And, as a rule, great saneness of judgment is applied to their solution.

The book is divided into two parts. The first is an Introduction to the Epistle. The second deals with its theology. We almost think it was a pity that Mr Milligan should occupy so much space with the history of the Epistle in the Church and its authorship. A few paragraphs, as in Dr Bruce's work, would have amply sufficed. The question as to the *readers* and the *aim* is of much higher importance. Mr Milligan, like Dr Bruce, argues in favour of an exclusively Jewish community. Probably they are right, but we think that the opposing arguments cannot be so easily swept aside as they are inclined to suppose. With due caution and reserve, Mr Milligan favours Rome as the destination, and we must say that the expression in οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας in the salutation (13<sup>24</sup>) is almost unintelligible on any other hypothesis. In describing the *purpose* of the Epistle, he discovers the danger of the "Hebrews" to lie not so much in "a threatened apostasy to Judaism" as in an "imperfect apprehension of Christianity." That is certainly nearer the view which the Epistle gives us, although when we say "imperfect apprehension of Christianity," we ought not to think so much of its doctrinal significance as of its practical, spiritual power.

The second part examines the theology of the book under these four headings: the Covenant Idea and the Person of the Son; the Son as High Priest; the High Priestly Work of the Son; the New Covenant. Two concluding chapters deal with "the relation of the Epistle to other systems of thought" and its "present-day significance." One or two longer notes are inserted on points of special importance. Mr Milligan truly says that the mingling of the doctrinal and the practical in the Epistle "makes it difficult to formulate any detailed plan of its contents" (p. 60). This becomes all the more difficult when the various statements of theological significance have to be grouped together under definite headings. Hence, occasionally, there is some want of lucidity in marking the stages in the theological development of the Epistle.

The main theme is described as the New Covenant which in Christianity has been fulfilled. But, as the covenant-relation between God and man rests on priesthood the argument becomes largely a comparison between the old and the new priesthoods. There is a careful discussion of the position of Christ as Son in which, from this standpoint, the various aspects of His life in His pre-existent, incarnate, and exalted states are delineated



according to the teaching of the Epistle. A specially interesting paragraph in this discussion is that on the "true humanity" of Christ's inner life (p. 79). In the detached note on chap. 2<sup>9</sup> Mr Milligan rightly insists that *βραχύ τι* must have the same meaning there as in 2<sup>7</sup>, and that in both places the idea of *time* is to be preferred. He rejects Dr Bruce's notion of "a glory in the humiliation" as "foreign to the main drift of the passage," which has in view dominion over all things as the result and reward of humiliation and death. Here again, in our belief, he is right, but when he interprets the last clause of the verse as implying that "only, when Himself glorified, was Christ in a position to apply to man, as man, the benefits of His death," may we not justly ask whether the readers would ever have reached this remote sense? As suggested in our preceding review, may not *ὅπως* like *ἵνα* (which in the later language gradually absorbed it) denote *purport* as well as *purpose* and be an addition explanatory of *τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου*? In dealing with the conception of Christ's Priesthood, Mr Milligan, (as also Dr Bruce), considers that this was a new truth for the reader. Perhaps it was even a new truth for the Church. And yet we must beware of pushing this idea too far; for undoubtedly some part of the prominence which this doctrine receives in the Epistle is due to its suitability for the mood and circumstances of the readers. We cannot agree with the exegesis of 5<sup>7</sup>, where Mr Milligan translates "save Him out of (ἐκ) death" instead of the simple "from." He understands our Lord to pray that He might be "brought to the glory and honour which are His on the full accomplishment of that work of which His death formed a necessary part" (p. 108). Was not the prayer that the cup might *pass from* Him? It is hazardous to strain the meaning of prepositions in the N.T. It seems to me, further, that Mr Milligan commits himself to a precarious position in holding that Christ's Priesthood only began on His exaltation. In spite of the arguments to the contrary, the unbiased reader is compelled to believe that in the writer's view the sufferings and death of Christ belong to His Priesthood (see chap. 7<sup>27</sup> *et. al.*). The same thing may be said of the somewhat curious theory put forward on pp. 143-150 as to the nature and mode of the offering made by Christ. But the book, as a whole, is a valuable and instructive discussion of the theological contents of this great New Testament writing.

H. A. A. KENNEDY.

# Das persönliche Christenthum der paulinischen Gemeinden, nach seiner Entstehung untersucht.

Von Dr Johannes Müller. Erster Teil. Leipzig: Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. 306. Price, M.6.

"PERSONAL CHRISTIANITY" must be understood in the above title, in contrast with Historical and Institutional Christianity; the work is in fact an analysis of the religious experience of Christian believers in the Pauline Churches. Dr Müller laments that in the immense and laborious research devoted to the Christian origins, this central question has been ignored; criticism spends itself on the shell without getting at the kernel; it has laboured on the preconditions and environments of the grand problem, missing its essence [pp. 2 ff., 24]. Doctrine and usage were but the external product and framework, written records "the fossil literary imprint" of the life once warm and pulsing in Christian breasts [5]. We have been furnished with anatomies of the desiccated body of doctrinal and external Christianity; what we now require is the physiology and morphology of the living thing [6]. The Baurians, from their intellectual standpoint, have resolved Christianity into a new *Weltanschauung*; the Ritschlians, from their practical standpoint, into a *Lebensführung*; both schools proceed in doctrinaire fashion, and upon assumptions more or less foreign to the subject [16 ff.]. Systematic Theology relegates personal Christian experience to some sub-section or other under the topic of "the Church" or of "the kingdom of God," while Historical Theology recognises it incidentally under biographical headings and the like [8 f.]. Painful experience convinced the author of the inadequacy of current methods of study when he addressed himself first to the conversion of Jews, and found that his elaborate theological discipline had sent him out unprepared for his work. He was compelled to ask himself, for the first time, "what the apostles preached" in like circumstances? "What was, in its essence and moving power, the ferment which then everywhere brought about in men faith and conversion to God?" [39].

The ultimate spring of Christianity, in the consciousness of Jesus, is inscrutable, like Life itself in its beginning; but what He imparted to His disciples we can learn from them—especially from the Apostle Paul [24-27]. In the Epistles of well-established authenticity we have sufficient material for the inductive psychological inquiry that is proposed. These documents, while steeped in the writer's idiosyncrasy, assume a large and constant element of common experience; they are filled with the spiritual life of

the time, drawn fresh from the fountain-head [31 ff.]. The cognate experience of the present day supplies us with the organ for its interpretation, but must not be taken for its limiting measure [36 ff.]. We must distinguish, as Weizsäcker, *e.g.*, has not sufficiently done, between Paul's missionary preaching and his pastoral instruction addressed to the converted, between the Gospel in its primary and secondary sense. With Paul, as with Jesus and Isaiah, the *εὐαγγέλιον* is properly the conveyance of a definite message of grace from God to men [53 ff.]-the "good news" of a signal Divine intervention, its *ἀπόστολος* (*κήρυξ*, *πρεσβευτής*) is one charged with the impartation of certain *acta* and *agenda*-saving deeds of God, past and future, on the strength of which He summons men to enter the kingdom of His Son. It proclaims no theory or doctrine, but divine persons, doings, events, to which its messengers are witnesses; it is the bare statement of concrete fact, to which, accordingly, dialectic art and philosophic explanation are wholly foreign [68 ff.]. Paul resisted the demand of the Greeks for ideas; he dreaded any subjective admixture of human notions with the objective "truth," the Divine reality which had forced itself upon him and his fellows, the one message entrusted to all the apostles.

Of the contents of the Gospel, the first main item appears in Gal. i. 3 ff., the announcement that "Christ has given Himself for our sins, to deliver us from an evil world"; the corresponding demand appears in 2 Cor. v. 20, "Be reconciled." 1 Thes. i. 8 ff. leads us a step further: "the true God" who "raised up His Son, Jesus" who will return as Lord and Judge, are the persons made known; "to serve" and "to wait" are the requirements they make [86-89]. As God was revealed [in contrast to idols], so *sin*, individual and collective, as alienation from Him; sin was denounced with such effect as to awaken the longing for *grace* [90 ff.]. "Christ" was the focus and the sum of Paul's gospel-the expected Messiah, the universal Saviour, the Son of God, *ἐν πρώτοις* amongst the facts concerning Him are *His death and resurrection*-the twin pillars of salvation. *In nuce* the Gospel is "the word of the cross," its quintessence lying in the fact that this death was *ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν* [93 ff.]. The causal nexus between Christ's death and man's sin was affirmed, in the first instance, without theoretical elucidation; self-sacrifice was an idea not foreign to the Pagan mind. From the outset P. affirmed that both the death and resurrection came about "according to the Scriptures," referring not so much to single passages as to the drift of the Old Testament, the continuity of God's present with His past works of salvation. For the resurrection he appealed to the living witnesses [95 ff.]. Through the advanced doctrine of Romans we

can discern the elementary gospel lying behind it. This included, further, some simple account of the birth and history of Jesus—the crisis of human destiny, and of His celestial rule and intercession—the guarantee of present access to God [98 ff.]; for the Gospel proclaims Him as our Lord and Redeemer, titles in which this twofold series of facts is summed up. Thus the Good News opens out into the proclamation of “the kingdom of God,” present and future. The demands and promises of the Gospel stand all in the light of the *παρουσία* of the Lord Jesus and the coming *ὥρῃ* of God [102, 108 ff.]. The content of the Gospel is now clear: it proceeds from the living and true God, to men godless and ruined; He has sent His Son at time’s fulness as Son of David, who has died for men’s sins, and risen as many can testify; risen, He is exalted in boundless power, to be a gracious Lord to His own, extending His kingdom through the world, sending His messengers to demand submission; on repentance, reconciliation through His sacrifice is assured, with forgiveness, adoption, and the gift of the Holy Spirit on the Father’s part, initiating a new spiritual existence and securing deliverance from future wrath; soon Christ returns in judgment, and the day of grace closes [110]. All hangs closely together, and is grand, sober, urgent, practical, and luminous.

As to the *working* of the Gospel through its agents, the capital fact in Paul’s case is that he felt himself to be an instrument of the exalted Christ [121]. The apostle was a burning focus in which the Divine events he spoke of concentrated themselves, to stream forth into the world. P. renounced deliberately at Corinth the arts of eloquence and learned demonstration; he was defective in the charms of popular speech. His success he traces entirely to “the Spirit” attending his proclamation [128]. Everything was wanting, or was of set purpose laid aside, which should distract from or participate with the sheer “power of God” operative in His message [139]. The apostle gave a straightforward account of the facts, not a lecture upon them, convinced that in what he reported God witnessed for Himself to men [141 ff.]; his method was concrete, visual, descriptive, not abstract and conceptual. The personality of the preacher played its part in conversion not by intellectual force so much as by contagious conviction [144 ff.], and through the joyous confidence and high courage generated by his realisation of the source and purport of his commission [146 ff.]. In its effects, the Gospel proved everywhere a *divisive* power, driving men to the opposite poles of salvation or perdition [150 ff.]. The saved are God’s *κλητοί* and *ἐκλεκτοί*; for all that, the separation is due to contrasted dispositions in the hearers. The causes of unbelief P. observes are those stated by Jesus, who, however, analysed them more deeply,—viz., insincerity and satisfaction with

self and the world [155-160]. Previous morality or immorality does not determine the case; the Gospel appeals to a faculty underlying the moral, to the spirit of man in its fundamental movement. Previous knowledge of Scripture is favourable to conversion, not indispensable [160 *f.*]. The key to the whole problem, on the human and psychological side, is *faith*—a term sadly blunted by theological use. Faith was not the result of argument or reasoned apprehension; it was the flashing on the mind of an immediate certainty [165], an overpowering impression of the actuality of the Good News heard from the apostle; hence it filled its subjects with rapture, transporting them into a new and glorious world of being [166 *f.*]. It was at the same time an act of self-preservation, “salvation” being at stake, the setting of oneself on a true foundation of life; but this was done in passion and enthusiasm, not cool reflexion [169 *ff.*]. Faith has two sides—the conviction of the reality of the things declared, and the surrender of oneself to their demands. It was a personal apprehension of God and Christ, laid hold of in Christ’s death and resurrection and the connected train of facts [171 *ff.*]. The human life of Jesus P. used as an example for conduct, not a saving ground of faith. The passionate certainty of faith is accounted for by the astounding impression received from the resurrection of Jesus. Out of faith-certainty grew *salvation-certainty* [174]; the latter increasingly filled consciousness, and constituted the connotation of a developed “faith.” Faith began with credence in the witness of the apostles; their character, therefore, was a vital precondition [175]. The promises they held out of forgiveness, etc., supplied an experiment for the believing hearer, the success of which verified the whole Gospel to him [176]. “Obedience” to God in Christ gave to faith its sober, testing issue; “confession of the Lord Jesus” and “calling upon His name” were its formal public expression [177 *f.*].

The Gospel spread through *the activity* therein of *the living God* whom it proclaimed; “the Spirit” is, with P., no theoretical quantity deduced from his preconceptions, but a real cause demonstrated by its unique effects [183]. The facts demanded the Factor. The apostle and the fruits of his ministry are unaccountable otherwise. His realistic presentment of Jesus Christ and his stern condemnations of sin were calculated to rouse the emotions and the conscience; but this falls far short of the work of conversion. The resurrection of Jesus and the promise of His advent supplied the strongest holdfast and stimulus to faith when once created, but they could not call it into being [189 *f.*]. Conviction is created by reasoned proof from admitted premises, or by immediate presentation of the object; the former method was here impossible and unattempted. Faith was psychologically unattainable without a

direct personal action of God upon the heart [193]. All the phenomena of the case point to this contact having occurred. If there was no veritable operation of God in the matter, but only the *idea* of it, then we must look to the antecedents of the hearers for the real cause of their Christian experience. Historical research here confronts us directly with the Supernatural [200]. The problem resembles that of the origin of Organic Life; only that in this inquiry we have contemporary evidence, and are brought to the edge of the mystery. Here, moreover, we can enter, as we cannot in the examination of Miracles, into the train of cause and effect and posit definitely the insufficiency of the Natural. To unfold the development of Christian "Views" and "Institutions" is to move only on the surface of things: what has to be accounted for is the creation of Christian men. Holsten's historico-psychological theory does not explain the actual apostle Paul, but substitutes for him a kind of nineteenth century Gnostic [204].

Baptism and the bestowment of the Spirit signalled the *beginning of the new life*, the former constituting its occasion, the latter its inner cause [209]. Only by inference can we distinguish pre-baptismal from post-baptismal experience. Faith was the actual *birth*, not the pre-condition of the regenerate life: it brought about a new creation, a revaluing of all interests, a subordination of all goods to the sovereign good in Christ [212]; positively, it produced an energetic devotion to God's will and kingdom, the fulfilment of which henceforth dominated all aims. The future world submerged the present [219]. The believer's union with Christ formed the organic basis of the whole transformation. Christ replaced the old self, His Church the old world-society [222]. The new activities of life were at each point set to work by the new actualities brought near in the Gospel; the sense of the living God of itself destroyed idolatry, and fellowship with Christ was no doctrinal inference but a primary experience [228]. Gradually the movements of the new life became matter of distinct apperception, then of comprehension and intelligent expression; the transformation effected in the world of being passed into the world of thought [230]. Baptism was the step which indicated the reflective and deliberate realisation of faith [232]. Here began a toilsome and contested progress, the working out of the implanted salvation [234 ff.]. This process was subject to ordinary psychological and social laws, varying in its course in different individuals and communities. The apostle's personal influence played a commanding part in this development [239 ff.]. Baptism was an institution which P. took over, with a recognised objective meaning [244 ff.]: on the recipient's side, it marked his publicly decisive rupture with sin and confession of Christ; it was the

realisation by God of His possession in the man, and by the man of his salvation through Christ; it established an abiding bond between the baptised man and the exalted Christ on the one side, and the new humanity, the Church, upon the other. It was in all respects the fundamental life-decision [250], objectifying faith, precipitating feeling and intention into self-determining act [254]. From this time, if he knows and means what has been done, the man is no longer a sinner, though sin may be in him—a paradox psychologically true [259]. The Christian has been “washed,” and therewith “sanctified” (1 Cor. vi. 11)—separated visibly from sinners, and brought under the ownership and rule of God; therewith also “justified”—viewed and treated by God as righteous [266]. The gift of the Holy Spirit, accompanying baptism, was no mere objectification of the believer's new feelings and impulses. The miraculous charisms, frequently manifested on this occasion, require, it is acknowledged, a force above the subject's personality to explain them; his new character equally demands this cause. The distinction between the ordinary [moral] and extraordinary [miraculous] powers of the Spirit, attempted in modern analysis, is foreign to the New Testament and unscientific [273]. Both were the fruit of an indwelling and impelling *δύναμις*, disparate from all power of “this world.” God Himself at this moment stepped into the man [275], filling up with His Spirit the inward void, the sense of which in hearers of the Gospel had led them to seek its blessings. Mere faith does not account for the phenomena referred to “the Spirit”: faith is purely receptive; it is not the good possessed, but the act of apprehension [279]. The Divine powers operating on the man had now, as he realised, established a centre within him, around which and out of which the new personality began to crystallise [281]—the personality of a conscious Son of God. The Spirit is distinct from this consciousness, being its seal and guarantee. The ecstasies were extraordinary eruptions, and the charisms special faculties of a life in the Spirit common to all the children of God [284].

The relation to Christ inaugurated by Baptism was that of “communion”—a word susceptible of different meanings [288]. *βάπτισμα εἰς Χριστόν* is “baptism with reference to Christ”; the baptized is appropriated by Him, while he, participating in His salvation, confesses Jesus as Lord and becomes His personal servant. This is no mere private, but, so to speak, a *political* association (Phil. iii. 20); one enters into communion with Christ in the organised life of His Church; the *κοινωνία* of 1 Cor. i. 9 is “fellowship in Christ” with others [292]. Even in Rom. vi. 2 ff., there is no thought of “mystic” fellowship; “to be baptized into His death” and resurrection means entering through baptism into

the saving purpose and benefit of these events, and experiencing in consequence a regeneration as signal as the transition that took place in Him; the *συν*- implies correspondence, not identification [294]. The Christian at Baptism has "put on Christ," so that he is from this time "in Christ"—an expression that fills the epistles; his existence becomes practically included in that of Christ, who is its hidden basis and background. This being "in Christ" is identical with being "in the Spirit": Christ is the sunlight, the Spirit is the atmosphere of the new life [298]. To sum up, the baptized Christian belongs to Christ, shares by rehearsal His death and life, and dwells in His heavenly kingdom. In other words, the servant waits on his Master, shares His fortunes, and lives upon His wealth. Nothing is presumed as to *personal intimacy*; *ἐκδημούμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου* supposes the lack of this (2 Cor. v. 6). Through Baptism incorporation into the Church was effected. This means more than entering a religious community; it is realising a union of souls, deeper than all external relations in proportion to the depth and magnitude of the Christian's new possessions and hopes [300]. The Church consists of those "called by God to fellowship in His Son"; here is the ground of its being. Every movement of the inner life had its Church side and reacted on the community; the Church-consciousness reached an ecstatic height; one spirit breathed, one pulse beat in the brotherhood [303]. "The Spirit" was the heavenly life-element which filled and subsisted in all the members of the Church, making this the sphere of His activity; simultaneously, as parts of one being, the Christian man and the Christian Church were born and grew in the Spirit. What Baptism brought about was never effected mechanically, in the way of *opus operatum*, but under the spiritual preconditions and accompaniments proper to it as a Christian rite [306].

The exposition of Baptism completes the *erster Teil*, covering 306 closely printed and closely written pages. A *zweiter Teil* of the *persönliche Christenthum* may be expected, of equal magnitude and weight. When that is before us, we may be able to judge of the scope and outcome of Dr Müller's work, and estimate it to better advantage. We have given a careful and extended analysis of this first published part, judging it to be a production that deserves such pains and that will speak for itself. It recalls evangelical theology to its first principles and its native ground in the heartfelt experience of salvation through Christ and the new life in the Spirit. But it does this after a scientific and judicial method. The author writes like a man imbued with biological and psychological conceptions, accustomed to observe and interpret the processes of life. The phenomena of the apostolic age have for him the fascination of grand human facts, to be weighed and defined



in their full concrete reality ; he is justly impatient of the cloud of speculative theories that have obscured them for the modern mind. He substitutes a positive and inductive analysis for the *à priori* philosophico-literary analysis which has prevailed in the theological schools of his country ; and his cast of thought is well calculated to appeal to the practical English student. The style is far from easy ; the book is amongst the toughest one has read for a long time. But it is solid, methodical, and workmanlike, and touched with a high religious sense of the greatness of the subject. This volume affords another welcome proof that modern science, with its trained habits of observation and its reverence for facts of every order, is compelled, as it works itself beyond the material into the spiritual ranges of life, to deliver with increasing emphasis its witness to the reality and power of the historical Christian faith.

The following misprints have struck the eye : *formende* (p. 5, l. 11) apparently for *formale* ; the omission of a colon at the end of l. 23, p. 65 ; *umittelbar*, p. 176, l. 3, and *perönlichen*, p. 177, l. 17 ; a *u* reversed on p. 192, l. 9 from bottom ; a superfluous *n* at the end of l. 15, p. 262 ; *r* wanting in *Begeistete*, p. 273, l. 2.

GEORGE G. FINDLAY.

### **Die Grundlagen der Christologie Schleiermacher's.**

*Von Lic. Hermann Bleek. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr ; London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. 233.*

THE author tells us (p. 98, n. 3) that he is the grandson of Friederich Bleek, the well-known professor at Bonn (one presumes), whose translated Commentaries on Hebrews and on the Apocalypse are held in such high regard for piety and scholarship, and whose O.T. Introduction, also translated—not from any of the editions retouched by Wellhausen—has given so many English readers their first knowledge of the “mighty maze, though not without a plan,” of modern criticism. Pfarrer Hermann Bleek appears to be himself a follower of Ritschl. His very careful monograph deals with Schleiermacher's successive works, and even with their successive editions, and enters into controversy on details with the most authoritative exponents of Schleiermacher. The author further claims that he has been the first to discuss the growth of Schleiermacher's *Christological* views with the emphasis due to Christology as the central Christian doctrine. The first chapter is devoted to the influences which told upon Schleiermacher's youth ; the second depicts his period of rationalism, during which Christ is regarded simply as teacher or example ; the third deals with his aesthetic or

intellectualist period—the period marked especially by the *Reden*; also by the *Monologues*. The fourth chapter tells of Schleiermacher's approach to a more positive acceptance of Christ and Christianity—chiefly in the *Weihnachtsfeier*; a piece of dialogue whose importance Mr Bleek thinks has been underestimated. The essay does not include the *Glaubenslehre*.

From the Moravians Schleiermacher is held to have imbibed a practical Christianity or personal faith in Jesus—tinged with some of Zinzendorf's subjectivity—which never deserted him. Kant instilled into him his theory of knowledge; he became a subjective idealist; but this seems to have influenced only the technicalities of his theological thought, while the deeper moral suggestions of Kant did not find him particularly receptive. His leading characteristics inclined him to pantheism, and made it hard for him to recognise in terms of thought the supremacy of Jesus Christ. In the *Reden*—which we must not regard as essentially exoteric—he was aestheticist, romanticist, Spinozist. Christ was hailed as one of the heroes of faith—an august figure, to be treated not with rationalistic coldness but with enthusiastic respect; an august figure, but not the one Mediator; not the Lord. The essence of Christianity, according to the *Reden*, is its emphasis upon “the idea of that mediation which everything finite needs.” This, according to Mr Bleek, is to reintroduce natural religion which Schleiermacher had professed to banish as an abstraction. And the mediation spoken of is plainly understood in a pantheistic sense. The *Monologues*, though dealing with Ethics and Psychology, are adroitly worked into the scheme of the essay. They depict Schleiermacher's ideal man—but Jesus Christ is to him the “ideal Man”; whom he therefore idealises, on his own lines, to the neglect or even defiance of history. Even in the *Christmas Dialogue*—or later editions of the *Reden*—in spite of more definite approximations to the Christian position Schleiermacher is seen still quite resolutely distinguishing the ideal from the historical Christ, and attaching importance to the former, not the latter. It follows that in the *Glaubenslehre* itself Schleiermacher was pledged to a doketic conception of Christ.

The explanation of Schleiermacher's position is found partly in his personality. No one was ever more true, first and last, to his own idiosyncrasy. It made him a mystical pantheist; this did not forbid him to be a Christian, yet hindered him from being an evangelical Protestant Christian in the fullest sense. But the author blames in part Schleiermacher's philosophical opinions for his theological defects. While he was right in trying (already in the *Reden*) to separate religion and philosophy, he had not, we are given to understand, a sufficiently clear philosophy of religion to carry out

his own programme. (This sounds like a self-contradiction. Perhaps it is really not so. Anyway, the expression fairly embodies the thesis of the essay and the difficulties of the Ritschl school.) Accordingly Schleiermacher's Christology included effort after effort, protest after protest, in the direction of a fuller faith in Christ; but he could not extricate it theologically.

What follows is largely read between the lines. Ritschlism is believed to have extricated Christology by two doctrines. First, it has asserted the limitation of human knowledge. If that is accepted, Idealism must not lay down the law in religion—must not impose a pantheistic creed by trying to "think together" nature and history, the world of causes and the world of ends, values, ideals. Secondly, in the vacant space now cleared, a fuller philosophical doctrine of *personality* is developed.

All who believe in positive Christianity must praise the effort of the Ritschl school, though many will doubt whether such a philosophy can bear the weight of "full" Christian faith in a Divine Saviour. Those who believe in Idealism might explain Schleiermacher's failure by causes unconnected with his positive philosophy, *e.g.* by his reliance on *feeling*. They might vindicate his love of Plato, if not of Spinoza. Even in a monograph the subjectivity or the creed of the writer has a great deal to do with shaping his verdict.

ROBERT MACKINTOSH.

### **Die persönliche Heilserfahrung des Christen, und ihre Bedeutung für den Glauben, nach dem Zeugnisse der Apostel.**

*Von. Ph. Bachmann, Gymnasial Professor in Nürnberg. Leipzig: Deichert's Nachfolger (Georg Böhme); London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. 246. Price, M.3.60.*

HERR BACHMANN has no patience with "subjective 'thoughts of faith' or 'value judgments'"—"in the bad sense of the term," as he adds (p. 182). He is an orthodox evangelical Christian of the Lutheran order, with views on Baptism and the Lord's Supper which belong to German rather than to British evangelicalism, and with a strong conviction that the apostles never mean to teach unconditional election.—Everyone now appeals to experience. But what is Christian experience? Let us go for an answer to the sources—to the apostolic Scriptures, with the teaching of Christ working through them. Accordingly the author examines in succession James, Peter (i. and ii.), the Pauline epistles, Hebrews, and (1st) John. All report, though in varying forms, that our experience is an experience

of spiritual and eternal realities which never become wholly matter of experience. Much of our faith deals with what is "trans-subjective." Its objects are "historical and superhistorical." We touch the near end of connecting threads which pass into eternity and link us with the throne of God and with the risen Saviour. The obedience of faith with which we begin "includes a persuasion of the historical reality of the facts" of the Gospel, "and the recognition of their saving efficacy" (p. 42). Revelation "does not merely fill human hearts with new consciousnesses of faith and of salvation; it existed before these consciousnesses and apart from them, in historical facts, which realised an eternal purpose" (pp. 195, 6). Was revelation given, then, before there was any soul to whom it was given? What purpose was then "realised"?

The work is carefully done, with full knowledge of recent literature. The detailed exegesis is rather heavy; but the constructive section dealing with Paulinism is of some interest. Older views are vigorously maintained against Karl's assertions of perfectionism and justification by renewal as the essence of the Pauline gospel. The author finds support for his own central positions in Rom. vi. 11; it is a telling quotation.

Dogmatically, the main result is evangelical *Gemeingut*. It lies midway between Dr Dale's view that experience of the "living Christ" is enough to make us independent of ascertained knowledge in regard to historical revelation—and the position of those who would confine the revealing activity of God entirely to the earthly life of Christ.

But opinion will differ very much as to the legitimacy of the philosophical basis of the book, and its apologetic adequacy. First, the lesson is as old as the Scotch philosophy that, if knowledge is constituted by subjective states, you can never pass beyond the subject. You are in the prison of subjective idealism, and under the doom of scepticism. Again, is it reasonable to speak of the Christians at Corinth who profaned the Lord's Supper and died thereafter as suffering the "physiological" consequence of their sin? (p. 180). Finally, is the doctrine of faith sound? Is belief in the "superhistorical" and "transcendent" Satan (pp. 176, 182) really analogous to religious faith in God and in Christ? And are faith and experience alternatives—the more faith, the less religious experience; the more experience, the less room for faith? And do we experience part of revelation and part only? Is not the whole organically connected, and is not the whole therefore matter of experience so far as it can or need be? We wish the author had told us what he thinks is our warrant for the initial act of faith, and how (if at all) faith *then* differs from the Romanist's submission to authority.

ROBERT MACKINTOSH.

**A Theory of Reality.**

*An Essay in Metaphysical System upon the Basis of Human Cognitive Experience.* By George Trumbull Ladd, Professor of Philosophy in Yale University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899. 8vo, pp. xv. 556. Price, \$4.

OF no one thing does the thought of our time stand more in need than of a revived interest in metaphysics. A scared Ritschlianism has fled before metaphysics: the almost universal attitude of the scientist towards metaphysics is that of the scorner: much even of the ethical philosophy of the time is weakly given over to squeamishness before metaphysic. But signs of quickened interest in metaphysics have not been wanting even in the past two or three years. There has not been lacking metaphysical boldness in the recent speculation of Germany. In England, we have had the great metaphysical work of Dr Shadworth Hodgson. In America, the recent book on metaphysics by Professor Bowne has now been followed by this important "Essay in Metaphysical System" on the part of Professor Ladd.

This *Theory of Reality* Professor Ladd explains in the Preface, is designed as a companion volume to his work on *Philosophy of Knowledge*, noticed in the *Critical Review* of Jan. 1898. It speaks highly for Professor Ladd's powers as a thinker and intellectual worker that two such volumes should have come so closely together from his pen. Professor Ladd is never the dry-as-dust philosopher, having his being only among bloodless abstractions: a vital interest pervades all his work: in this *Theory of Reality* he has been mainly concerned to fulfil the "conditions which belong to the establishment of a valid speculative result upon a basis of fact and science." The twenty chapters which compose the work are filled with substantial and suggestive thinking, and bear such marks of originality as may be now possible to the skilled metaphysician. No one, with the least aptitude for philosophical study, will have any difficulty with Professor Ladd's style, which is generally clear and incisive.

We should have preferred, however, in a work professedly "systematic," some sort of divisional arrangement, which Professor Ladd was so well able to suggest. Since he has not seen fit to do so, we must just call attention to those points in his treatment that seem to us most important or striking. The opening chapter is devoted to a most interesting and forceful Exposition of the nature and method of Metaphysics. Professor Ladd here rightly notes the special attention deserved of any Theory of Reality by the conception of Evolution as principle of becoming, and the conception of Self-hood as it reaches out into social connections.

In this evolutionary recognition he is in advance of some recent metaphysical writers. The facts of evolution for him cannot be known at all, "otherwise than in their relation to some teleological conception" (p. 379). "No such conception as a 'mechanism of Nature,' or a 'structure of the world,' is tenable without the implicate of purposiveness" (p. 388). We think, however, more might with advantage have been done—since it can be done—in the way of showing the end which evolution subserves, in a philosophical interpretation of reality, in compelling thought to recognise the necessity of teleology or the fact of purpose in nature. That is to say, he might have shown more clearly to his readers how a teleology must exist or be inferred from the bare fact of evolution itself, a thing well worth doing in the state of thought at present. "The characteristics of Self-hood" Professor Ladd carries over to Nature (p. 468), so that he holds by "not nature *and* Spirit, but *Spirit as the true and essential Being of so-called Nature*" (p. 472), as the conclusion to which both science and philosophy lead.

Professor Ladd sets out from the discussion, in the second chapter, of "phenomenon and actuality," by which he is led up to the "conception of Reality," so important for metaphysics as the philosophy of the real. He has, in passing, some just criticism of Lotze's conception of the real, but when he presses on to his own conclusions, which are, that Reality is always, first of all, a fact, is always an actor or agent, and is always connection according to some law, it becomes evident how largely he is in accord with Lotze. He then passes to consider Reality as an actual harmony of the categories, seeking to vindicate for the categories the position of "a beautiful and wondrous system" (p. 105), which it is the very task of metaphysics synthetically to reconstruct in theoretic form from the harmony actually existent. This is succeeded (chap. v.) by an interesting discussion of the old and troublous category of substance, in which our author leads up to the "confident recognition of something in experience, and something in reality," answering to "such abstractions as Substance, Being, or *Ding-an-sich*." He holds it to be in the "fundamental fact of an activity, which is both self-felt and also known to be inhibited, that we discover the root, in experience, from which the conception of substance springs forth." The *x* which has been long pursued he finds to be *self-activity*. "To be a real Being, with actual qualities, is to be what I know myself to be—namely, capable of initiating and of experiencing changes that are attributable to some subject or 'central point of attachment,' conceived of after the analogy of a conscious Will."

The chapters that come next contain fresh discussions on "Change and Becoming," "Relation," "Time," "Space and

Motion," that on "Time" being clear and robust, and the one on "Space" discriminating and careful. Having dealt with Lotze's vacillations as to Time, and the inanities of the merely subjective view of time, Ladd goes on to show the need for the "trans-subjective" reference of the time concept if Evolution is to be a significant conception. He seems to feel the difficulty of dealing with the category of Space, and what he has to say of it is of more tentative and partial character. Professor Ladd comes at length, no doubt, to a World-Force to which, as its trans-subjective ground, the space category must be referred; but if he meant thereby to lead up to the Divine Causality in its sway (as conditioned by Will) over the extended, it seems to us this might have been done in such a way as to lead up to a somewhat clearer and stronger issue. We cannot but think it would have been well to attempt some more explicit setting forth of the relation of the Absolute Being to space, for the subject is one of intense metaphysical interest. The senses in which the Absolute is raised above extension and is independent of space, and in which He is related to space, since space—like the world itself—rests on an intelligible basis in Him, cannot be too clearly set forth in the metaphysical discussions of the day. For, after all, it seems to us far less likely that a satisfying speculative result will be reached through the metaphysical tendency to expect space and time to explain themselves, than by viewing them as they appear related to the Absolute.

There is not much that calls for special remark in the chapters devoted to "Force and Causation," "Measure and Quantity," "Number and Unity," "Forms and Laws." The chapter on "Spheres of Reality" (xv.) we find rather disappointing; in parts it is too elementary, and it wholly leaves aside some of the questions touching an Absolute Self and its relation to the world of selves which are most present to the philosophical mind of to-day. There are closing chapters on "Matter," "Nature and Spirit," "The Actuality of the Ideal," and "The World and the Absolute." The Theory of Reality with which Professor Ladd concludes really is that "all things and all selves are virtually understood by the Knower, man, to belong to, to be manifestations of, dependencies upon, this Absolute Self." Further, the mind of man is led to recognise that "the ultimate Being of the World is its own indwelling and absolute Spiritual Life—the Life of a self-conscious Will and Mind which stands related to that complex of objects which are made known in all human experience as their One and Ultimate Ground" (p. 550). Yale may be congratulated on the mental activity of the distinguished head of its Philosophical Faculty.

JAMES LINDSAY.

### **The Gospel of the Atonement.**

*Being the Hulsean Lectures for 1898-99, by the Ven. James M. Wilson, M.A. London: Macmillan, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 165. Price, 3s. 6d.*

It was the gift of the prophets of old to see the needs of their own days as few beside could see them, and to bring the unchanging truth of God to bear upon them with all their might. Among thoughtful readers there must be very many who lay down these Hulsean Lectures with the sense impressed upon them that the Archdeacon of Manchester ranks with the "goodly fellowship"; for he has read the heart of to-day. The pathos of those many souls who in a deep and real sense are religious, nay Christian, but who find it supremely difficult to think the thoughts which make up much of traditional and popular Christian belief, and cannot always freely enter into Christian fellowship with the recognised bodies of Christ's followers, has moved him greatly. They are like sheep scattered upon the hills, and not having a shepherd; can nothing be done to so fetch them home that they may be made one flock under one Shepherd? This is the audience that Archdeacon Wilson has in view; and because he holds that the doctrine of the Atonement commonly forms their greatest difficulty, whereas it ought to be the centre of their hope and joy, he makes this the subject of his lectures. "I feel," he writes, "that someone who believes whole-heartedly that Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever, and feels and knows the Atonement to be a fact for to-day, recognised as a truth by our listening hearts, and who yet is conscious that its ordinary presentation fails to touch, nay perhaps alienates, a prevailing, even predominant, type of mind, ought to try to think out and express, so far as he can, his feelings and beliefs, imperfect as they are, in the hope that if he is in thorough sympathy with the aims and efforts of the past, and yet can be utterly true to what seems to be God's revelation in the present, his truthfulness will awake some response in other hearts."

Pointing out how the strong movement towards relying upon inductive methods of thought is affecting Christian minds, and how it is becoming increasingly impossible for any save an exceptional few to believe in, or even to regard, religion apart from the great body of their general experience, Archdeacon Wilson welcomes induction and the appeal to experience as giving the soundest and broadest basis on which the reality of the Christian revelation rests. And he seeks to set the Atonement on this firm



foundation for all who want it as a stay in life, and not as a labelled specimen in an ecclesiastical or theological museum. "This is my aim: to bring the great doctrine of the Atonement into the light of common day, into the atmosphere of the thoughts which are in all our minds; to bring it into the region of all that God has taught us, and is teaching us from all sources; to tell you truly what it is to me; to see if it has not all the evidence one can expect; and to see whether it may not be as real, inspiring, soul-saving, joyful, to the world of to-day, to the everyday Englishman and Englishwoman, as it was when the early Church holding this faith sprang up in a world that knew it not. I believe it to be true for everyone, not only for a few." And that this aim is one capable of attainment the preacher urges by showing how the thing has been done in the case of some other doctrines, such as the creation of the earth, the antiquity of man, the state after death, the inspiration of the Bible, all which were doctrines that had never received any authoritative definition, and which a generation or two ago afforded the most frequent occasion for the doubts and infidelity of the day, but which are now seen under a new aspect, and are felt to be as true as ever, but larger than men once supposed. This result, he believes, may be attained in the case of the Atonement, which also is a doctrine hitherto never defined by authority, and a cause of difficulty and unbelief to many minds to-day, while "our preachers allude to it in symbol or word as if everyone understood their allusion, but they occupy themselves with other aspects of revelation or life. This is a terrible loss. The field of Christian teaching is wide, but nevertheless here is the centre of it. . . . No Church will regenerate the world which does not squarely face the doctrine of the Atonement, and say what its message is, in language that speaks to the heart from the experience of the heart. It must tell us how Christ saves us, redeems us, gives us His life."

In drawing out his theme Archdeacon Wilson feels the need of sketching the course which Christian thought has followed, both for the purpose of showing that popular views of the Atonement have no ancient sanction to rest upon, and in order to show how the account of it which he would give has always been present though overlaid by the disproportionate emphasis laid now on one metaphor, now on another, employed for expressing the spiritual reality. But he guards himself by a striking remark: "It is my conviction that Christianity in its permanent relation to men has far more to associate it ultimately with science, and in particular with progressive and inductive science, than with history. . . . The final question is not what was, but what is; not what men have thought, but what is true." To every Jew religion was bound

up with sacrifices, to an extent which we find it hard to realise. And religious language implied in almost every term ideas or at least associations, of God's transcendence, of sacrificial and legal ordinances. St Paul could not do other than use such language, especially as he needed to show the continuity of the old and new. The language of metaphor alone was open to him. And "the inevitable consequence is that St Paul is sometimes apparently mystical, and then the tendency has been to explain him away; sometimes obviously Judaic, and men have misunderstood him still more by their interpreting him literally." Yet his writings teem with the doctrine of God's Life shared by us men through and in and with Christ Jesus, and this is in fact his central teaching. But in after times the figures and illustrations which St Paul drew from Jewish use, men came to treat as if they were scientific statements, and from them theories of the Atonement were developed. "This was the beginning of what should frankly be called by its true name, Christian mythology, which has since taken many forms. The definiteness, the pictorial clearness, the apparent intelligibility of mythology which personifies ideas, give it an immense attractiveness to the masses, who do not first stop to enquire into its truth, or even expect any verification. The same quality makes it the most dangerous snare to the preacher." So through the Fathers, by way of Anselm, Abelard, and others, the lecturer traces the varying thought of Christendom concerning the Atonement, ever showing how the kernel of every theory is really the unity of Life in God and man, which Jesus Christ made plain. "The great weakness of our Church is the poverty of its popular theology. The greatest need of the Church is a wise and understanding clergy to interpret into 'the vernacular' the strong and masculine faith that is now possible. . . . My conviction, based on a fairly wide and very varied experience, is that reiterated, explicit, clear statements of the true doctrine of our redemption, clearing it from all ditheism and from all that I have ventured to call forensic, transactional, and even mythological, are longed for by the best instincts of the people within and without our churches. . . . Let us say boldly that the Incarnation, i.e. the life and death of the Christ, is the identification of the human and the divine Life. This identification is the Atonement. There is no other."

But Archdeacon Wilson feels that this answer, if it is to satisfy, must include the answer to a further question, why the atoning work of Christ has ever been and will be ever, felt to centre in His death. This part of his subject he handles with impressive reverence, and as one reads one feels that one is following him with bared head into the Holiest of Holies where indeed God's Presence

is, although unseen of mortal eyes. And reverence requires that his words here shall not be altered or condensed in a review. They are honest, earnest, prophetic sentences, which wake at once shame and thankfulness as they are read. One quotation shall suffice to indicate how the enquiry is answered. "The law that suffering is divine, the *δεῖ παθεῖν*, is verified in the experience of the soul. Now Christ's death is the supreme instance of that law. The power of Gethsemane and Calvary in the light of such a law needs no explanation. They open the heart as nothing else ever did. We know that whatever reservations we make for ourselves, whatever our own shrinking from utter self-sacrifice, Christ living in perfect accordance with the laws of spiritual health and perfection, could not do other than die."

The faith which is stated in these pages of his book, the preacher urges, is simple, is for all. "Its truth rests upon universal experience; and it is experience alone which gets such a grip on a man that he can never shake it off. And," he continues, "what do I mean by experience?" The answer given must not be given here, but it lies in a few pages which are among the noblest in the book, and which throb with an *ἐνέργεια* of their own.

The last lecture dwells on the relation of the foregoing view of the Atonement to other contemporary movements of thought, and in it there is much that is interesting and important. The prevailing habits of inductive reasoning as profoundly affecting religious thought are shown to fall in at once with, and even to necessitate such a view of the Atonement as the indwelling of a Divine Life in man, proved by Christ's life and death, and appealing to experience. But the most suggestive part of this lecture lies in the contrast drawn between two types of theology which may generally and for convenience be described as those of the Greek and Latin Fathers. "The fundamental and dominant thought of the one is the Divine Indwelling: the fundamental and dominant thought of the other is the Divine Transcendence. 'God is Spirit' is the note of one; 'God is King' is the note of the other. . . . The types overlap, and are to some extent blended everywhere; nevertheless the contrast is intensely real and significant everywhere. The most important division of theologians to-day is not into Catholic and Protestant, not into High Church and Evangelical, not into critical and uncritical, but into Greek and Latin,—a division which cuts across all others." It is well shewn how far-reaching is this difference, and how not a few of the practical ills from which we suffer are traceable to the influences of the "Latin" theology, while a restoration of the "Greek" point of view, which is moreover far more in accord with the scientific temper, might result in a large increase of hope and peace.

There are other lines of thought opened out by the account of the Atonement which has been unfolded, and all of them are of high interest and importance. But a review which can but give a bare outline of the main theme cannot expect to trace all its several consequences. Enough if it witnesses to an able, earnest, and courageous utterance of a living voice.

E. P. BOYS-SMITH.

### **Communication from Professor L. H. Mills on the Uncertainties of the Avesta and their Solution.**

IN an article which reviews certain publications upon Zend philology, a respected writer in the *Critical Review* of January 1896 made the following statement :—"The Gâthas or hymns of Zoroaster are by far the most precious relic we possess of Oriental Religion, the only sacred literature which in dignity, in profoundness, in purity of thought and absolute freedom from unworthy conceptions of the divine could ever for a moment be compared with the Hebrew Scriptures."

Such a remark, coming from such a source, lays upon me, as one of the very few theologians who have ever given close attention to the subject, the duty of contributing what it may be possible for me to offer toward such explanations of the Avesta as may appeal to the more critical of the clergy, while I avoid such technicalities as might repel them, or baffle their inquiries at the outset. As to which particular subject among the many which present themselves in the Avesta should be made the subject of a first investigation no one, I think, would be likely to hesitate ; the Gâthas as a whole are, of course, the tree's trunk of this literature rather than its main branch, or, to change the image, they are its foundation. And in the Gâthas the doctrine as to the six Ameshaspendas, making, with Ahura, the memorable "seven," is the consideration which calls for our closest examination at the very threshold of our labours. So essential are these important concepts to the entire structure of the Gâthas that my greatly distinguished colleague, the late Professor James Darmesteter, once said the object, or, indeed, the substance of, the Gâthas was the "glorification of the Ameshaspendas." Whether or not that may be somewhat of an exaggeration, it is quite certain that these personified ideas seem to have been accepted principles of thought, conduct, and hope both with the composer of the pieces and with his hearers ; in fact, they constitute the very framework of their religion, national and personal, and only ceased to retain their profound interior force in a later age, when their significance had lost its edge, and they had degenerated for the most part into

the names of certain familiar physical elements or of the angels who "watched" over them.

I have been especially called upon for a renewed examination of this subject by a request from the trustees of the Sir J. Jejeebhoy Translation-fund in Bombay, who have asked me to treat the matter in connection with certain opinions which had, I fear, been too hastily advanced as to the date of the Gâthas, and with these, similar opinions as to the corresponding date of the other portions of our still surviving Avesta ; and it has fallen to my lot otherwise to study them very closely as regards their relation or non-relation to the *daimones* and *dynameis* of the Greek and Philonian philosophies as well as to the aeons of the Gnostics ; and in fact, as I may be allowed to remark, my well-meant labours as an orientalist began (I fear to say how many years ago) precisely upon this point. Darmesteter even did me the honour, with that inimitable grace which he alone could so easily command, to say that my allusion to what analogies exist between the Gnosis and the Avesta first drew his own attention that way.<sup>1</sup>

And these concepts of the Greek and Alexandrian philosophies do in fact present a certain strong analogy with the Amesha Spenta. But a discussion, whether as preliminary to that of these analogies or not, would be called for under any circumstances ; for no serious explanation of these important concepts of a searching kind and of an interior scope, has ever been attempted, so far as I am aware, in any of the works which are current upon the Avesta ; and such contradictions and diversities of opinion as appear in various translations are justly regarded as a serious hindrance to any attempt to grapple with the subject outside of a very small group indeed of so-called experts. I will therefore endeavour to make my own illustrations of these difficulties as full as may be possible, while I refer such of my readers as may desire to become original investigators, to the large mass of close technical detail which I have endeavoured to present elsewhere in publications which are, as I suppose, sufficiently well known to the professional public.

In dealing with the Amesha Spenta, it is naturally enough our first duty to enquire seriously and closely as to what they were.

The name (Amesha Spenta) as I need hardly say, is not Gâthic, and the appearance of it in the next later composition affords us an interesting and incisive illustration of the changes in ideas which took place as the Avesta progressed from a more interior to an exterior theosophy, as well as of the lapse of time during which its several parts must have been composed. The so-called Amesha, Asha, Vohu Manah, Khshathra, Aramaiti, (haurvatât and amaratatât) may be everything in a high, moral, and religious sense, or they may

<sup>1</sup> See the *Revue Critique* of Sept. 23, 1893, p. 150 ; so also by letter.

be merely interesting lower conceptions, according as we recognise them in their severally distinct senses, or rather in the several differing directions in which each thought which they express extends itself ; for it is the undoubted fact that the terms which express these ideas, simple and clear as they are in themselves, are used in very widely differing applications, within the limits prescribed by the radical meaning both originally and continuously present in each.

And this is true, especially of the first four. I might almost say that the very 'enigma' of the Gâthas consists in the difficulty of deciding as to which one of the several possible senses it is desirable to attach to the words in any given passage, for there lies an uncertainty which leaves us in doubt as to some of the specific statements of doctrine, as well as to the details of some of the historic scenes more or less faintly depicted in the hymns, and it prevents us from being sure whether the composer was talking of the Heavens, or of the State, of the Congregation, or of an Archangel. I even think that the other obscure terms which too frequently occur, difficult as they may be, are matters of easy accommodation (I will not say of solution) in comparison with these. Those excruciating survivals bear their inexplicable mystery within their own forms and base, but our difficulty with the names of the Amesha Spends consists in deciding as to which one out of several definitions or representations may have been the one intended by the composer in any one out of a score of passages to be expressed with nothing but a too often shattered context to guide us in our choice. Certainly the question as to an alternative explanation, at least, of the inscrutable *hapaxlegomena* bears no comparison to these difficulties to which I allude, unless we resort in their case also to alternative opinions. Indeed, so far as experts may wish to embitter controversy for external reasons, they could not make a shrewder selection of a subject upon which to denounce each other than just this question. It is, to my mind, not only the most difficult problem which lies before us in the full exegesis of the Avesta, but it is altogether the most important to our searches in the field of Comparative Religion and Comparative Morals in all the Zoroastrian literature.

My venerated and greatly distinguished friend, the late Professor von Roth of Tübingen, than whom no shrewder *philolog* ever lived, once told me that he was satisfied with 'bona mens' as a translation for Vohu Manah. But what as to the interpretation (so to speak) of 'bona mens'? Here this great expositor would have led us all in attributing to the words meanings so different as the difference between a divine attribute and a human being, an archangel, and a person's characteristic. And as to Asha, he would render it now as "the law," now as "the congregation," while, as I

well remember, he once expressed himself as much struck on suddenly opening at Y. xxxiii. 11, where the whole four Asha, Vohu Manah, Khshathra, and Aramaiti are invoked "to come" as persons and "to pardon" or "to cleanse." Now this astonishing difference in the actual sense in which the words or names are used is startling enough when it is said to occur under any circumstances, but how much more curious it becomes when we remember that there are no still surviving indications to apprise us as to which of these various meanings of the terms is made use of. It is one of the most singular phenomena of literature as well as one of the most undoubted of facts; and its exceptional character becomes still more marked when we notice the total absence of any intentional jugglery or mysticism or of any effort whatsoever to obscure the issues,—that is to say, the absence of all factitious or mechanical double sense.

But to grapple at once with those difficulties. They present themselves in throngs, grave or light, important or trivial. Take such a passage as Y. xxxii. 6: "these in thy kingdom I place, in Asha thy truths I establish." Does Asha here represent the "constitution" or "code of laws" in the terms and articles of which the composer speaks of 'establishing the doctrines,' or does he mean that he will 'establish them in the community'?

Take another expression. "Thy prophet's message (he mourns), but it holds him from sight of Asha." Does this mean from the sight of the Archangel Asha, or from the sight of "the holy community," or from the observation of Asha as "the law," or of the "principle of holiness" in the individual believer's soul; or, to lower the ideas as much as possible, do the terms refer to the sight of Asha as the celebration of the ritual before the altars from the sight of which the heretic was to be excluded?

Take again the words "whose soul is united with Asha." Does this mean "united in sympathetic devotion with Asha as the sub-god or Archangel," or does it mean "united in spiritual sympathy with Asha as the law of holiness," or again does it mean "united with Asha as the church," the holy community?

Or take the case of Vohu Manah in any one of a score of passages—Y. xliii, 7—for instance; "when he came to me with the good mind." Does this refer to the good mind as the sound sagacity of the good citizen, or "to the good mind as the penetrating knowledge of the sub-god, Vohu Manah," or "to the good mind as the beneficent sanity of the Supreme Being," or do the words mean "in company with the good-minded man"?

Then as to Khshathra, does the word refer in many passages to the eternal sovereignty of God, or to the "Archangel," (Khshathra) the sub-god of the kingly power or to the "government of the

holy state," or "to the authority of a particular administration or monarch"? or even "to the land"?

And so of Aramaiti, is it "the activity" or "mental motion" of the Supreme God as His attribute, or is it Aramaiti as the fourth Archangel called "devotion"? Or is it "the active piety of the holy people," or does it point to Aramaiti as in a particular group of executive officers, the "ready functionaries of the state," or, finally, is Aramaiti (so early as the Gâtha) associated with the holy earth, the culture of which needed the active, or possibly the 'ploughing' attention.

Here are difficulties severe enough, one would say, to appal the boldest, and nearly the same class of puzzles meets us with reference to the name Haurvatât "universal health and wholeness," and Ameretatât "deathlessness." When is Haurvatât used as the weal of the State? When as the health of the individual? When as the attribute of the Supreme God? When is it the personified Archangel? And when may it refer to the boards of medicine (*sic*), and when again possibly, as in the later Avesta, does the word carry with it an allusion to the great source of salubrious weal, the "waters" without which diseases would stalk abroad? And when also does Ameretatât mean the 'undying long life of the community'? When that of the individual? When the 'immortality' of the Deity? When is it the Archangel? When the aged sages of the Government? And when does it possibly carry with it, as in the later Avesta, an allusion to the sources of prolonged undying life, the vegetable world?

Let us now have a moment's patience while we look at these questions somewhat closely, for full illustrations are strictly needed. Men of gifts engaged in other specialities may be slow indeed to comprehend even the possibility of the existence of such obscurities, much less of their approximate solution.

And here I may call attention to a fact which seems even more startling than that already mentioned. It is this. Not only is there a total absence of all statements aside from the contexts which might assist us in our endeavour to make out which one of the several senses we are expected to see in any given passage, but we have the still more incomprehensible circumstance that these several simple words, vitally important as they are to the result, are not only used in these several different senses without any terms affording explanations, but are so used in passages *closely contiguous* to each other. We have Asha as the "law" in one stanza and Asha as the "Archangel" in the next, while Asha as the "Church" may immediately follow, all closely grouped in the different senses, and with no written explanations between. And so with Vohu Manah. In one strophe it stands in its natural sense as describing a condi-



tion of the will and intellect, at the next as the Archangel personifying the benevolence of the Almighty, and, further, in other applications as we shall see below. And so of the different uses of Khshathra, they alternate in a manner the most abrupt, while Aramaiti is similarly employed now as a mere adjective, now as the Archangel in closely adjoining passages. So also with the others.

To illustrate this in places where it inspires the sense of living sentences, let us hastily trace Asha and Vohu Manah as they occur in one short connected passage (Yasna xxviii.), and we shall be able to see how this actually happens. In strophe, or as we should more naturally say, in verse, 1 the priestly prophet prays 'with hands uplift I beseech, with praise for this grace the first blessing, all actions done with Asha.' Does this Asha mean with the Community, as we might say "with the Church"? And are these actions ceremonies and those alone? (Not that any sensible scholars have as yet advanced such a view.) Hardly, for the following line enters at once into the very heart of the people's practical national interests, which centred in the cattle-culture, herds being sacred for the best of reasons. Their care would be like a cry of militarism with others; how then could 'all deeds with Asha' be confined to the "ceremonies" in the immediately preceding words?

It would take an exceedingly close-knit priestcraft to convince a farmer-nation that attending church could raise their breeds.

It was Yasna xxix. 1 which especially moved the composer, and the reciter also had it immediately in his view, and in that graphic verse the 'Soul of the kine' emits a prophetic roar which recalls the later "groan of the creation":

"Then loud cried the kine's Soul;  
 'For whom did ye form, who made me?  
 On me come wrath and the blow  
 The murder's shock, contempt's defiance.'"

The prayed-for actions done in the Right were a response to that.

He prayed that their manly work<sup>1</sup> might be carried out with system, and with that honest discipline as well as defensive valour which had become characteristic of their simple but refined civilisation (that is to say, in accordance with Asha as the spirit of their domestic law), so that those in charge of a vast cattle interest might be at peace, and the owners of the herds with their dependants saved from recourse to that murderous border warfare which was so characteristic of the age and place.

And yet in what follows in this same line, in the midst of this explanatory sequence, the companion term to Asha "the good mind" is used (in the sense) of the "good man," i.e., the "good

<sup>1</sup> The Vedic equivalent means "mighty deeds," and never refers to sacrifices.

citizen" (or the orthodox believer), as the immediate and most prominent idea intended by the composer to be conveyed by the expressions of which he makes use. The understanding of the "good mind," that is to say, of the "good-minded man" for which he prays was the sagacity of Yasna xxix. 2.

"How had'st thou for kine a chieftain,  
Thus the kine's maker asked of Asha,  
When, ruling ones, ye made her  
With the herds kine-breeding, clever.  
Whom chose ye her life's master  
Wrath from the faithless ones smiting?"

But in the very next strophe, "I who will encircle You in company with the pious worshipper, the good minded man," would be out of place from the obvious fact that the mental frame and good intention with which the composer represents himself as "approaching" God was the very plea advanced by him for the granting of his prayer; and yet, as we have seen, the words immediately follow the same expression in a previous line where the composer certainly, or most probably, did have in his mind's eye different ideas. So in this same strophe, Y. xxviii. 2, Asha in the words, "the prizes by right deserved," obviously refers again to the composer's merit. Yet in the immediately following verse the personality of the great sub-god (together with that of Vohu Manah the Good Mind) comes out in all its force, "I who will praise You, O Asha." Not even a single line separates it from the last where the idea of the personal Archangel would be wholly out of place. And the same may be said of the Vohu Manah which appears here; it is undoubtedly the personified concept, the sub-god or archangel which the composer would conjointly praise together with Asha. "I who will weave my hymn to You, O Asha, and Vohu Manah, and Ahura in a manner unsurpassed," whereas in the immediately preceding strophe the idea of the Archangel Vohu Manah is quite as impossible as that of Asha, that is to say, as the first idea immediately intended by the composer to be conveyed in the terms of which he made use, and all the while the words continue as the bare letters spell them. Vohu Manah means the 'Good Mind' (literally) and nothing else, and Asha means the 'regularity of law.'

In strophe 5 again we have peculiarly spiritual personifications. "O Asha, when shall I see thee" may fairly be referred to the Archangel, but with such an inflow of the profounder associations of the name that it is almost equivalent to the bare conception, "O Holiness, when shall I see thee," "O Angel of the holy law," could not fail to recall, with impressions the most vivid, all that

Asha meant. The personification must be here regarded as distinctly of the rhetorical type, and of the most interior significance in its emphatic force. See all that goes before it, the "prizes of the heavenly and bodily world," and the soul "stirred to remember the rewards of Ahura," and "vowing to learn and teach the law of holiness as much as it is able and may have the chance."

But in strophe 7, with no proper shading off of terminology, the personification becomes more objective. "O Asha grant me an ashi," that is to say, "a reward."<sup>1</sup>

In 8 Ahura is prayed to as being of "one will with Asha."

In 9 the seer "hopes that he does not perturb (*sic*) Asha or Ahura"—each passage surpassing its predecessor in the reproduction of anthropomorphic traits. But in 10 we find personification suddenly barred; Ahura could not "know" the sacred institutions from either the "congregation" or the "Archangel."

The word "from Asha" does not qualify the word "laws," judging from the relative positions, and nothing prevents our seeing here the highest meaning which the term can convey. Ahura is asked "to recall what he knows from His inherent holiness." But we have as sudden a change after this as before it. In the first line of the next immediately following and last strophe of the section, we read—

"I who to guard Thine Asha  
And the Good Mind am set for ever."

Here Asha is, of course, the "Church," while Vohu Manah is the "good-minded man."

Such are the transitions within the Gâthas in the shades of their subtle sense; while to show that our task is not ended with the Gâthas, see the sublime Yasht xiii. 82, where of the Amesha it is said, "Who are seven, and who rule with might, whose look itself has power (it performs their wish); lofty they are, and coming on to help us; lordly they are, indestructible, and holy; seven of the same thought, and word, and deed; whose souls see each other thinking good thoughts, speaking good words, and doing good deeds, and of Garodman (Heaven, the Abode of Song); who have the same Father and commander, Ahura Mazda, and shining are their paths as they come down to help us." Here they not only possess thought, but have an anthropomorphism carried so far as that it can be said, "they serve a commander and are the sons or daughters of a father" (with no restriction of the relation to any one of them).

And yet when we reach this acme of hypostatisation, as pointed in its kind as the acme of unadulterated pure principle (see above),

<sup>1</sup> Notice how fully this forbids the idea of the congregation; fancy "O congregation give me a reward."

and notice that Vohu Manah, the supreme benevolence has from some cause succeeded in placing himself at the head of them, and are aroused (so to speak) to a full apprehension of existence of the archangelic persons as forming with Ahura a Heptade (six sub-deities with a Supreme Being), we come suddenly upon such a passage as Y. xlix. 10, where in the very midst of the Gâthas themselves Vohu Manah actually means the "good citizen" (or church member) beyond any manner of doubt.

" These lay I safest Lord,  
In Thy protection  
The one good-minded (*i.e.* Vohu Manah)  
And the souls of saints. . . ."

The "good mind" of God could not have been committed for keeping to God Himself in the same sense as that in which the souls of saints were confided to Him. Vohu Manah is therefore here the saint alive, because the "souls of saints," that is to say, the "departed souls," stand in antithesis. The last idea is the guaranty of the first. The later Avesta is in no degree behind the mother lore in this use of Vohu Manah, for it clinches this concept "man" so firmly, that it actually speaks of Vohu Manah (Vendidâd xix. 20) as possible to be defiled, just as a Jew would speak of ceremonial taint; while to show how this usage could vary in this late Avesta as in the early, here in this same Vendidâd, ten verses ahead of the place just quoted in this same chapter (xix. 31), Vohu Manah (always literally "the good mind") is represented in his full archangelic personality as standing before the golden throne, the representative of God (his foremost son<sup>1</sup>) and receiving the approaching souls.

Such are the transitions in both the old Avesta and the new. They are as broad as they are unexpected. I think that they are very remarkable; and considering the acknowledged importance of the documents in which they occur, they should engage the close attention of experts. Men of wide reading, who may also have known much of the more popular phases of Zoroastrianism, may never have surmised why some of the most difficult as well as valued strophes in the Zend Avesta *were* difficult, while any tyro might translate them literally.

If space can be afforded me in a future number of this *Review*, I hope to be able to give other particulars which may solve the difficulties presented.

L. H. MILLS.

<sup>1</sup> Yasht xiii. 83.

### 1. Prediger und Hoheslied (in Nowack's Handkommentar).

*Uebersetzt und erklärt von C. Siegfried, Prof. d. Theol. in Jena. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. iv. 126. Price, M.2.60.*

### 2. Die Socialen Verhältnisse der Israeliten.

*Von Frants Buhl, Prof. der Theol. in Leipzig. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. v. 130. Price, M.2.*

### 3. Moderne Darstellungen der Geschichte Israels.

*Von S. A. Fries. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. iii. 40. Price, 60pf.*

### 4. Early Israel and the Surrounding Nations.

*By A. H. Sayce, Professor of Assyriology at Oxford. London: Service & Paton, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 338. Price, 6s.*

### 5. Die Jesajaerzählungen, Jesaja 36-39.

*Ein historisch-kritische Untersuchung von Lic. J. Meinhold, a. o. Prof. d. Theol. in Bonn. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. iv. 104. Price, M.3.*

### 6. The Book of Job.

*Translated direct from the Hebrew Text into current English, by Ferrar Fenton, assisted by Henrik Borgström of Helsingfors, Finland. London: Elliot Stock, 1898. 8vo, pp. iv. 46. Price, paper, 6d.; cloth, limp, 1s.*

### 7. Alttestamentliche Studien.

*Von G. Stösch, Pfarrer zu Berlin. Gütersloh: G. Bertelsmann; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1898. Part III. 8vo, pp. iii. 209. Price, M.2.*

1. BOTH *Qoheleth* and *Canticles* have suffered many things in the past from commentators. In our own day, however, scientific and careful treatment of them is gradually leading to the discovery of their original meaning. In such a series as Nowack's *Handkommentar* and from such a pen as that of Professor Siegfried we look for much, and certainly in the present instance we are not disappointed.

The peculiar feminine form of the name קהלת is explained by Siegfried upon the analogy of other feminine nouns which designate in the first instance a class and then a prominent representative individual belonging to that class. In other words קהלת = קהל חכמים "an assembly of sages," and then a prominent typical member of this assembly. The reason why the collocation "Qoheleth, son of David, King of Jerusalem" is used instead of the simple name *Solomon* is because it is not as *king* but as *sage* that that monarch is in view. It is needless of course nowadays to argue against the Solomonic authorship.

An interesting sketch is given of the history of critical opinion as to the unity of the book. In the great variety of views that have been taken of the aim and character of the writer, Siegfried finds a proof that it is out of the question to treat it as a unity. In fact it contains the most glaring self-contradictions; e.g., iii. 1-8, and especially the conclusion stated in v. 9, is in flat contradiction with v. 11; iii. 16, iv. 1 with iii. 17, v. 7, viii. 11; iii. 18-21 with xii. 7, and the latter again apparently with v. 8; vii. 15, viii. 10, 12a, 14 with vii. 17, viii. 5, 12b, 13, &c. &c. Nor can any plan be discovered in the book in its present shape. Bickell's bold hypothesis of the derangement caused by the bookbinder does not upon the whole commend itself to Siegfried any more than P. Haupt's attempt to restore the original connection.

In Q<sup>1</sup>, the author of the primitive *Qoheleth*, Siegfried finds a Jew whose faith had suffered shipwreck, and who had the courage of his convictions. Natural, not moral law, according to this pessimist, rules everywhere. Divine Providence is an idle dream. Such conceptions, as they certainly were not drawn from the Old Testament, may with much plausibility be held to be the outcome of Greek influence.

But for the reputed Solomonic authorship, this work would never have survived the currents that prevailed in later Judaism. As it could not be rejected, it was glossed in various interests. First came a glossator, Q<sup>2</sup>, who was not a radical opponent of his predecessor. Taking a less serious view of life, this Epicurean Sadducee, as Siegfried supposes him to have been, glorifies eating and drinking, &c., as real pleasures which supply much compensation for human woes, and altogether looks at things in a more cheerful light. It is to him that we owe such sayings as "A living dog is better than a dead lion," and "It is sweet to behold the light of the sun."

Another reader of Q<sup>1</sup> resented his depreciation of wisdom. This glossator, Q<sup>3</sup>, added ii. 13, 14a, iv. 5, vi. 8, 9a, vii. 11, 12, 19, viii. 1, ix. 13-18, x. 1-3, 12-15. Q<sup>1</sup> had recommended men to give up the hopeless struggle (iv. 4, 6b); Q<sup>3</sup> interjects the remark (iv. 5) that none but a fool will act thus.

Still sharper opposition was called forth by those utterances of Q<sup>1</sup> which denied Divine Providence, &c. Q<sup>4</sup>, one of the *Hasidim*, touched up the book in the interests of traditional piety, adding ii. 24b-26a, iii. 11, 13, 14, 17, iv. 17—v. 1, 3, 5, 6b, 7, vi. 10-12, vii. 13, 17, 23-25, 29, viii. 2-8, 11-13, ix. 1, xi. 5, 8b, 9b, xii. 1a, 7b.

Even this was not all. Other glossators, who may be included under the title Q<sup>5</sup>, applied their hand to the book at various times and for various reasons. Then we have three special additions: (a) xii. 9, 10; (b) xii. 11, 13; (c) xii. 13, 14, the last being from the hand of a Pharisee who cherished belief in a future judgment which had not yet dawned upon Q<sup>4</sup>.

The language of *Qohleth*, alike vocabulary and syntax (both of which are copiously illustrated by our author), marks the latest stage of the Old Hebrew, when the transition was beginning to the language of the Mishna. Q<sup>1</sup> may have written shortly after 200; Q<sup>2</sup>, Q<sup>3</sup>, Q<sup>4</sup>, Q<sup>5</sup> at various times down to 100 B.C., at which latter date also the three special additions above noticed were made to the book. This does not in the least imply that the kernel of the book was not known to ben-Sirach, in whose work analogies to *Qohleth* are to be discovered.

On *Canticles*, Siegfried of course rejects the allegorical interpretation to which, however, that book owes its place in the Canon. After a careful examination of the dramatic theories of Delitzsch and Ewald, he rejects both, and accepts substantially Budde's interpretation, the basis for which was laid in Wetzstein's *Syrische Dreschtafel*. As our readers are aware, upon this theory the Song of Songs is made up of a collection of *wasfs* (Siegfried discovers ten of these in the book) sung during the celebration of a marriage feast, the only unity which they possess being that of *place* and *occasion*. There are not wanting indications that this may come to be the finally accepted interpretation of the Song.

Upon linguistic and other grounds, Siegfried would assign *Canticles* to the third or, better, to the second century B.C. He sees no ground for the opinion that its origin may be traced to N. Israel.

Both the commentaries are worthy of Professor Siegfried, and of the series to which they belong.

2. In this work Professor Buhl's aim is to give such a sketch of the conditions of life in ancient Israel as may be of interest at the present day when social questions engage so large a share of attention.

Although the nomadic life of early Israel left traces upon its language, and even upon its modes of thought, it was more especially in connexion with the Land of Canaan that the national development took place. Hence we are introduced, first of all, to

an interesting description of what was upon the whole "a good land" (Deut. iv. 21; cf. viii. 7 ff.). The changes produced upon the national character by the life of Canaan, the gradual evolution of institutions down to the introduction of the monarchy, and the advance of the latter from its primitive simplicity under Saul to the luxury and despotism of Solomon and some of his successors, all this is carefully traced. In speaking of the family, Buhl agrees with Robertson Smith that traces can still be discovered of the prevalence in very ancient times of the matriarchate in Israel. In historical times, however, the father had come to be all in all. Woman's position, notwithstanding this, was always higher in practice than in theory. Nor was the lot of slaves in general a hard one.

On the important question of the population of Palestine at various periods, Buhl remarks that it is difficult to reach certainty. The 40,000 warriors of Deborah's Song (where Judah and one or two other tribes are not included) gives us a reliable datum for the period of the Judges. Through the amalgamation with the Canaanites there must have been a very considerable increase during the early years of the monarchy, but the 1,300,000 (800,000 in Israel and 500,000 in Judah) capable warriors of 2 Sam. xxiv. 9 must be an enormous exaggeration. Upon any theory this would imply a population for the whole country of nearly five millions, which would be twice as many inhabitants per square mile as are found in Belgium at the present day! Assyrian and other data appear to justify the conclusion that the capable warriors of Israel in the time of Menahem numbered 60,000, and that the population of Judah was about 225,000. If we suppose the population of the Northern kingdom to have been thrice as large, this would give a population for the whole country of about one million, which may be regarded as approximately correct.

Very interesting details are given about industries and occupations in Palestine, the officials, the taxes, &c. &c.

A great deal underlies this little volume which does not appear upon the surface. It is calculated to be eminently useful at present, especially to those who desire to have a reliable guide to the conditions of life amongst the Jews, but who have not the leisure to study large or elaborate works like those of Schürer and Bertholet. We trust it may be translated into English.

3. Dr Fries has published a paper which he read last September at the first Science of Religion Congress at Stockholm. Its object is to indicate the present position of the critical views of Israel's history, and the attitude towards these which a cautious but not anti-critical onlooker should assume.



Starting with the motto, "Etwas anderes ist Glaube, etwas anderes Wissenschaft," Fries touches first of all upon the practically unanimous acceptance by scholars of the main principles contended for by Wellhausen, and expresses the conviction that upon the whole these principles are destined to final triumph. At the same time he indicates three directions, in which he thinks Wellhausen lays himself open to attack, and names three books, all published in 1895, which expose these weaknesses. First of all, there has been a tendency, he alleges, in the school of Wellhausen to confuse between the lateness of the *form* of P and the lateness of its *contents*, and to assign too little historical value to the latter. As a counterbalance to this, he recommends Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos*. Secondly, Israel's history appears to Fries to have been hitherto studied too much in isolation. Winckler's *Geschichte* (Theil I.) may partially help to cure this, and more books like Buhl's *Geschichte der Edomiter*. We need at present, especially, histories of the Philistines and the Samaritans. Thirdly, the great doctrine of the Wellhausen school regarding the centralisation of the cultus by the Deuteronomic code has been, he thinks, held too rigidly, and he points, as a corrective to this, to van Hoonacker's *Lieu du culte dans la législation rituelle des Hébreux*. We frankly confess that in this last direction we do not expect much to be accomplished, although we have the highest respect for van Hoonacker both as a scholar and a controversialist. Nor can we agree with Fries in his conclusions as to the result of the triangular duel between Kusters, Meyer, and Wellhausen, while the attitude he commends to us meanwhile savours a little of a counsel of perfection.

The main value of the work is as a *résumé* of Old Testament literature, and the present position of parties, although on some points the author's statements must be read with caution. Already in the *Theol. Tijdschrift* (Sept. 1898), Oort has taken exception to Fries's account of the state of critical opinion in Holland, and above all to his selecting of Valetton and Wildeboer as types of those who wear the mantle of Kuenen. The tractate, however, for many reasons deserves careful study.

4. Professor Sayce has a genius for manufacturing books. His latest production contains little that is new, in the way either of truth or error, being to a large extent a *réchauffée* of material contained in his *Verdict of the Monuments* and his *Early History of the Hebrews*. As the latter work was so recently dealt with by Professor Bevan in the *Critical Review* (April 1898), a very few words will suffice here.

A good deal of valuable information about Israel and its

neighbours is repeated from earlier works, and not a few fallacious statements and arguments also reappear. "The story of Chedorlaomer's campaign preserved in Genesis has found complete verification" (p. xvi). Professor Sayce appears to think that persistent reiteration of a statement will finally gain acceptance for it. Of course, everyone who has followed the course of these controversies is well aware that recent discoveries, although of extreme interest and importance from many points of view, *leave the question of the historicity of Gen. xiv. untouched*. The "Greater and the lesser Hittite land" (p. 81), has no support, as was shown by Mr G. Buchanan Gray in the *Expositor* (May 1898, p. 340 f.). It is hardly fair for the author to give his own interpretation of "Perizzite" and "Hittite" (p. 99) as if there were no doubt about its correctness. But this is characteristic of this writer everywhere. A glaring instance in point occurs on p. 240, where we read: "The turn of Tyre came next. For thirteen years it was patiently blockaded, and in B.C. 573 it passed with its fleet into Nebuchadnezzar's hands." Tyre *may* have been captured, but unless Professor Sayce has inscriptional evidence to that effect (in which case we humbly apologise beforehand), it is unpardonable to state as an unquestioned fact what appears to be unknown to any of the recent commentators on *Ezekiel*, or to Professor Hommel who writes (Clark's *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 229a), "Tyre, however, in spite of a thirteen years' siege, *could not be taken*."

The appendices to the volume are devoted to Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian, and Hebrew Chronology; translations of the letters of Ebed-tob (or -kheba), Mesha's inscription, the treaty between Ramses II. and the Hittites, the Travels of a Mohar, the Negative Confession of the Egyptians, the letters of Khammurabi to Sin-idinnam,<sup>1</sup> the Babylonian Story of the Deluge, the Babylonian Epic of the Creation, and a Sumerian account of the Creation from the city of Eridu. It is not pleasant to read a book where one has no sense of security, and where no important statement can be accepted without verification; at the same time, it is of course true that in the work before us a discriminating eye will detect a good deal of wheat as well as chaff.

5. This is the first instalment of a projected course of Isaiah studies by Professor Meinhold. The relation of Isa. xxxvi.-xxxix.

<sup>1</sup> Since the publication of Professor Sayce's book, Mr King has proved that the name of Chedorlaomer is erroneously read by Scheil in these letters. Professor Sayce (*Expos. Times*, March 1899), admits this. It is somewhat ominous that this fresh retraction should have had to follow so soon upon the exposure of the mistake into which he fell in his *Early History of the Hebrews* about Scheil's Deluge Tablet.

to 2 Kings xviii. 13—xx. 19, as well as the historicity of these chapters, have been much debated. It is generally conceded that they are not from the pen of Isaiah. In the work before us the text, the arrangement, and the historical character are all carefully examined.

In general, the conclusion is reached by Meinhold that, with the exception of 2 Kings xviii. 13-16, all the passages are exilic, while their historical value varies. The passage just named, 2 Kings xviii. 13-16, is the most reliable of all, being probably an extract from the Temple archives. Of chaps. xxxviii., xxxix., our author does not form a high estimate, Isaiah exhibiting in them rather the position of a "medicine man" or a soothsayer than the dignity of a prophet. Along with xxxvii. 9b-36, whose sharply-defined monotheism is enough to disprove Isaianic authorship, they were in all probability extracted from a book of prophetic legends similar to those which record the deeds of Elijah and Elisha. Some would place Isa. vii. and xx. on the same footing as this, but Meinhold contends that in the latter two chapters we have firm historical ground as well true Isaianic utterances. The story of the pestilence which destroyed the Assyrian army is examined by Meinhold at great length; and while he does not deny that something of the kind may have happened, he argues that it is just the kind of story to which some of the genuine prophecies of Isaiah were certain to give rise. It is a matter of little consequence that there is no allusion to the story in the cuneiform inscriptions, but it is more serious that the retreat of Sennacherib seems in the Bible itself to be traced to other causes which sufficiently explain it without having recourse to the hypothesis of a pestilence. The famous story in Herodotus about the havoc that mice played amongst the armour of the Assyrians meets with scant courtesy at the hands of Meinhold, who declines to see either here or in the story of the golden mice sent back by the Philistines with the Ark, any symbolical allusion to pestilence. We confess that his arguments on this point have not convinced us. Isa. xxxvi. 2 ff. = 2 Kings xviii. 17 ff. is pronounced to contain a good many historical features, but to reveal here and there a "Tendenz"; Isa. xxxvii. 22-29, while it has to do with the failure of Sennacherib's attempt on Jerusalem, is strange to its present context, and can hardly be dated earlier than just before the close of the captivity. The closing section of Meinhold's book is devoted to what strikes us as a very fair examination of the Assyrian records.

The whole investigation is marked both by an intimate acquaintance with the literature of the subject and by independence of judgment, and the book is written in a clear and readable style. Even if at times it strikes us that the author is just a little eager

to discover "Tendenz," or a little hypercritical in his attitude to some of the evidence, it must be admitted that he never forces his conclusions upon us, but presents both sides with perfect fairness. Professor Meinhold has made a useful addition to the Isaiah literature.

6. Mr Ferrar Fenton has already published a translation of the New Testament into "current English," which, we are told, has been so favourably received that it is now proposed to produce the entire Old Testament as well. The first instalment of this lies before us in the *Book of Job*, with which a commencement has been made for the extraordinary reason given in the Preface, that, with the exception perhaps of the first eleven chapters of Genesis, this book reasonably claims to be the oldest portion of Scripture! Although Mr Fenton certainly fails in a good many instances to give a correct rendering, yet, upon the whole, readers will receive from his version a fairly true impression of the force and rhythm of the original. The language is at times somewhat colloquial, as when we find such expressions as "dash me to bits," "broken to bits." Is "swallow my spit" current English? We must protest, too, against the use of "you" for "Thou" in addressing the Deity. The plural pronoun not only jars upon one's nerves, but frequently obscures the reference. And what is a "fladge"? (See translation of Job xiv. 11.)

7. The third instalment of Pfarrer Stosch's *Alttest. Studien* pursues the same aims and methods as its predecessors. This author belongs to the strictest sect of the anti-critics, and apparently makes it his proudest boast that at the end of the nineteenth century he is completely untouched by the historical spirit. As we read his productions—and he is readable beyond many of his countrymen—we scarcely ever feel that he introduces us to a world of actualities. Neither his Moses nor his Israel have flesh and blood, and the arguments in which he appears to have such confidence strike one as extraordinarily unreal. It must in justice be added that the critics whom he opposes are creations of his own imagination, so that there is a kind of consistency in fighting shadowy foes with unsubstantial weapons.

We merely note summarily a few points. The remark in Num. xiii. 22 that "Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt" is one of the most incontrovertible proofs of the Mosaic authorship of this passage, for Moses alone, from his familiarity with Egyptian history, could have known the date of the building of Zoan (p. 66). The study of Balaam's ass (p. 109 ff.) will repay perusal. Is Stosch himself here altogether untainted with the

rationalism he so abhors? The composition of Deuteronomy by another and later hand than that of Moses means simply forgery and sacrilege. "As little as the devil could create God's world of light, could a forger have created Deuteronomy" (p. 145). The argument drawn by critics from the expression *בְּעֵינֵי הַיָּהוָה* is, of course, devoid of all force. "The priests the Levites," instead of implying that all Levites might be priests, expressly distinguishes the Levites who were priests from those who were not (p. 179, n.)!!! Deuteronomy was not only written by Moses, but written by him *before the eyes* of all Israel, so that the critics who deny the Mosaic authorship have thousands of eye- and ear- witnesses against them (p. 197). We did not expect to find Stosch holding that Moses did not write the account of his own death, and we fear that the attributing of this passage and a few others to Joshua is hardly consistent with the lofty supranaturalism of the rest of the book.

To serious students the only possible use of such a book will be to serve as an indirect justification of criticism. Pfarrer Stosch tilts valiantly at windmills, and achieves not a little success in knocking down men of straw, but he cannot spin ropes out of sand. It is a matter for sincere regret that one who is undoubtedly a scholar, and who can write in a forcible and attractive style, should not have used his talents in a better cause. J. A. SELBIE.

### **The Theology of the New Testament.**

*By George Barker Stevens, Ph.D., D.D. Dwight Professor of Systematic Theology in Yale University. (International Theological Library.) Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo, pp. xviii. 618. Price, 12s.*

IN this important work, which doubtless will serve for some time as the standard text-book for English readers in the subject of which it treats, Dr Stevens follows the now universally acknowledged method of keeping distinct the several schools of teaching in the N. T. Like Beyschlag, but unlike Wendt, he completes his survey of the teaching of Jesus according to the Synoptics before dealing with the fourth Gospel. Next he proceeds to consider the remainder of the N. T. teaching in the order—Primitive Apostolic Teaching, The Theology of Paul, The Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews, The Theology of the Apocalypse, The Theology of John—making seven parts in all, each in a way distinct and complete.

Part I. *The Synoptic Teaching of Jesus.*—In discussing our

Lord's sayings Dr Stevens arranges the subjects organically rather than systematically, approaching them not as we are accustomed to have them set forth in Systematic Theology, with the doctrine of God and the Trinity first, and so on, but along the line of the historical development, beginning with the relation of the Gospel to the Law, then coming to "The Kingdom of God," "The Son of Man," etc. In setting out the first of these themes he maintains that Jesus "took His stand upon the O. T. and did not introduce a wholly new religion;" but that "while He builds upon the O. T., He also builds far above and beyond it." Jesus fulfils the O. T. "by rounding out into ideal completeness what is incomplete in that system" (page 9). "If it is asked, Is not the Christian under the authority of the Ten Commandments? the reply is, In their O. T. form and as part of that system, he is not. The essential substance of the Ten Commandments consists of changeless principles of righteousness, and is therefore a part of Christianity; in that sense the Christian is under the commandments and in no other" (page 25). The popular modern distinction between the moral law and the ceremonial law does not appear in the N. T.

Dr Stevens does not clearly distinguish between the two ideas of the Kingdom of God as a "realm" and as a "rule"; but he treats the subject in a way that implies the latter view, dealing with it as God's government, so that he is far from identifying the Kingdom with the Church. He contends against Wendt's idea that at first Jesus aimed at reforming the Jewish theocracy instead of establishing a new order.

After a careful discussion of the various explanations of the title "The Son of Man" adopted by our Lord, the conclusion is reached that it was not a popular name for the Messiah; but neither can we be satisfied with the simple view that Jesus only meant to point to Himself as an individual man. [Dr Stevens does not notice that the form was a common contemporary Aramaism; in Aramaic "Son of man" = "man."] Calling attention to the range of passages in which our Lord uses the term he decides that it is intended to designate the One who is to usher in the Kingdom of God.

The title "Son of God" was in occasional use as an approximate synonym for the Messiah; but with Christ it was rather personal than official; as used by our Lord "it emphasises rather his relation to God than his relation to his life work" (page 61). Dr Stevens declines to enter into the discussion of the consciousness of Christ, now pursued so daringly on the Continent, but while considering that the title "Son of God" applied to men as well as to Christ has essentially an ethical content and points to

a moral relation with God, he urges on the ground of our Lord's sinlessness His unique personal sonship. Though this is a legitimate argument it is scarcely to be included in the teaching of Jesus.

Next we have the teaching of Jesus on the Fatherhood of God. "He does not aim to define God; he rather describes how He acts" (page 64). The idea of the Divine Fatherhood was based on the O. T., but went further and was more explicit. Though not distinctly stated, it is implied in our Lord's teaching that it is of universal application, *i.e.*, that God is the Father of all mankind, though there is a special sonship for those who are restored from sin.

In a careful study of the teaching in relation to good and evil spirits, Dr Stevens frankly admits that Christ only spoke in the current ideas of the time. All the symptoms of possession are characteristic of one or another physical or mental malady. But although Christ spoke of these cases after the manner of His time, in accordance with current ideas, it is not to be allowed that His authority as a teacher is committed to the correctness of those ideas.

Jesus did not regard men as totally depraved from the beginning, or He would not have spoken of children as He did. He saw in men a mixture of good and evil. He grounded the hope of a future life upon man's essential kinship to God. But He assumed that all men are sinners and have need to repent.

A consideration of the Messianic salvation brings into notice Christ's statement that He came to give His life as a ransom. Dr Stevens rejects Ritschl's interpretation of *λύτρον* as the equivalent of the Hebrew *כֶּסֶף*, a "protecting covering"—the *ἀντί* is against it. Agreeing with Wendt and Beyschlag that it means "ransom" (*Lösegeld*), he rejects Wendt's notion that it represents the purchasing of men's freedom from sin and death by the influence of an example of supreme devotion to God, and Beyschlag's more specific idea that Christ was directly thinking of the ambitious claims of James and John, and expressed the hope "that these ties of selfish desires would at length be broken by his approaching death" (*N.T. Theol.* I., page 153). Something more must be found in the words. The apostolic theology, it is admitted, regards the death of Christ as directly related to the forgiveness of sins. "Which persons," asks Professor Stevens, "are most likely to have correctly apprehended the significance which Jesus attached to his death—men like John and Peter, and, I may add, Paul (who passed two weeks with Peter when this subject was uppermost in his thoughts, Gal. i. 18), or an equal number of scholars in our time, etc.?" (page 133). This raises a difficult question that we cannot here stay to discuss. Some would demur

at the way of putting it. Dr Stevens allows that our Lord's language is figurative, and that we are not told how His death contributed to deliverance.

One of the most difficult questions concerning our Lord's teaching rises from the apocalyptic discourses attributed to Him in the Synoptic Gospels. There the destruction of Jerusalem, the Parousia, and the final judgment appear to be blended in one near series of events. At least that seems to be the case in Matthew and Mark; there is more distinction in Luke. Dr Stevens courageously attacks this question. The position is admitted, and we have to ask how it is to be regarded in view of subsequent events. "It is possible," he writes, "to hold that Jesus actually used the words in question"—concerning His coming in the clouds with the angels—"referring to the triumph of his kingdom, and that the early disciples referred them to his parousia" (page 158). We are led to the conclusion that all three evangelists have applied to a final coming sayings of Christ which could not have been originally intended to refer to that event. Nevertheless it is maintained that we could not reasonably explain the prominent place which the expectation of the Second Advent had in the mind of the early Church if Jesus had been wholly silent on the subject. In the first part of the discourse, as we have it, the question about the signs and the time of Jerusalem's overthrow is blended with a group of sayings some of which probably referred to the manifestation of the Son at the end of the world. Thus by the aid of the higher criticism we cut the knot. All the sayings are attributed to Christ; the confusion and mistake are admitted; but these are attributed to subsequent editors and redactors of our Lord's teaching.

Part II. *The Teaching of Jesus according to the Fourth Gospel.*—It is admitted that "Jesus cannot have had at the same time the style and method of teaching which the synoptics describe and that which the Fourth Gospel reflects" (p. 172). Accordingly we must regard the Gospel as "a distillation of the life and teaching of Jesus in the alembic of the apostle's own mind" (*ibid.*). Nevertheless it bears all the marks of a faithful portrayal of the essence and import of our Lord's words and deeds. The exegetical ingenuity of Wendt and Beyschlag in explaining what appear to be our Lord's references to His pre-existence and divinity in ways that harmonise with the position that He did not teach those doctrines is recognised, but the reasoning of both those writers is rejected. When the doctrine of real pre-existence is to be disproved, Beyschlag treats the language of John in the freest way, and yet when occasion requires, for the establishment of the opposite view, he construes it with the strictest severity.



Part III. *The Primitive Apostolic Teaching.*—Dr Stevens entirely rejects the idea of a division in the early Church, not only in the now discredited extreme form held by Baur, but according to the more moderate views of later critics of the radical school. He holds that there was no polemic on either side between James and Paul. In describing the condition of the primitive community at Jerusalem, he remarks that “there can be no doubt that the idea of our Lord’s speedy return to consummate His work operated as a check upon the development of the true doctrine of the kingdom” (p. 262), and the early Christians had no form of organisation, though the apostles were their natural leaders, and Peter their spokesman.

In their Evangelistic work the apostles were called upon to reconcile their preaching of the Messiahship of Jesus with the fact of His crucifixion. In so doing, while appealing to the fact of His resurrection, they also pointed out from Scripture that His death was a part of the Divine plan, and thus laid the foundation of its redemptive significance. Still they made no explicit statements in regard to the latter point. Whilst this preaching was primarily to the Jews, the apostles did not intend that the Gospel should be confined to their own nation. It was offered first (*πρῶτον*) to the Jews (Acts iii. 26), which implies that later on others were to share it. The discussion of the discourses in Acts is followed by a brief account of the Epistle of James. God demands goodness in man, and His requirements are revealed in His law, which for James is the Mosaic law, not conceived after the manner of Rabbinism, but as a spiritual unity, a perfect law because a law fulfilled and perfected by Jesus, and a law of liberty because it is not merely felt as a constraining force from without, but an inspiration from within. But if its contents are transformed and its sanctions dispensed with, what becomes of the law? Can we still call it the Mosaic law? Many readers will hesitate to agree with Dr Stevens’ statement that “it is a sufficient explanation of the meagreness of St James’s Christology to say that neither the circumstances of his readers nor the purpose of the writer called for any developed doctrine of Christ’s person” (page 288). Can we imagine St Paul contenting himself with a similar meagreness in any of his writings? Here we have the chief weakness of this treatise. It does not sufficiently recognise the diversities of view, or the various degrees of development of knowledge in the several New Testament writers. Thus the Epistle of James is followed immediately by 1 Peter in this section which deals with primitive Apostolic teaching. But quite apart from the opinion of Harnack and others that this work was not written by St Peter, and must be ascribed to the Pauline school, it is perfectly certain that, if genuine, it is a late fruit of the

age to which it belongs, and does not represent primitive teaching. If it is written by Peter, the influence of Paul on Peter must be recognised and the work brought into association with Pauline theology. Dr Stevens admits many points of agreement between the two apostles; but he considers that the use of *σάρξ* in a non-ethical sense to denote the material of the body (1 Peter i. 24; iii. 18, 21; iv. 1, 6), and the use of *ψυχή* to denote the higher life (ii. 11) are both un-Pauline. He gives no heed to the many echoes of Pauline epistles. When pointing out the advance of teaching on the death of Christ in comparison with the teachings of the discourses in Acts, he will not allow that this indicates any dependence on Paul, and regards it as a development in Peter's own teaching. The dependence of Jude on Enoch, and of 2 Peter on Jude, is admitted as proved, and the non-genuineness of the latter work granted.

Part IV. *The Theology of Paul.*—Readers of Dr Stevens' excellent work on "The Pauline Theology," will know what to expect in this section. An introductory chapter attributes the conversion of the apostle to a supernatural revelation of Christ to him. While Dr Stevens is willing to admit that some development may have taken place in the apostle's ideas previous to the time at which his extant epistles were written, he refuses to allow of any serious development during the course of those epistles. In this view he directly contradicts Sabatier. He wisely approaches the study of Paulinism from the anthropological standpoint commencing with a masterly discussion of "Flesh and Spirit." Holsten's idea of the influence of Greek dualism upon the mind of Paul in suggesting the doctrine of the inherent sinfulness of the flesh is rejected. The Pauline usage has its roots in the Old Testament, with the result that "*σάρξ* and *ψυχή* are kindred terms, and *σαρκικός* and *ψυχικός* are synonyms in contrast to *πνευματικός*" (page 341). And yet with Paul *σάρξ* is not merely a name for man's creaturely weakness, for with it is naturally associated the notion of positive sinfulness, since it is the seat of passions and impulses which easily give occasion to sinful choices and actions; so that the flesh is a powerful ally of evil, though in itself it is not evil.

Next follows a discussion on "Adam and the Race," dealing especially with the famous phrase, *ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἡμαρτον*. This is not interpreted of individual sin, either subsequent to birth or through the souls of the descendants being in Adam and united to his soul when he sinned; it is taken as an assertion of what we regard as heredity, that is to say, it is through Adam that all sin. His transgression lodged the principle of sin in the life of humanity. Men are not described as guilty for this inherited tendency or vitiation of nature which they derive from their connection with a

sinful race. They belong to a sinful race; but Paul does not teach total depravity.

Passing on to the consideration of the Pauline teaching about the law, we have the position that the apostle held that this was to quicken the consciousness and intensify the power of sin. It increased transgressions by provoking a reaction of sinful desire against itself.

St Paul is acquainted with the fact of the human birth of Christ; but he does not touch the question of the virgin birth, and his statements do not prejudice it either way. The apostle teaches the pre-existence of Christ as the Son of God, and assigns to Him a part in the creation of the world. The phrase, "The first-born of all creation" (πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, Col. i. 15), cannot be understood as including Christ in the creation, because the apostle immediately adds, "for in him were all things created." In the *locus classicus*, Phil. ii. 5-8, the phrase "to be on an equality with God" is taken as descriptive of our Lord's pre-incarnate state, and the *kenosis* is not the renunciation of Divine attributes, but the giving up of celestial dignity. Paul was the first man so far as we know who grappled boldly with the problem of the relation of the death of Christ to His saving work. This is considered in the four relations: Substitution; redemption; propitiation; reconciliation. The first does not consist in "the substitution of Christ's punishment for our punishment, but the substitution of His sufferings, which were not of the nature of punishment, for our punishment" (page 411). The word *λαστήριον* should be taken as *Sühnemittel*, *Expiatorium*. Christ's sufferings and death effect a reconciliation with God by proclaiming His righteous displeasure towards sin, and removing the obstacle to a favourable treatment of sinful man.

The Pauline idea of justification is regarded as forensic, but it is never to be taken wholly in regard to the past. With the judicial acquittal there goes an effective moral deliverance. "Faith is imputed for righteousness because it sets a man in the way of righteousness" (p. 429). Succeeding chapters treat of "The Holy Spirit," "Social Morality," and "The Church," and the study of St Paul concludes with a chapter on "Eschatology." As time went on the Parousia ceased to be central in the Apostle's thought. Still it is not to be affirmed that he changed his opinion respecting the nature or the nearness of the Second Advent. In regard to the resurrection, Dr Stevens points out that Paul does not speak of the resurrection of bodies, but of the resurrection of persons. While in Acts xxiv. 15 he is described as asserting "a resurrection both of the just and of the unjust," in his own writings he only discusses the resurrection of Christians. Still he does not deny the general resurrection, and Dr Stevens holds that his references to a future judgment

point to it. But surely that depends on what we mean by the word resurrection. The apostle certainly believed in the future existence of godless men, but there is no evidence that he would have called that *life*, or have held that it was brought about through a *resurrection*.

Part V. *The Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews*.—The contrast between the old covenant and the new that is here set forth is described as drawn not exactly between shadow and substance, but rather between two widely different representations of the substance, suggested by the words "shadow" (*σκιά*) and "image" (*εἰκών*). A chapter is devoted to the study of "The Mediator," in which the writer's teaching of the pre-existence and Divinity of Christ is insisted on; and another chapter on "The Highpriesthood of Christ," which shows Christ introducing the ideal religion to which the Mosaic economy pointed. Here stress is laid upon the moral effect of Christ's sacrifice. The writer's favourite words are *καθαρίζειν*, *ἀγιάζειν*, *τελειοῦν*.

Part VI. *The Theology of the Apocalypse*.—In treating of this difficult subject Dr Stevens is hampered by not starting out with a definite critical position as to the composition of the book. He distinctly recognises the recent theories concerning its composite nature, but declines to pronounce on them. Yet in his interpretation of the contents he appeals from one part of the book to another in elucidation of its meaning on the assumption of its unity. In the chapter treating of "The Lamb of God" Christ is shown to be a pre-temporal eternal being—"one who is in the proper sense divine" (p. 541). The powers of evil on which judgment is denounced are both Rome and Jerusalem. But the general principle of a conflict running through the ages is recognised.

Part VII. *The Theology of John*.—This is perhaps the least satisfactory part of the book. But having treated of the chief contents of the Johannine writings in connection with the teachings of Christ, Dr Stevens had not so much left to discuss in relation to the apostle himself. He does not attribute the Logos doctrine of the fourth Gospel to the influence of Philo, but traces its genesis from Old Testament teaching especially as that is represented in the Memra.

It will be seen that Dr Stevens is conservative in his conclusions; but he is in no respects obscurantist. He fully recognises the more radical positions, and states the arguments in favour of them with exemplary fairness, preserving the scientific temper throughout, while at the same time writing with an air of serious conviction. The views expressed do not indicate any startling originality, and the author is entirely free from fads and crotchets. Sobriety of judgment characterises the whole work.

WALTER F. ADENEY, M.A.

**Christian Ethics.**

*By William L. Davidson, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Aberdeen. London: A. & C. Black. Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 146. Price, 1s. 6d. net.*

IN this brief treatise on *Christian Ethics* the Guild Library has received a valuable addition. To discuss so wide a subject within the modest compass of a small text-book is no easy task. But Dr Davidson has performed it with great success, and has produced a very instructive and interesting volume.

He has avoided the two "great pitfalls" referred to in his "Prefatory Note," which threaten those who handle such topics. He has neither "swamped Christian Ethics in Christian Theology, nor separated the two provinces absolutely." He has set before him a clear and definite plan, and has worked into it all the details necessary to the elucidation of his points, without introducing anything superfluous.

The contents of the book are divided into five sections, A, B, C, D, E; A defining the subject, B treating of the Highest Good, C of Character and its Development, D giving some attention to Practical Ethics, and E attempting to explain the Mystery of Evil. Christian Ethics, he tells us, is a branch of ethics in general, and all the usual ethical principles are simply presupposed therein. These it expands and vivifies with the purely Christian virtues of charity, humility, etc., and by the Personality that distinguishes its ideal from all other ideals. Christian Ethics emphasises the worth of the individual and the glory of self sacrifice, exalts the gentler virtues, and has transformed the old conception of Happiness as the Highest Good into one of Blessedness. It has established firmly the inwardness of morality, has introduced, through its principle of love, the doctrine of Universal Brotherhood, and is the only ethical system which can throw any light upon the problem of evil.

The Christian Ideal, says Dr Davidson in one of his best chapters, has power because it is an idea. "The Christian is in the truest sense of all, a man 'possessed,' laid hold of by a grand conception." It has power, because it is an ideal of the most fascinating kind, and above all it has power, because it centres in the living Christ Himself.

The mystery of Evil can hardly be explained, and least of all within the limits of a few pages. Hence the last section will seem the least convincing. Still Dr Davidson is right in his assertion that Christianity throws great light upon it, and the few hints,

never intended to stand as dogmatic assertions, which he has given us concerning the problem, are suggestive.

The book, in short, shows great skill and marked ability, and we hope that the Guild Library may add many more like it to its shelves.

A. D. F. SALMOND.

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### Dr Briggs' Study of Holy Scripture.

*General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture, by C. A. Briggs, D.D., Professor of Biblical Theology in Union Theological Seminary, New York City. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1899. Pp. xxiv. 688. Price, 12s. net.*

THIS volume is an entirely new edition of the author's *Biblical Study* published in 1883. The earlier work was the fruit of fourteen years' experience as a teacher of theological students in Biblical Study. For fifteen years he has used it as a text-book, and has gone over the whole subject afresh every year. Now in the twenty-fifth year of his professorate, Professor Briggs utilises his additional studies and experience in what is practically a new work, covering "the whole ground of the study of Holy Scripture." The *Study of Holy Scripture* is twice the size of *Biblical Study*.

It is a little difficult to describe the scope of this important book. Even with reference to 700 large pages, the phrase "covering the whole ground of the study of Holy Scripture" must obviously be understood with many limitations. The book does not attempt to do the work of Driver's *Introduction*, or of a series of commentaries, or of a Bible Dictionary; it practically deals with Theological Encyclopaedia as far as it is concerned with the Bible, and thus might be roughly compared with the Biblical sections of Principal Cave's *Introduction to Theology*. But the various topics are, for the most part, dealt with on a more extensive scale; while the bibliography is slighter, and less conveniently arranged; and the critical position is, of course, different. The leading topics are the Languages, Canon, Text, Versions, Textual and Higher Criticism, Prose, Poetry and Interpretation of the Bible; Biblical History and Theology; the Credibility and Truthfulness of Holy Scripture, and its use as a Means of Grace. Under each section there are references to most of the more important works on the subject dealt with; and there are two full indices, one of Texts, and one of Names and Subjects, including the authors of the various books referred to. Under each heading there are given the chief data, *e.g.* brief accounts of the Semitic

languages, of the versions, etc., etc., a sketch of the history of the previous treatment of the subject by earlier scholars, an account of the present position, and a discussion of the principles involved. It is needless to say that the whole is characterised by exact and full scholarship. The information is as complete and detailed as the scope of the work allowed, but the author's anxiety to direct and stimulate the student is patent on every page; and his enthusiasm often becomes eloquent. For him and for those who are willing to be taught by him, the study of the various branches of biblical science will deepen their spiritual life and increase their religious influence. The general tone of much of the book is argumentative and even hortatory, rather than expository.

In writing of so encyclopaedic a work, only a few points can be noticed out of a multitude which would interest the reader. As to many controversial matters, space compels our author to take for granted his own view, without mentioning, still less discussing, alternatives. He speaks, p. 86, of "the Hebrew Logia of Saint Matthew." It is at least as probable that they were Aramaic. It is an interesting suggestion, p. 69, that "possibly the original Gospel of St John" was "written in Hebrew"; and a reference to some statement of the evidence for such a view would have been useful. Turning to larger questions—in view of the persistent misuse of the term "Higher Criticism" by many who ought to know better, it may be worth while to quote the definition of it, p. 92, "Having secured the best text of the writings, criticism devotes itself to the higher task of considering them as to integrity, authenticity, literary form, and reliability. This is appropriately called *Higher Criticism* . . . because it is higher in its order and in its work than the Lower or Textual Criticism." In discussing the principles of Higher Criticism, Professor Briggs gives interesting examples of its application to detect the mistaken ascription of works to certain dates or authors, *e.g.* the forged records of the Baptist Church of Crowle for 1599-1620, and the ascription of the paradoxes of Herbert Palmer to Lord Bacon.

On the Canon of the Old Testament, we read, pp. 128, 130, "There is little doubt that the Canon of the Palestinian Jews received its latest addition by common consent not later than the time of Judas Maccabeus, and no books of later composition were added afterward; yet the schools of the Pharisees continued the debate with reference to some of these writings until the Assembly of rabbins decided it at Jamnia. The Hellenistic Jews had a wider and freer conception of the Canon. . . . Two assemblies seem to have been held there [at Jamnia]; one about 90 A.D., the other in 118 A.D. At these assemblies . . . the canonicity of the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes was discussed. They were finally decided

to be canonical, and so the third Canon [Hagiographa] of the Old Testament was closed for the Hebrews." As to the New Testament, there was, p. 137, "a difference of opinion . . . which persisted until the Reformation." Professor Briggs accepts the Protestant position on the Canon, and says of it, p. 144, "Unless these books have given us their own testimony that they are divine and therefore canonical, we do not receive them with our hearts. . . . The Canon of Holy Scripture, as defined by the Reformed Symbols [i.e. that of the English Bible], may be successfully vindicated on Protestant principles. The Church has not been deceived with regard to it. Esther, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, and the Apocalypse will verify themselves in the hearts of those who study them." This is fairly taking the bull by the horns; but many readers would have been glad of some indication of the line of study according to which Esther will verify itself in their hearts more than Tobit or Judith; and the Song of Songs more than the Wisdom of Solomon. Professor Briggs states his position on the Canon thus, pp. 163 ff.: "The principles on which the Canon of Holy Scripture is to be determined are, therefore, these: (1) The testimony of the Church . . .; (2) The Scriptures themselves . . . satisfying the conscience; . . . the æsthetic taste; . . . the reason and the intellect; . . . the religious feelings and deepest needs of mankind . . .; (3) The Spirit of God bears witness by and with the particular writing, or part of writing, in the heart of the believer . . .; (4) The Spirit of God bears witness by and with the several writings in such a manner as to assure the believer in the study of them that they are the several parts of one complete divine revelation, each writing having its own appropriate and indispensable place and importance in the organism of the Canon . . .; (5) The Spirit of God bears witness to the Church as an organised body of such believers, through their free consent in various communities and countries and centuries, to this unity and variety of the Sacred Scriptures as the one complete and perfect Canon of the divine word to the Church."

Our author's judgment on the Revised Version is severe, p. 216: "The New Testament revision was based on the use of all the resources of modern Textual Criticism. The Old Testament revision was based on the currently used Massoretic text, without any attempt to use the resources of the modern Textual Criticism of the Old Testament. It is satisfying neither to the people, who are attached to the common version and see no sufficient reason for abandoning it, nor to scholars, who are displeased with the excessive conservatism and pedantry which characterise it, especially in the Old Testament." But the unsatisfactory character of a revised translation of the Bible is its misfortune rather than its fault; we



cannot afford to ignore the immense service which the Revised Version has rendered to the cause of religion amongst the English-speaking peoples, merely because it is not all that scholars could have wished.

The History of Criticism in this century is exceptionally interesting and important, inasmuch as, in narrating what the pioneers of modern criticism suffered for their zeal for sacred learning, Professor Briggs gives his account of his own experiences. These pages will be a valuable document for the future historian. In his brief reference to Samuel Davidson and Robertson Smith, our author points out that, by its attitude to Professors A. B. Davidson and G. A. Smith, Scotch Presbyterianism has justified Robertson Smith. We may add that, in the volumes published in connection with the Jubilee of Lancashire College in 1893, a similar acknowledgment was made with reference to Dr Samuel Davidson. Principal Fairbairn said on that occasion, "There is a name that this day ought not to be forgotten, the more that its history marks a moment that Lancashire has cause to remember sadly—I mean Samuel Davidson. While Davidson's connection with this College ceased under conditions then deplored by many and now regretted by almost all, we cannot but feel all the more bound to say that we have the utmost admiration for his fidelity to conscience, for the patience and the magnanimity with which, through good report and through bad, he has served the cause of sacred scholarship."

Considerable space is devoted to Hebrew poetry, and to the author's theories of hexameters, etc. But though Professor Briggs speaks of these, p. vii., as "those views of Hebrew Poetry which I have held and taught for the past twenty-five years with increasing confidence," comparatively few will endorse his statement, p. 373, that "Hebrew poetry is measured . . . chiefly by the beats of the accents."

The discussion of the Credibility and Truthfulness of Holy Scripture is not the less interesting because it is not so much a scientific exposition as a review of controversies in which the author has been involved. His conclusion is stated thus, p. 633: "All departments of the study of Holy Scripture lead to the result that there are numerous errors of detail in Holy Scripture, that there are no such things as inerrant documents of any kind; but that the substance of Holy Scripture, the divine teaching as to religion, faith, and morals, is errorless and infallible."

We may note Professor Briggs' views on some details of criticism. Ruth, Jonah, Esther, and Daniel are prose works of the imagination written in the times of the restoration, p. 342. Isaiah xxiv.-xxvii. belongs to the time of the conquests of Alexander the Great, p. 313. Joel is probably later than Zechariah. "There have

been appended to Zechariah, by the editors of the Prophetic Canon, two other predictions—one of the time of Hezekiah, the other of a much later time than Zechariah," p. 311. Of the virgin birth of our Lord, we read, pp. 523, 526, "These reasons [*i.e.* certain objections] must be candidly considered by all those who desire to attain certainty as to the immaculate conception and the virgin birth of our Lord. I think they may all be sincerely met and entirely overcome . . . It does not seem incredible that He, who is immanent, omnipresent, and omnipotent, should concentrate His real presence, for His work on earth as the Messiah, in the womb of a virgin; and there is no violation of physiology or psychology if that concentrated presence should assume the form of the first beginning of a human organism and attach itself for substance and growth to the maternal springs of vital energy." As to the Gospels, Matthew and Luke are alike based on Mark, the Logia of Matthew, and oral tradition; the Gospel of John uses an original memoir of the Apostle John, p. 330.

We shall best close our notice with the author's statement of his purpose in writing this work, a purpose which all will desire may be realised. "I have confidence that I have so stated the case as to give relief and help to the multitudes who have been disturbed and even crowded from Holy Church and Holy Scripture . . . and it is my comfort that I shall lead not a few, by these chapters, as I have by the grace of God through my other writings, back to Holy Scripture and Holy Church, with a firmer faith and a holy joy and love in their exhibition of the grace and glory of our God and Saviour," p. viii.

W. H. BENNETT.

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### **Die Taufe Christi durch Johannes in der dogmatischen Beurteilung der christlichen Theologen der vier ersten Jahrhunderte.**

*Von Johannes Bornemann, Pastor zu Clenze. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. 87. Price, M.2.40.*

THIS is one of those treatises on minute points of sacred history and criticism, by means of which German theological students, by their self-denying labours, have done so much for the establishing and elucidating of Christian truth and the Christian revelation. In this little tract the author is content to confine himself to

the question of the dogmatic value given to the baptism of Jesus by John among the theologians of the first four centuries. It took shape originally as an essay which gained the prize offered by the Giessen Theological Faculty in 1880, but it has been thoroughly wrought over in view of an article which traverses the same ground by Professor Usener of Bonn, published in his *Religionsgeschichtlichen Untersuchungen* in 1889.

Usener had maintained that the history of the baptism of Jesus by John was purely legendary, that it had its origin among the Jewish Christians, and that it was intended to represent the moment when the man Jesus became the Son of God ; that it gradually obtained wider acceptance, first of all among the Gnostics who assigned to it a very special theological importance, and that in the orthodox Church it received a place in connection with the Epiphany festival, which again was by and by eclipsed by the prominence given to the festival of Jesus' birth. In opposition to this, Bornemann shows that the history of Christ's baptism is not a later accretion, but one of the oldest parts of the evangelical tradition, which had the highest significance given it in earliest times, and that in the Gentile Churches. He proves these positions in a most satisfactory way, with abundant learning and copious references to early Christian literature. It was part of the Messianic expectation that the Messiah should receive an anointing like the kings and the prophets, and the Synoptists represent Christ's baptism as such a consecration. In the fourth Gospel the descent of the Spirit and all the attendant circumstances of the baptism are represented as serving the purpose of making Christ known to John so that he might be able to point Him out. As to the question of the relation between the history of Christ's baptism and Christian baptism, Bornemann maintains that there may be such a relation, but that it is not of such a kind as would allow the original history of the baptism to be regarded as a type and representation of Christian baptism, or as the institution and establishment of it. There is no hint of this in the Gospels, least of all in the fourth. But the way in which the earliest tradition placed before the history of the baptism that baptismal word of Christ's future baptism of the Spirit makes such a relation possible, so soon as the spiritual baptism of Christ is identified with the act of Christian baptism.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

## Die Christenverfolgungen im Römischen Reiche vom Standpunkte des Juristen.

*Von Dr Max Conrat (Cohn), Professor des Römischen Rechts an der Universität Amsterdam. Leipzig: Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. Large 8vo, pp. 79. Price, M.2.*

THIS compact little treatise has grown out of a lecture delivered by the author before a learned society in Amsterdam in 1895. For his materials as to particular facts and dates he relies upon the best authorities—Neumann, Le Blant, Mommsen, and Harnack. The writer claims for his work a special place and secures for it a special interest by limiting himself strictly to a study of the persecutions of Christians under the Roman Empire from the jurist's point of view. He therefore carefully distinguishes between those persecutions which arose from popular hatred and the violence of the mob and those which were carried out by means of regular judicial trials. In several sections the writer shows how this treatment of the subject is helpful in determining the extent of the persecutions, in elucidating the particular form of the persecutions, in determining the motive of the persecutions, and the guilt of the accused. Having thus justified the narrowing down of the subject to the juristic standpoint, our author proceeds to the positive fulfilment of his task. He discusses first of all the persecution under Nero. The charge brought against the Christians of being the miscreants who set fire to Rome was in itself trumpery and utterly absurd, and served as an accusation against them in a court of law only because the whole populace was madly and savagely prejudiced against this new sect. The Romans, who tolerated all sorts of strange religions, could not tolerate Christianity because of its other worldliness, and its rejection of and contempt for the good things of this life, which were of highest importance in all grades of pagan society. Not any Roman law, but only the prejudice of the judges led to the condemnation of the Christians. The violence of pagan hate against Christianity was further shown by the persistency with which crimes of the most scandalous and flagitious order were charged against its adherents. Dr Conrat gives an interesting account of the origin of the charge of incest and child murder, Oedipodean practices and Thyestean feasts, which were so persistently brought against the members of the Christian community. It originated probably in misunderstanding or spiteful misrepresentation of the liturgic and mystic exercises engaged in

at the secret assemblies of the Christians held by night. Afterwards fuller knowledge, especially among the cultured classes, awakened at least doubt of its correctness and its subsequent discontinuance, so that even Lucian and Celsus, with all their severity and scurrility, do not venture to bring forward this odious accusation. Criminal processes against the Christians on the ground of apostacy from the religion of Rome and proselytising ended with the beginning of the third century, when all inhabitants of the empire received the privilege and rank of Roman citizenship, so that all religions professed by those dwelling within the limits of the empire were legalised. Most interesting of all are the sections which deal with the charge of *majestas* against the emperor and against the Roman gods (pp. 53-77). The charge now was not that of apostacy, which was no longer an offence, but that of refusal on the part of the worshippers of another god to observe the ceremonies and pay outward respect to the divinity of the emperor and the national gods. Especially in these later pages of the treatise much fresh light is thrown upon the proceedings against the Christians during the second and third centuries.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

### Notices.

DR SAMUEL DAVIDSON'S *Autobiography*<sup>1</sup> would have had a much larger number of interested readers had it been published ten or twenty years ago. As it is, it will no doubt be acceptable to a considerable circle. It is the record of a very long life in which nothing very memorable happened, except the one event which brought Dr Davidson's name prominently before the public when he was quite a young man. The agitation which arose within his Church over certain critical opinions which he expressed on the Old Testament, and the change in his career which resulted from his ejection from his Chair in Lancashire Independent College, are things now of a comparatively distant past. The leading actors in these incidents are long gone, and the whole attitude of the Churches to critical questions is so materially changed that the story of these troubles will be read with a somewhat faint interest. It is well told, however, by Mr Allanson Picton, and it is worth looking into it.

<sup>1</sup> The Autobiography and Diary of Samuel Davidson, D.D., LL.D., with a Selection of Letters from English and German Diaries, and an Account of the "Davidson Controversy" of 1857, by J. Allanson Picton, M.A. Edited by his Daughter. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1899. 8vo, pp. xi. 320. Price, 7s. 6d.

The controversy which he was the means of kindling in his youth was of decisive importance to Dr Samuel Davidson. It not only altered his career, but it fixed his intellectual whereabouts. His doctrinal views had a set given them then from which he never recovered. His critical opinions became practically stereotyped. He began with Ewald in Old Testament matters, and with Baur in New Testament questions. He never got beyond these, and had small sympathy with the critical schools of more recent date. To the end of his long life he kept resolutely by his original position, unable to appreciate anything beyond it, and measuring all new views by the one standard of Ewald and Baur. There was something impressive in this remarkable constancy. But it had its inconveniences. It made Dr Davidson an extremely partial judge of other men's work. He did much in the way of reviewing books, and his hand could never escape discovery. His reviews were always eulogistic of books that went with Ewald and Baur, and always depreciatory of those which did not fall into line with Göttingen and Tübingen. In the last edition of his Introduction to the New Testament he remains as much under the spell of Baur as ever, and as unable to do justice to any other kind of criticism.

As a critic Dr Davidson had obvious defects. His criticism was dogmatic in spirit and lacking in imagination. Where he was strong was in the industry with which he collected facts, the extent of his reading, and the brief, sententious way in which he stated results. His books are useful as a mine of material, and as a clear English presentation of the main positions of two great German schools.

His *Autobiography* discloses the scholar and critic in his peculiar merits and deficiencies. It also shows us the man in the more attractive aspects of his character. It reveals the devoutness of his spirit, his reverence for Christ, the strength of his hope of a future life. Most pleasing of all is the view which it gives us of what he was in his own home. It helps us to understand and admire him as a man of warm, constant domestic affections. Nothing makes us think so much of him as the love with which he cherished the memory of his wife on to his own dying day.

Dr Newman Hall's *Autobiography*<sup>1</sup> is a book that reads pleasantly and easily. It gives a rapid and readable sketch of his childhood, his home, his business relations, his conversion, his call to the ministry, his career in his successive pastorates in Hull, Surrey Chapel, and Christ Church, Westminster, his ministerial connexions

<sup>1</sup> Newman Hall. *An Autobiography*. London, Paris, New York, Melbourne : Cassell & Co., 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 391. Price, 12s. 6d.

and interests, his pulpit and evangelistic work, the part which he took in public movements and in the councils of his own Church. It is the story of a busy and useful life,—a life with some great sorrows and heavy burdens, but with many successes and general honour. Dr Hall has been a great traveller and mountaineer, and some of the most lively passages of his book are those which tell of his rambles and excursions among the English lakes and the Swiss Alps, and his more extended journeys in America and the Holy Land. In the course of his long life he has come across many distinguished men and women, and the notices which he gives of Spurgeon, Gladstone, John Bright, Dean Stanley, Lord Shaftesbury, Dean Ramsay, Mrs Charles, William and Mary Howitt, and others, are of considerable interest. At times he goes into particulars which are of small moment, and the opinions which he expresses of some of his friends, such as Edward White, have a tone of exaggeration. But he says much that is worth reading.

The fifth series of the *Chalmers Lectures* appears under the title of *Presbyterianism in the Colonies*.<sup>1</sup> The author is the Rev. R. Gordon Balfour, D.D., New North Free Church, Edinburgh, and, in accordance with the foundation, the Lectures have special reference to the principles and influence of the Free Church of Scotland. The author's loyalty to his own Church, however, does not prevent him from doing justice to other Churches. His book gives the best account we yet possess in a single volume of the rise, progress, and present position of the Presbyterian Church in the British Colonies. It is full of interesting matter, biographical and historical as well as ecclesiastical. The story of the founding of the Church in Canada is first given. It is followed by that of the Australian Church,—in New South Wales, in Victoria, and in the other parts of the Australian Continent. Then we get a remarkably interesting account of the Church in New Zealand and in South Africa. Nor are the smaller settlements in Bermuda, Belize, Trinidad, Gibraltar, Malta, overlooked. The various movements in the direction of union, with the failures and successes that have marked them, are carefully chronicled, and the statistics of each branch of the Church are reported. Dr Balfour has an impressive story to tell, one that has not a few romantic passages, and he has told it in a straightforward and effective style. There is much to be learned from it by all the Churches.

We are glad to have now in a single volume the two very able Primers on *Christian Character* and *Christian Conduct*, which we

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace, 1899. 8vo, pp. vii. 341. Price, 7s. 6d.

owe to Dr Thomas B. Kilpatrick,<sup>1</sup> formerly minister of Ferryhill Free Church, Aberdeen, and now about to leave us in order to fill a Professor's Chair in Winnipeg. In their original form these small books have deservedly won their way to a large circulation by the clearness and precision of their statements. In the handsome form in which they now appear in this re-issue in one volume they will be welcomed by a still larger number of readers. The book is one that is fitted to be of great use, especially to thoughtful youth.

In *Our Lord's Illustrations*,<sup>2</sup> the Rev. Robert Resker, Vicar of Purley, Surrey, collects, classifies, and explains the various metaphors, emblems, incidents, etc., which our Lord used in bringing home His Teaching to the minds of his Jewish hearers. They are arranged in different groups, according as they are taken from domestic life, national custom, rural and seaside circumstance, historical event, etc., and are explained in concise and simple terms in connexion with the various passages in which they occur. The idea of the book is an excellent one, and it is carried out in a way that will interest and help both scholar and teacher in Bible Class and Sabbath School work.

Dr Alexander Whyte, of Free St George's, Edinburgh, adds another volume to his well-known and greatly valued Series of Studies of *Bible Characters*.<sup>3</sup> This volume takes us from Ahithophel to Nehemiah. It gives us sketches of Mephibosheth, Barzillai, Elijah, Elisha, Jonah, Job, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Esther, Ezra, Sannballat, and others. The types of character which come under review are many and various. The writer's gift appears in the way in which the salient features in each are caught and powerfully set before the eye. The analysis of motive is often penetrating and convincing; the practical application to the sins and faults, the capacities and needs of ordinary men and women never fails. Among the studies that are particularly interesting and impressive we might point to those on Jeroboam, Elijah, and Isaiah. In all the instinct of the man of letters and the insight of the moralist are nobly used for the spiritual purpose of the preacher.

We have pleasure in referring also to *The Ascent of the Soul*,<sup>4</sup> a series of four brief, devout, and admirably written addresses and meditations by Dr W. Robertson Nicoll, of which the first was

<sup>1</sup> Christian Character. A Study on New Testament Morality. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. 269. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. Pp. 136. Price, 6d.; in cloth, 8d.

<sup>3</sup> Edinburgh : Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 241. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>4</sup> London : Isbister & Co., 1899. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 63. Price, 1s. net.



given at the Soirée of the Pastors' College, Evangelical Conference, Spurgeon Memorial Hall, the subjects of the others being "The Burning and the Shining," "Lifted up out of the Earth," and "A Breeze from the Eternal Summer"; a small but very tasteful volume by Newell Dwight Hillis, entitled *Foretokens of Immortality*,<sup>1</sup> containing many suggestive thoughts, expressed in telling and attractive terms, on the great question of a Future Life, the foregleams of it which illumine the present life, Christ's relation to it, and the witness of great men to its certainty; an important Lecture by Professor Adolf Harnack, admirably translated by Mr T. Bailey Saunders, entitled *Thoughts on the Present Position of Protestantism*,<sup>2</sup> reviewing the older forms of Protestantism, dealing trenchantly with the Catholicising movement and its dangers, and pointing out the line of duty for Theologians and for the Church in face of the break with the intellectualism of the old Protestant system; *The Apostles' Creed*,<sup>3</sup> an excellent translation of Professor Theodor Zahn's work, part of which appeared in the form of a series of papers in *The Expositor*, but which is given now in its completeness—the most important contribution made to its subject in recent times from the conservative side, of great value both for its elaborate history of the Symbol and for its detailed critical examination and learned defence of its several Articles; *The Kingdom of Heaven Here and Hereafter*,<sup>4</sup> a study of our Lord's Parables and others of His Sayings on the subject of His Kingdom by Rayner Winterbotham, M.A., LL.B., B.Sc., Canon of St Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh, a book of marked ability and much originality, which aims at getting beyond all conventional ideas of our Lord's Discourses, and at giving an exposition of them in their exact historical intentions, provoking dissent in not a few things, but certain to rank as an important and suggestive contribution to the interpretation of our Lord's words; *The Ascent Through Christ*,<sup>5</sup> a notable contribution to the religious thought of the day, by Mr Griffith-Jones, which will take a high place among the many books that grapple with the theological questions raised by the theory of evolution,—a fuller review of which must be deferred till our next issue.

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh & London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1899. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 101. Price, 1s.

<sup>2</sup> London: Adam & Charles Black, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 64. Price, 1s. 6d. net.

<sup>3</sup> Translated by C. S. Burn and A. E. Burn, B.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. 222. Price, 5s.

<sup>4</sup> London: Methuen & Co., 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. 266. Price, 6s.

<sup>5</sup> *The Ascent Through Christ. A Study of the Doctrine of Redemption, in the light of the Theory of Evolution.* By E. Griffith-Jones, B.A. London: James Bowden, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxvi. 469. Price, 7s. 6d.

Mr James Marchant writes a useful little book on *The Theories of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ*. Experience gained by work as Evidential Lecturer to the Barking Rural Deaneries and the Christian Evidence Society enables the author to put his arguments well. He has also himself passed under "the black cloud of intellectual doubt," and knows what those in such a position require. He deals briefly and pointedly with the spiritual evidence applicable to the question and the testimony of the Evangelists.<sup>1</sup> He then examines in successive chapters, the Swoon Theory, the Vision and Apparition Theory, and the Theory of Conspiracy. He closes by looking at some theoretical objections of minor influence. The whole is concisely and fairly done. The book is well fitted to be useful to those who do not care to read more elaborate works.

We notice with much pleasure recent additions to the handsome and important publications of the Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, viz., M. Edmond le Blant's *Les Commentaires des Livres Saintes et les Artistes Chrétiens des Premiers Siècles*,<sup>2</sup> dealing with such subjects as the Ark, Miriam's tambourin, the Cluster of Grapes from Eshcol, Isaac as a type of Christ, etc.; *Artémidore*,<sup>3</sup> also by M. Edmond le Blant, an interesting account of the author of the *Oneirocritica*; M. Leopold Delisle's Notes on a manuscript with the title *Summa dictaminis per magistrum Dominicanum Hispanum*<sup>4</sup> preserved in the Cathedral of Beauvais; and *M. Deloche's Pagi et Vicairies du Limousin aux IX<sup>e</sup>, X<sup>e</sup>, et XI<sup>e</sup> Siècles*.<sup>5</sup> These publications are admirably printed, and are also furnished with tasteful and instructive plates and maps wherever these are necessary.

We are indebted to the Cambridge University Press for a *Parallel Psalter*,<sup>6</sup> a most useful volume giving on the same page three English versions of the Psalms.

The Bishop of Worcester dealt with the burning question of the Eucharist in his Primary Visitation Charge. He has reprinted what he said on that occasion under the title of *The Doctrine of the Lord's Supper cleared from certain Misconceptions*.<sup>7</sup> The teaching

<sup>1</sup> London: Williams & Norgate, 1899. Pp. xi. 123.

<sup>2</sup> Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1899. 4to, pp. 20. Price, F.1.

<sup>3</sup> Librairie Klincksieck, 1899. 4to, pp. 17. Price, F.1.

<sup>4</sup> Notice sur une "Summa Dictaminis" Jadis conservée à Beauvais. Librairie Klincksieck, 1899. 4to, pp. 37. Price, F.1.70.

<sup>5</sup> Librairie Klincksieck, 1899. 4to, pp. 68. Price, F.3.50.

<sup>6</sup> The Book of Psalms, containing the Prayer Book Version, the Authorised Version, and the Revised Version in Parallel Columns, 1899. 8vo, pp. 220. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>7</sup> By John James Stewart Perowne, D.D. London: Elliot Stock, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 136.

of Scripture on the subject of the Lord's Supper, the place of the Sacrament in the New Testament, the questions of the Real Presence, the Eastward Position, the Sacrificial Aspect of the Eucharist, etc., are subjected to careful and learned consideration, with a firm hand but in a moderate spirit, and with a large command of the literature of the subject. The book is an earnest vindication of the Reformation doctrine, and of that as the doctrine of the English Church—the doctrine not of the Evangelical party alone but also of Andrewes, Waterland, Philpotts, and other representative High Church divines. The argument is supplemented by a series of useful appendices, which give the views of Waterland and Westcott on John vi., an exposition of Hebrews xiii. 10-16, some telling quotations from Ridley, Hooker, Andrewes, Cosin, Hammond, Philpotts and Chrysostom, and a definition of the doctrines of Transubstantiation, Consubstantiation, and the Real Presence as taught by the Tractarian divines.

*Among the Wild Ngoni*<sup>1</sup> is the title of a volume which gives a modest and most interesting account of missionary work in British Central Africa. It is introduced by a short statement by Lord Overtoun on the history of missions in that part of Africa from Livingstone's time. Mr Elmslie has a wonderful story to tell of difficulty and of triumph, and he tells it well. The book is graphically written, and is full of vivid and impressive passages. It is a book which it does one good to read both as the record of much patient, self-denying service, and as a witness to the power of the Gospel in the dark places of the earth.

The exceptional merits of *Meyer's Commentaries*<sup>2</sup> are more and more recognised. It is a great testimony to their value, and it speaks well for the discernment of the reading public, that edition continues to succeed edition. Inferior to some Commentaries on particular parts of the New Testament in matters of textual criticism, they are superior to all in a combination of the various qualities that make the best exegesis, and in a rigorous, impartial, scientific method. And they are never allowed to lag behind in

<sup>1</sup> Being some chapters in the history of the Livingstonia Mission in British Central Africa. By W. A. Elmslie, M.B., C.M., F.R.G.S., Medical Missionary. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 319. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament begründet von Heinr. Aug. Wilh. Meyer. Das Matthäus-Evangelium, von Dr Bernhard Weiss. 1898. 8vo, pp. vii. 510. Price, M.7. Der Brief des Jacobus, von Dr Willibald Beyschlag. 1898. 8vo, pp. iv. 237. Price, M.3.40. Die Apostelgeschichte, von Dr Hans Hinrich Wendt. 1899. 8vo, pp. 427. Price, M.6. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate.

respect of the literature of their subjects. The Commentary on *Matthew*, which has been under the editorial care of Professor Bernard Weiss from its seventh edition, appears now in a ninth edition, carefully revised. The Commentary on the *Acts of the Apostles*, of which Professor H. H. Wendt has had charge since its fifth issue, is now in its eighth edition, and has also been brought carefully up to date. For the Commentary on the *Epistle of James*, Professor W. Beyschlag has been responsible since its fourth edition. It reached last year its sixth edition, and has also had the benefit of painstaking editing. In these later issues there are departures which we cannot but regret from the original Meyer, and we miss at times the strong, firm grasp and perfect sobriety of the master. But there is much also for which our thanks are due, and too much cannot be said of the pains which the editors have taken in working in the results of the best recent literature, especially the home-grown German contributions.

We have received the last part of the seventeenth volume of Holtzmann and Krüger's ever welcome *Theologischer Jahresbericht*,<sup>1</sup> containing the Index to the literature of the year 1897; a small volume of tender, pleasing poems by Arthur R. Shrewsbury, under the title of *The Palm-Branch*,<sup>2</sup> on such themes as Immortality, Abel's Faith, An Angel Child, etc.; another book by Charles M. Sheldon, *Robert Hardy's Seven Days*,<sup>3</sup> a vigorously written story of a dream and its consequences; another section of the contributions of the late Professor J. T. Beck of Tübingen to Old Testament Exegesis,<sup>4</sup> his exposition of the prophets Nahum and Zephaniah, carefully edited by Messrs H. Gutscher and J. Lindenmeyer—a fair example of Beck's method, careful and informing in linguistic matters, with many good remarks on the religious purpose of the prophetic word, but deficient in the historical spirit; an acute discussion of the question *Ist eine religionslose Morale möglich?*<sup>5</sup> by Karl Lühr, Pfarrer in Gotha, well written and forcibly put; the eleventh volume of the *Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie*,<sup>6</sup> containing an excellent Bibliography, a series of important papers by Hans Schardt, Elisée Reclus, and valuable communi-

<sup>1</sup> Fünfte Abtheilung. Register. Bearbeitet von L. Plöthner, W. Schott, M. Hadelich. Berlin u. Braunschweig: Schwetschke u. Sohn; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1898. 8vo, pp. 100.

<sup>2</sup> London: Elliot Stock. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 65.

<sup>3</sup> London: The Sunday School Union. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 238. Price, 1s.

<sup>4</sup> Erklärung der Propheten Nahum und Zephania, nebst einem prophetischen Totalbild der Zukunft. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. 168.

<sup>5</sup> Berlin: Schwetschke und Sohn, 1899. 8vo, pp. 61.

<sup>6</sup> Neuchâtel: Attinger, 1899. 8vo, pp. 321.

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cations on Fetichism, the Cameroon country, etc., by Messrs Beguin, Chapuis, Perregaux Junod, and other missionary agents—an instructive volume; a pamphlet on *Our One Priest on High*<sup>1</sup> by the Rev. N. Dimock, A.M., a supplement to the author's publication on *The Christian Doctrine of Sacerdotium*—an able statement of the present sacerdotal function of Christ in heaven, going into an exhaustive examination of the important passages in Hebrews viii. 3, ix. 7, and controverting the theory of perpetual sacrifice; a bright, well-written sketch of *Oliver Cromwell, The Hero of Puritan England*,<sup>2</sup> forming one of the volumes of the *Splendid Lives* series; a fifth edition (with an appendix of additional poems) of George Washington Moon's *Elijah the Prophet and other Sacred Poems*,<sup>3</sup> a volume which has had a wide acceptance; *Poems of Love and Home*,<sup>4</sup> a selection of Poems and Songs, published and unpublished, which the same author, Mr George Washington Moon, has written during the past fifty years, among which will be found some sweet, simple and gracious things such as the stanzas on *Memory, Spring, The Echo, Hidden Griefs, Human Life*; a small volume of persuasive, practical talks on the Christian Endeavour Pledge, entitled "*I Promise*,"<sup>5</sup> by the Rev. F. B. Meyer, B.A.; a capital story by W. E. Cole, *Sir Constant, Knight of the Great King*,<sup>6</sup> written in an attractive style, with a good purpose, and enriched by some excellent illustrations by A. Bauerle; *The Common Lot*,<sup>7</sup> a tale by Adeline Sergeant, which also reads pleasantly and has some useful things to enforce as to what makes happiness; "*Comrades*,"<sup>8</sup> a good book for youths, consisting of a number of straight talks on "The Makings of a Man," "Temper," and the like, by E. C. Dawson, M.A. (Oxon), Rector of St. Peter's, Edinburgh; a brief, but instructive and interesting account of the life and labours of a devoted Christian worker, *Sophia Cooke, or Forty-Two Years' Work in Singapore*; <sup>9</sup> a collection of sensible, pointed *Addresses*,<sup>10</sup> by T. J. Madden, Archdeacon of Warrington, dealing with Gambling, Drink, Cyclomania, and other subjects of

<sup>1</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1899. 8vo, pp. 115. Price, 2s. 6d. net.

<sup>2</sup> By Horace Grosier. London: The Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 139. Price, 1s.

<sup>3</sup> London: Longmans, 1899. Small 4to, pp. xxi. 352. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>4</sup> London: Longmans, 1899. Small 4to, pp. xiv. 267. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>5</sup> London: The Sunday School Union. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 76. Price, 1s.

<sup>6</sup> London: Andrew Melrose. Imp. 16mo, pp. 192. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>7</sup> London: Andrew Melrose. Imp. 16mo, pp. 224. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>8</sup> London: Andrew Melrose. Cr. 8vo, pp. 224. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>9</sup> By E. A. Walker. London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 91.

<sup>10</sup> Addresses to all Sorts and Conditions of Men. London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 154.

moral interest, but also with some doctrinal questions such as the Unpardonable Sin, Sudden Conversion, etc.; *The Bible and the Prayer Book, Compared and Contrasted*,<sup>1</sup> by William Marshall—a defence of the Protestant Doctrine of the Christian Ministry, the Sacraments, etc., with some strong words also, not always quite just in their criticism, on the Creeds, the English Articles and the declarations of the Prayer Book on *Sin* and on *Worship*; *Helps to Godly Living*,<sup>2</sup> a selection of passages bearing on the devotional life, from the writings of the present Archbishop of Canterbury,—brief, and well-chosen extracts, often suggestive, always clear and pointed, though lacking in imagination and seldom touching the deeper feelings; two very useful *Bible House Papers*,<sup>3</sup> dealing with the wonderful work of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and furnishing a mass of carefully digested matter; *On the Relations between Church and State*<sup>4</sup>—a reprint of an article in the *Christian Remembrancer* for April 1850, by the late Dean Church, which will amply repay a careful perusal at present; two pamphlets by Philip Valpy M. Filleul, M.A. (Oxon.), in strong and earnest protest against the movement in the English Church in the direction of Rome<sup>5</sup>; *What does the Church of England say about the Réal Présence and Adoration?*—a reply by Werner H. K. Soames, M.A. Cantab.,<sup>6</sup> to the Archbishop of Canterbury's Charge (1898), controverting his statements regarding a presence "*attached to the elements at the time of consecration and before the reception,*" and the use of the "external mark of adoration" defined as the act of "kneeling to receive the consecrated elements"; a second edition of the second part of the first volume of the late Professor Wilhelm Moeller's most valuable *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*,<sup>7</sup> carefully revised by Professor Hans von Schubert of the University of Kiel—a book which every student should possess.

The *Biblical World*, which has reached its thirteenth volume,

<sup>1</sup> London: Elliot Stock. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. 120.

<sup>2</sup> By J. H. Burn, D.D. London: Elliot Stock. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 199. Price, 5s.

<sup>3</sup> No. I. In Our Tongues. A Popular Handbook to the Translation Work of the British and Foreign Bible Society. By G. A. King, M.A. No. II. Four Hundred Tongues. By J. Gordon Watt, M.A. London: The British & Foreign Bible Society, 1829. Pp. 32 and 24. Price, 6d. each.

<sup>4</sup> London: Macmillan, 1899. 8vo, pp. 60. Price, 1s. net.

<sup>5</sup> Considerations regarding the Bishop of Salisbury's Recent Letter to his Clergy, chiefly on the Subjects of 'Eucharist' and 'Confession.' London: Elliot Stock, 1899. 8vo, pp. 12. Price, 3d. A Sacerdotal Ministry in the Christian Church, Unscriptural, Unprimitive, and High Treason against Christ. Third Thousand. London: Elliot Stock, 1899. 8vo, pp. 32. Price, 4d.

<sup>6</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1898. 8vo, pp. 64. Price, 6d. net.

<sup>7</sup> Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. 273-464. Price, M.4.

continues to be conducted with marked ability, and to furnish from month to month an abundance of readable and instructive articles. The opening numbers for the current year are equal to any that have preceded them. A new feature is introduced in the form of a somewhat elaborate Study of *The Purpose and Plan of the Gospel of John*. The papers are by Dr Ernest D. Burton. They are very well done, and have specially in view the International Sunday School Lessons for part of 1899.

The second volume of the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, published by the enterprising firm of J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) of Freiburg i. B., and edited by Professor Achelis of Bremen, begins well. The first issue (*erstes und zweites Heft*) contains a number of able articles full of interest to the historian and the theologian, among which we may refer specially to one by H. Zimmern on the ideas of the *bread of life* and *water of life* in Babylonian literature and in the Bible.

The President of the Corpus Christi College, Oxford, publishes in the April number of the *International Journal of Ethics* a Lecture delivered before the Cambridge Ethical Society on the "Ethics of Intellectual Life and Work," in which he expresses the opinion that the "simple desire to get at the truth, irrespectively of all other considerations, merely for the truth's sake, appears to have been a virtue more common in ancient than in modern times." Attention should be directed also to two interesting *Discussions* in the same journal, on "Belief and Will" and "The Will to Believe and the Duty to Doubt," by Messrs Marshall and Caldwell, following up the previous criticism of Dr James's book by Mr Dickinson Miller.

The April number of *Mind* contains several articles of importance. Mr F. H. Bradley contributes some suggestive remarks on Memory and Inference, touching on the Ambiguity of Memory, the difference between Memory, Fancy and Thought, the Veracity of Memory, etc. Mr B. Bosanquet writes on "Social Automatism and the Imitation Theory," discussing a fundamental problem of political philosophy in the light of an analogy drawn from such habits as dressing oneself, walking, reading, writing, etc. There is a good paper also by Mary Whiton Calkins on "Time as related to Causality and to Space." The writer starts by referring to two things which she regards as "fundamental errors" which still "contribute to a radical misunderstanding of the nature of time." These are the insistence of metaphysicians in treating time and space as analogous, so that the characteristics of the one can be attributed to the other; and the persistency with which they have overlooked the "fundamental and far-reaching likeness between Time and Causality." She proceeds then to indicate the

proper relations of Time to Causality and to Space, and the reference of the two to a more ultimate category.

The May number of the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, ably edited by the Rev. W. L. Watkinson, contains an appreciative sketch of *Henry Drummond*, by J. Williams Butcher. In the May issue of the *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclesiastique* L. Birot writes on *Catholicism* and *The Life of the Spirit*. In the 8th number of the 8th volume of *The Babylonian and Oriental Record* H. W. Mengedocht continues his transliteration and translation of the "Black Obelisk," Mr St Chad Boscawen writes on the "Chaldean City God"; and Mr J. Kennedy has an article on "The Book of Jonah," the argument of which is to the effect that the book cannot have been composed much after the end of the sixth century, B.C., and on the other hand, that it cannot be the work of Jonah.

The *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April devotes an article to Professor Edwards A. Park, which consists of letters of respect and congratulation from pupils and friends of the veteran theologian in commemoration of his ninetieth anniversary, which took place on December 29, 1898. It is a worthy tribute to a long and honourable career. Among articles of theological interest there is one by Edward I. Bosworth on the *Damascus Vision and Paul's Theology*, an able paper in which the genesis of certain fundamental positions in Paul's theology, especially his views of the law, righteousness, and the purpose of Christ's death are discussed. Among articles of more general interest we find one on the *Christian Conception of Wealth*, by Charles C. Merrill, one on the *Influence of Jesus Christ on Civilisation*, by Newell Dwight Hillis, and another by Daniel Seelye Gregory, on *Caedmon*, the first great English poet.

The April number of the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* is full of good matter. Among the review of books, which are always done with great care, we mention specially those of Dr Somerville's Cunningham Lectures, Schwartzkopff's *Prophecies of Jesus Christ*, and Plummer's *Commentary on the Gospel according to St Luke*. Among the articles we notice the continuation of Professor Gerhardus Vos's series on *Recent Criticism of the Early Prophets*. His subject now is *Micah*. He gives a careful statement of the course which criticism has taken with regard to this prophecy, from the second edition of Ewald's *Prophets of the Old Covenant* (1867), which assigned chapters vi. and vii. to the time of Manasseh, and Stade's articles in the *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (1881, 1882), which took from Micah a large part of the book bearing his name, on to the more recent writings of Ryssel (1887), Elhorst (1891), and Nowack. The bulk of the article is then given to a minute examination of the bearing of the disintegration of Micah on the main principles of the critical



hypothesis, and the data which are held to justify it. There is a very instructive paper by Mr D. Hay Fleming on the "Sum of Saving Knowledge." But the article to which many will turn with special interest is the opening one by Professor Warfield on the *Literary History of Calvin's Institutes*. This paper, beginning with a selection of the praises which great scholars and divines of many different schools have bestowed on the *Institutes*, goes into a careful historical statement of the forms which the book received from Calvin's own hands, and the translations which were made of it into most of the languages of Europe. A full account is given of the several English versions, and by bringing certain typical passages together a comparative view is presented of the texts of these versions. With regard to the Reformer's own editions, the chief reasons are stated for holding those in error who have argued for the priority of the French. The first French edition, that of 1541, is pronounced to be a translation by Calvin himself of the second Latin edition of 1539.

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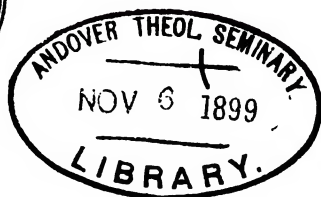
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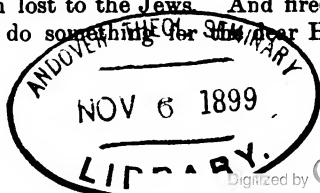
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By D. S. Margoliouth, M.A., Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford. London: James Parker & Co., 1899. 4to, pp. 20.

PROFESSOR MARGOLIOUTH in his pamphlet entitled *The Origin of the "Original Hebrew" of Ecclesiasticus* has supplied a certain need. No discovery of any vital interest was ever made without some ingenious person challenging either its importance or its genuineness. A lacuna would have remained in the history of the Ben Sira discoveries had their authenticity been allowed to pass uncontested. Professor Margoliouth is nothing if not ingenious, and is therefore fully qualified for the task of criticism of this sort. Besides he has as he imagines a wrong to avenge. As many readers of the *Critical Review* will probably remember, Professor Margoliouth advanced, some years ago, a theory regarding the reconstruction of the original Hebrew of Ben Sira, which, though declared from the first by the unanimous consent of European scholars to involve impossible Hebrew and bad criticism, received its *coup de grace* through the discoveries mentioned above. It would thus have been almost more than human for the Professor not to make some attempt towards discrediting these discoveries.

Professor Margoliouth's contention is that the "Original Hebrew" is a "translation . . . of a corruption of a Persian translation of a corrupt reading in the Greek" (p. 10), based originally on the Syriac version, then improved by the influence of the translator's new acquaintance with a student knowing the Greek version at first hand and finally emended as to its Hebrew by some pedant to whom a few marginal variants are due. By this process the Professor tries to account both for the many corrupt passages in the Hebrew fragments, which he attributes to the translator's misreadings and misconceptions of the various languages in which he was only a novice, and for the marginal readings, which according to him are sometimes corrections suggested by the Greek and Syriac versions. As, however, it is so complicated, it will be advisable to give his story of the genesis of this translation in the Professor's own words:—

"It was over a bargain then, perhaps at Baghdad, that some Christian quoted Ben-Sira to him—probably the verse which says that a dealer is a knave; and he learned to his astonishment that the proverbs of Ben-Sira, of which he had heard, were preserved in the Christian Scriptures, though lost to the Jews. And fired with the thought that he too might do something for the Hebrew



language and the honour of his race, he makes haste to procure a copy, and presently engages a teacher to help him to read it. And talking of languages, as teachers will, his tutor mentions casually that he has a friend who knows a tongue of which they both are ignorant; one who for the love of Christ and His Apostles has learned the language in which their Gospel was composed. And when the Grecian is introduced, he takes some interest in the Ben-Sira project, but regrets (not without ostentation) that the worthy Jew should base his work on the Syriac, when the Greek in his possession is so much fuller and better. And when he has proved this by examples, which he could easily do, the Jew tells him that if he will translate the Greek into Persian, he, the Jew, will reward him well. And presently the materials are all collected; he can read Syriac, and has a complete copy of the Persian; and he collects the Old Testament parallels, and tries to think what the Hebrew can have been" (pp. 19-20).

The Professor has evidently read the *Arabian Nights* to some advantage; but he is not quite happy when he means to be witty, as he probably did when he "excogitated" the occasion to which our fragments owe their existence. For traders and shopkeepers of all sorts have always been so unpopular even in the Rabbinic literature that a Jew would have felt very little surprise at hearing that one more post-Biblical writer has expressed the same sentiment.<sup>1</sup>

After airing his old grievance against Driver and Nöldeke who owing to a controversy in which they have been engaged (with him) "had an *interest* in thinking this rubbish genuine," Professor Margoliouth exclaims—"Mrs Lewis by her precious discovery has hit Biblical criticism harder than it ever was hit before or is ever likely to be hit again. For the next time we proceed to parcel out Isaiah, will not our very street-boys call out to us, 'You who misdate by 1300 years a document before you, what do *you* know of the dates of the Prophecies and Psalms?'" I hold no brief for Bible Criticism and frankly confess that for my humble part two Isaiahs are amply sufficient, and that I shall rejoice at any check which Bible Criticism in its latter-day degeneration is likely to receive from new discoveries. But I feel that I have some responsibility for the date—1300 years—which the Professor gives, and which I wish to rectify on this occasion. For it was I who first fixed the eleventh century as the date in which the Lewis-Gibson fragment—the first discovery of Ben Sira—was written; a date that was accepted by Messrs Cowley and Neubauer in their edition

<sup>1</sup> See B.T. Erubin 55\* לא במחרנין ולא בתננין (התורה) לא תמצא and *Mishnah Kiddushin* iv. 14, where the business of the shopkeeper is declared to be a אומנות לסמים "the handicraft of robbery."

of the Original Hebrew. Adding the two centuries during which the "Wisdom of Ben Sira" existed before the birth of Jesus, we have 1300 years.<sup>1</sup> This is the date which Professor Margoliouth seized upon and confused with the date of composition. I will, however, remark that my subsequent experience of Genizah fragments has taught me that from a palaeographic point of view there is not the least objection to ascribing the Ben Sira fragments to the tenth or even the ninth century; for the Genizah furnishes us with *dated* documents coming from those periods, which display a much stronger tendency towards cursive as well as other palaeographic features held till now to be the criteria of a later age.

In connexion with this remark we must quote here another passage where the Professor is even more emphatic regarding the date of this composition. "The remarkable man who some centuries ago set himself the task of reconstructing Ecclesiasticus out of a Syriac and a Persian translation, lived after 1000 A.D., for the Persian which he knew was already mixed with Arabic words and phrases to overflowing; but his native language was Arabic, for he uses that for his stop-gap words" (p. 19). We shall have ample opportunity in the course of these notices to see what these "stop-gap" words are. At present we shall deal with the question of the date. Now it so happens that the Gaon Saadyah (892-942) gives in his *Sepher Haggalui*, which he composed about 931, seven quotations from the Hebrew of Ben Sira, six of which are to be found in the later discoveries of this Apocryphon, offering such slight variants as two MSS. written by different scribes are almost bound to show.

We give here the quotations in full; the variants furnished by our fragments are enclosed in square brackets.

<p>Eccclus. v. 5, 6.</p>	<p>{ ואל [אל] סליחה אל תבטח להוסיף עק על עק. ואמרתה רחמי רבים לרוב עונותי יסלח. כי רחמים ואף עמו ועל רשעים ינח עזו. [רנזו].</p>
<p>Eccclus. v. 6, 7, 8, 13.</p>	<p>{ רבים יהיו אנשי שלומיך נלה [אנשי שלומך יהיו רבים ובעל] סודך לאחד מני אלף [אחד מאלף]. קנית אוהב במסע [בניסן] קנהו ואל תמהר לבטח עליו. כי יש אוהב כפי עת ולא [ואל] יעמד ביום צרה. משנאיך הברל ומאוהבך הוהר [השמר].</p>

<sup>1</sup> See *Original Hebrew*, etc., p. xii. and my article in the *Expositor* for July 1896, p. 127. On p. 15 I expressed myself in the following words: "Our Fragment therefore comes directly from an MS. containing the whole of Ecclesiasticus in the language in which Sirach wrote it, subject, of course, to changes, corruptions, and mutilations, owing to the carelessness of copyists and other mishaps which every work must experience during a *period of nearly thirteen centuries*."

Ecclus. } כי ברב שיה מנסה אותך [מהרבות שיהו נסית] וזהו לך }  
xiii. 11<sup>o</sup>. } חקדך.

Ecclus. } אל תאמר מאל נסתרתי ובמרום מי יזכרני.  
xvi. 17. } בעם כבוד לא אדע או מי [מה] נפשי בקצות רחוקות.<sup>1</sup>

The seventh quotation represents Ben Sira xi. 28, and is not included among the fragments discovered hitherto.<sup>2</sup> It should however be noticed that Saadyah gives the full name of Ben Sira as <sup>3</sup> שמעון בן ישת בן אלעזר בן סירא, which agrees with none of the known versions, but occurs in our fragments *three times*.<sup>4</sup> This is another proof of Saadyah's acquaintance with our text.

Even if these quotations stood alone they would at once abolish the date "after 1000 A.D." (p. 19), categorically assigned to the fragments by Professor Margoliouth, since Saadyah *died* in 942, and certainly could not have quoted, in the manner he does, from a newly-published book. But it is sufficiently clear from another reference of Saadyah to Ben Sira, that he considered his Hebrew text to date from antiquity. Speaking of post-canonical sages who wrote books of instruction and wisdom, he says, "As we find that Simon the son of Jesus, the son of Eleazar, the son of Sira, composed a book of instruction similar to the book of Proverbs in its sections, and in its verses which he provided with vowels and accents" —and proceeds—"In our own time the people of Kairowan composed a book in Hebrew from what was found among them of the Christian Sedi."<sup>5</sup> The Gaon thus does not allow himself to be deceived by the Hebrew garb of a book. He is perfectly aware that translations are sometimes undertaken, and yet he claims for the text of Ben Sira both that it is an original Hebrew composition and that it has the authority of antiquity. The very fact that he makes these claims definitely proves that the text he had of Ben Sira must have been in circulation among the Jews for many previous generations. There is, moreover, ample evidence that the earlier hymnologists (פייטנים) of the Synagogue, as José b. José and his contemporaries, who flourished early in the eighth if not in the seventh century, knew the original Hebrew of Ben Sira. They not only based their descriptions of the Temple Service on the Day of Atone-

<sup>1</sup> See Dr Harkavy's edition of the ספר הנלי in his *Studien und Kritiken* v. pp. 142, 176, and 178.

<sup>2</sup> See Harkavy, *ibid.* p. 178, and Messrs Cowley and Neubauer, *ibid.* p. xxi., No. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Harkavy, *ibid.* iii. p. 150.

<sup>4</sup> 50, 27a, and 51, 32 (2) and 32 (3).

<sup>5</sup> Harkavy, *ibid.* p. 150. I gave in the text Harkavy's שמעון אלעזר בן ישת. The Arabic original is not quite clear; see Harkavy, *ibid.* pp. 210 and 211.

ment (סדר עבודה) on the *Hymnus Patrum* of Ben Sira, but also used certain phrases and terms which have every appearance of having been taken from our Hebrew text, and in some cases, indeed, are only to be found in this text.<sup>1</sup>

The oldest of these descriptions is, as just mentioned, the סדר יוסי, עבודה ליוסי בן יוסי,<sup>2</sup> which commences with נבירות. To the author's acquaintance with Ben Sira the following expressions testify.

השיק עלוקה	Ben Sira xliiii. 21.
חמור	„ „ iii. 14.
וריה מפעליו ברכה	„ „ xlix. 1.
חודש חוקו לדורות עולם	„ „ xlv. 24, 24 <sup>c</sup> .
לזר לא יאתה נחלת כבודם	„ „ „ 25 <sup>c</sup> .
בנעימת צרדה	„ „ „ 9 <sup>b</sup> .
בעדי בנדי מו	„ „ „ 12, 12 <sup>c</sup> .
עמרת ראשו בהוד המלכה	„ „ „ 12, 12 <sup>c</sup> .

José b. José's hymn served as a model to the anonymous author of the סונתה כונה אלה which Saadyah already mentions as dating "from the earlier generations," and in which the following passages betray acquaintance with the contents of Ben Sira.<sup>3</sup>

מדורת אש . . הסתה	Ben Sira xliiii. 21 and 42, 4 gl.
לשביב אשו	„ „ xlv. 19 <sup>c</sup> .
ציץ עמרת כהונה . . . ונחילנה לבניו אחריו	„ „ xlv. 12, 13.
חמור חמור דם	„ „ iii. 14.
וחך ערב	„ „ vi. 5.
נהדר בנור המלכה	„ „ xlv. 12 <sup>c</sup> .
ועטה בבלי מו	„ „ xlv. 12, 12, & l. 11 <sup>a</sup> .

Further imitations of Ben Sira and direct borrowing from his panegyric of Simon the High Priest we find in the hymn מראה

<sup>1</sup> See Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie*, p. 120, *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie*, pp. 26-28. Landshut, *Amude Haabodah*, p. 85 seq. All the *Abodoth* begin with the creation of man, then give a description of the deluge, in which Noah is the remnant, after which they give an account of the patriarchs and God's covenant with them. Then they proceed to the tribe of Levi, the priesthood and the high priest, thus leading over to his performance of the service in the temple, which is the main topic of the day.

<sup>2</sup> We quote from the *מנחת מעשי ידי נאונים קרמונים* 2nd ed., Rosenberg, Berlin, 1877.

<sup>3</sup> About this hymn see Zunz as above, p. 23 and p. 643 seq., and Landshut as above.

כדן, dating perhaps from the next generation, where the following expressions occur :—

מה נהדר	Ben Sira l. 5.
כרמות הקשח בתוך העץ	„ „ „ 7.
ככובב הנונה	„ „ „ 6.
כשושנת	„ „ „ 8 <sup>a</sup> .
זריחת שמש	„ „ „ 7. <sup>1</sup>

The famous bargain, then, where the Jew cheated and the Christian pelted him with texts from the Apocrypha must have taken place some three centuries before the period in which the Professor places it. But if that be so, how about the Persian, which was “already mixed with Arabic words and phrases to overflowing”?

Having thus disposed of the date the Professor assigns for the composition of our “Original Hebrew,” we shall now proceed to the arguments by which he tries to establish his whole theory.

One of the main arguments paraded by the Professor is that in some cases the versions are more intelligible than the “Original Hebrew.” He draws the conclusion from this that the “Original Hebrew” is a translation from the versions. But this argument is entirely fallacious and could be used, indeed, to prove that the Hebrew Bible is a late compilation based upon the accepted versions. Any reader of the Bible in Hebrew knows only too well how many passages there are that have been from time immemorial the despair of the commentators and have defied all their attempts at elucidation, and yet which read smoothly enough in our versions. Take, for instance, the “Song of Deborah,” or the sixty-eighth psalm, or innumerable passages in Job which are still the subject of controversy by scholars but which do not rouse the slightest suspicion in the man who relies upon his English Bible. A striking example of the fallaciousness of the argument is afforded by the Greek version of Ecclesiasticus, which is notorious for its bad Greek and its many passages which seem to yield no sense, but which are readable enough in the more modern versions based upon it. And I think the fact that the difficulties and the textual corruptions are so much more visible in the Hebrew is an additional proof that it is the original.

<sup>1</sup> See Zunz as above, p. 65, and his *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge*, 2nd ed., p. 109 in the note. The statement of Messrs Cowley and Neubauer in the preface, p. x., that “Zunz believes that the early liturgist, R. Eleazar haq-Qalir, borrowed from Sirach in his liturgy for the day of Atonement” is inaccurate. The Abodah of קליר was, as it is well-known, long ago lost, whilst Zunz’s reference there is to a work by Rapoport, bearing the title of קליר which, however, contains also remarks on hymns by other authorities.

Another main argument recently advanced by the Professor, and which, according to him, "is by itself sufficient to condemn the whole original Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus," is based upon B. Sira, xliv. 21. This runs, "Therefore he established to him with an oath to bless nations in his seed, to cause them to inherit from sea to sea, etc."

The Professor urges this passage is the work of a "Christian interpolator," who "not only alters the text," which should agree with Genesis xxvi. 4, "but makes the Gentiles the people who are to inherit from sea to sea." "The alteration was to suit Galatians iii." But if the Professor will take up the oldest Jewish versions, such as Onkelos and the pseudo-Jonathan Ben Uziel, embodying the traditional interpretations, he will find that they take it in the same sense as Galatians iii. 8, viz., that it is the nations of the world which will be blessed in Israel; or for the sake of Israel, or for the sake of the merits of Israel, the only difference being that the rabbis make *Israel* the source of blessing to the nations, whilst Paul points to *Christ* as the embodiment of ideal Israel. If Professor Margoliouth were to pay more attention to his Bible he would know that Ecclesiasticus xliv. 21, על כן בשבעה, והקמתי את, is nothing else but a paraphrase of Genesis xxvi. 3, והקמתי את, transferring the reference from Isaac to Abraham in accordance with Ben Sira's usual methods. The word להנחילם refers, of course, to בורעו, not to נחם.

In connexion with the foregoing, we may remark that the Professor fails to appreciate the force of scriptural parallels with B. S. as well as the use made by him of Biblical words through giving them sometimes a turn of his own.

Thus O.H. xliii. 8° מרצה רקיע מזהירטו which should be translated "He (the sun) makes the firmament glow (or shine or illuminate) by his light." The Professor tells us "that since the word מרצה must in any case be interpreted from the Arabic," etc. (p. 6). But we have עונת רצעים (1 Kings xix. 6) and רצפה (Is. vi. 6) which most of ancient and modern commentaries take to be simply a live coal; מרצה is thus a denominative of the noun. Note also Ben Ezra who explains the rather obscure רצוף in Canticles iii. 10 to mean שרוף "burned" (cf. *ibid* viii. 6). The marginal משריק is of course only a *Verschreibung* of מרצה given from another MS. We may perhaps also dispose here of the marginal משריק (text מזהירטו) close to the verse just quoted (O.H. xliii. 9). Of this gloss the Professor remarks that it is unknown to the Hebrew, the Rabbinic and the Chaldee Lexica. . . . As an Arabic word it is exceedingly common. . . . For "shining" the word *mushrik* would in that case be thoroughly familiar to him, and though he had no intention of



making a Hebrew word of it, he might well put it on his margin, when he learnt that the true meaning of the words he was rendering was "a shining ornament" and not "his light sparkles" (p. 5, 6). The logic of the Professor that the scribe altered מזהיר into משריק because the Greek suggested וערי instead of ואורי is not quite evident. But what quite speaks against the theory of the Professor is the fact that the word occurs again in the *text* of the O.H. l. 7 משרקת וכשמש משרקת which shows that he did intend it as a Hebrew word, otherwise he would have put as an alternative on the margin מזהרת a word familiar enough to him.

Again, O.H. xliii. 24 יורדי הים יספרו קצוהו "They that go down to the sea tell of his bounds." The Professor contrasts this hemistich with the Greek. "They that sail on the sea tell of the *danger* thereof," and proceeds to say: "It is by no means the case that ordinary travellers have any information to give on this matter; and the least thrilling thing they could tell us about the sea would be its *bounds*. Here, therefore, we have the same phenomenon as before; a correct sentiment in the translation, an absurdity in the 'original'" (p. 8). The Professor in no way tries to account for the mistake in the Hebrew. Probably the improvised Persian does not hold good in this case. But there can be little doubt that Sirach, who in his cosmography draws among others largely on the Scriptures, alluded here to Ps. cvii. 23, יורדי הים באניות, and xix. 5, (קצוי ארץ וים רחוקים) (cf. Ps. lxxv. 6) giving to the later quotation a slight turn of his own to suit it to his purpose. The Greek probably read קצהו (instead of קצהו) thinking of קץ in the sense of death (cf. Lam. iv. 18 קצנו).

Again, O.H. xliii. 11\* מקום תנור אל יהי אשנב "The place where she lodges shall not be a lattice." The Professor objects to this precept on the ground that "either then the young lady must be in the dark, or she must have nothing to protect her from the public gaze—neither of which precepts is of any use for the Eastern household"; and proceeds to say: "the Syriac precept, 'let her not go out,' is, whether suited to modern ideas or not, very well suited to those of the ancient Greeks and Hebrews. Clearly the author of the 'Original Hebrew' had not the sense of the verb *shebak* quite clear in his mind; he thought it must be connected with the familiar Arabic *shubbāk* 'lattice,' and rendered *lā teshabbkih*, 'the place where she lives thou shalt not adorn it with a lattice.'" I do not intend to discuss with the Professor matters of chivalry, but I may refer him to Judges v. 28 (האשנב) 2 Kings ix. 30; 1 Chr. xv. 29, from which passages it is clear that this staring from the windows was too much indulged in by women; cf. also the Rabb. complaint of woman that she is a סקרנית fond of staring (Gen.

Rabbah c. 18). The word מביט in the second hemistich is of course as much as צופה in Cant. vii. 5 (looking toward) and needs no further doctoring.

Again xlvii. 6. בעטותו צניף נלחם "When he put on a diadem he fought." On this the Professor remarks: "The Greek says of David, 'when he wore the diadem of glory'; the Syriac, 'a little he fought.' The re-translator observes that the Syriac קליל 'little,' is very near in appearance to כליל 'crown'; he can therefore safely put these two half-lines together: 'when he put on a crown he fought'; an inconvenient attire, as a *helmet* would have been so much more to the purpose" (p. 18). I am sorry for David, but B. S. alluded to 2 Sam. xii. 28 and 29 . . יאסף דוד וילך רבתה וילחם בה . . ויקח את עמרת מלכם מעל ראשו ומשקלה כבר זכה . . ותהי על ראש דוד. The renderings of the versions are as suggested by Professor Levi, due to the confusion of בהעטותו with במעט by the Syr. and with בנטותו by the Gr.

Again B. S. xliii. 2 שמש מביע בצרתו חמה gl. מופיע בצאתו. On this Professor Margoliouth remarks: "xliii. 2 (Greek) 'The sun by appearing proclaiming when he cometh forth,' a terse sentence which in itself contains much of the 19th Psalm. His appearance is a sermon; he preaches without using words . . . Hebrew text, 'The sun discharging in his affliction heat' (שמש etc.): the margin suggests, 'shining at his going forth.' (מופיע בצאתו). We first observe that the Greek says the sun *proclaims*, that is gives voice; whereas the Hebrew says he discharges *warmth*. Is there any language within reach in which the ideas of *speech* and *warmth* are likely to be confused? In Persian *sukhn afshāndan* naturally means 'to utter speech,' 'to speak.' But the same words are exceedingly likely to be rendered 'to discharge heat,' if there is anything in the context to suggest it. Between the Persian word for 'speech' (سخن), and the Arabic word for 'heat' (سخن), which a Persian may use if he likes, there is nothing but the context to distinguish" (page 9).

The reference to the 19th Psalm is correct enough, and is also given by Lévi and others. The Professor however fails to make the proper use of the reference. A closer examination of the Psalm will at once enable us to restore the Hebrew, now corrupt, to its original state.

The words of the Psalmist to be considered here are: (Verses 3, 7).  
יִבֶּעַ אֹמֶר . . . קֶשֶׁם שֶׁם . . . יִשִּׁי לָרֶךְ . . . מַחֲמָתוֹ . . .

Guided here by the principle so apparent from Ecclesiasticus, that B. S. not only borrowed his ideas from the Bible, but very often copied also the words, we shall emend מביע חמה שמש.

Our text בצרתו is an evident corruption of בריצתו. As to the word חמה, it must first be noted that all the commentators miss an object for διαγγέλλων, "declaring," in the versions. The Professor thus glides light-heartedly over what is a considerable difficulty. In any case the word חמה in the original supplies us with the object missing in the Greek version, and thus shows a decided superiority. Now as to the meaning of this word. It may easily be a simple corruption of אמר. But it is also possible that B. S. while punning, as he so often does, upon the word מחמת in the Psalms really means by it חמה (wrath), alluding to Malachi iii. 19. וְלֹהֵם אוֹתָם הַיּוֹם הַבֵּא where the heat of (the sun) is regarded as the means for punishment reserved for the wicked. Some countenance is lent to this by the מֵה נֹרָא in the second hemistich of B. S. corresponding to Malachi iii. 23. לִפְנֵי בּוֹא יוֹם ה' הַנִּגְדֹּל וְהַנּוֹרָא (cp. Joel ii. 3; ii. 12). The Greek which read חמה considered it a mere pleonasm or gloss of שמש left it untranslated.

Prof. M. declares the בצרתו "by his affliction" of the text to be a mistranslation of ὀπτασίᾱ, and refers to the recurrence of the word in B. S. 16<sup>a</sup>. He conjectures that the translator in his ignorance of the meaning of ὀπτασίᾱ, an ignorance which was excusable because the word is *recherché* and rare, derived it from ὀπτᾶν 'to roast,' and rendered 'the sun in roasting utters speech.' This the Hebrew translator could scarcely fail to mistranslate 'the sun being roasted gives forth heat.' But being a man of some taste, he thought this a more accurate description, say, of a leg of mutton, than of the orb of day, and felt that the odour of the kitchen must be at least softened. This was effected by the substitution of "affliction" for "roasting" (page 10).

No detailed criticism of the Professor's explanation is needed. But so far as the gloss on 16<sup>a</sup> is concerned it will be seen from the list to be given hereafter that the great majority of the differing readings of the text and the glosses differ only in a single letter or so. We might thus well conjecture from the הרים (or עתקים) ובכחו יעים of the gloss that the text ran וברחו ייע הרים (cf. 1 Kings xix. 11, ורחו מפני הרים and B. S. xxxix. 28, Hebrew and Versions). This again was misread by the Greek וברואו and rendered ὀπτασίᾱς, with reference probably to Ecclesiasticus xvi. 19.

In passing I would point out, in justice to the scholars whom our Professor reviles in circulars and letters to the press, that they too have recognised the difficulties on which he lays such stress, and have manfully striven to meet them. They have all seen that there are Aramaisms and Arabisms in B. S. Fränkel (in his review, *Monatschrift* xlii.) and Perles (*Vienna Oriental Journal*, xi. 91 f.)

have specially discussed the possibility of some words being corrections from the Syriac version. The latter distinctly says 'da die Handschrift, der die Randlesarten entnommen sind, wahrscheinlich schon selber viele Interpolationen enthielt und überhaupt nur bis 45,9 sich erstreckte, so sind wir in vielen Fällen nicht mehr in der Lage, den Wortlaut des Originals zu ermitteln,' and in proof of this he cites the very word דרכיו (xlvi. 20) of which the Professor made such a parade (p. 13); and he adds in a note "es ist also klar, dass hier erst später דרכיו für דורותיו eingesetzt wurde."

Another argument to which the Professor attaches importance is based upon the quantity of variants, which he considers rather strange in an original work. His words are:—

"Most of the lines have some variant written against them. The import of all of these notes is not clear, but in many cases it is obvious. . . . Many of the remaining variants appear to be suggested improvements in orthography, accuracy and seemliness of expression. On a translator's rough copy such a quantity of marginal notes would naturally be found, and bear evidence of the care, the deliberation, and the hesitation with which he worked. But on the margin of a late copy of a work professing to be original, and handed down as books were handed down before the invention of printing, such a quantity of variants would be astounding (p. 4).

The Professor will be interested to hear that there exists at least one MS. of Ben Sira which has no marginal readings at all and which is designated in the forthcoming edition of B. Sira MS. A. Perhaps I may venture to confide further in the Professor and inform him that MS. B, which is the subject of his contempt, contains, apart from single verses and hemistichs, a whole chapter, which from internal evidence must be a pre-Maccabean composition, but of which not a single trace is to be found in any of the known versions. But to return to the question of the marginal notes.

Now if the Professor would take his Bible and put down on the margin all the *Keris* and *Kethibs* and all the variants of the oriental and occidental schools, he would see at once that original works have also their doubtful places which a good scribe was bound to notice. If, further, he were to collate 2 Samuel xxii., with Psalm xviii., he will find that the differing readings, as recorded by *Massecheth Sopherim*, chap. viii., amount to about eighty. Now if he were to put these in the margin of his Bible he would find at once more cause for surprise there than in Fol. 2 recto of the Oxford MS., where the quantity of variants seemed to him "so astounding." Considering now that Ben Sira is not canonical, and therefore liable to a greater degree to the careless handling of scribes and thus to variants, clerical errors and text corruptions; and considering further that its variants have not had the advantage of being sifted by any

great Massoretic school, we shall rather have need to wonder at the comparative purity of the text.

So far as my experience extends of Hebrew texts that date from antiquity or the early middle ages, there is scarcely a single line anywhere, with the exception of the Bible, which was always jealously guarded by the Synagogue, which does not offer varying readings of more or less importance. Sometimes the amount of variants and interpolations is so great that MSS. originally starting from one source now present texts so widely differing from each other as really to form different works.<sup>1</sup> Now as we have seen the Professor thinks that "the import of most of these notes is not clear." But they are clear enough if we assume that they represent a number of self-corrections made by the scribe and a collection of varying readings scattered over many MSS., good, bad and indifferent—such a collection, indeed, as a conscientious collator would make.

In illustration of this fact we give here a list of some hundred of these *variae lectiones*, contrasting the readings in the text with those on the margin. They are taken from the first four chapters of the original Hebrew and compose about 95 per cent. of the variants offered by these chapters. It will be readily apparent to the student that they are essentially mere *Verschreibungen* arising from similarity of sound or form.

	Text.		Margin.
xxxix. 16.	צורך	—	צדך
„ 19.	נסתר	—	מסותר
„ 21.	נבחר	—	ינבר
„ 24.	ארח[ות]	—	א[רחותיו]
„ 25.	וריע	—	רע
„ 27.	לרעה	—	לרא
„ 30.	נקמות	—	נוקמת
„ „	להחרים	—	להרים
„ 30 <sup>c</sup> .	נבראו	—	נבחרו
„ 31.	פיו	—	פיהו
„ 33.	צורך	—	צרוך
„ 34.	ינביר	—	ינבר

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, the *Variae Lectiones* to the Talmud by Rabbinowicz. Cf. also *Aboth* d' R. Nathan, ed. Schechter, p. 20. Perhaps I may relate here one of my experiences with textual corruptions only some weeks ago. It was a Midrash MS., giving as a quotation from the Bible the words *בציון השדה בנבעות*, which of course never occurs. Only after much searching in the parallel passages it turned out to be a corruption of *בנבורות השמש* in Judges v. 31.

		Text.	—	Margin.
xl.	1 <sup>c</sup> .	אם	—	ארץ
"	3.	לשוב	—	לובש
"	4.	עוטה	—	עושה
"	5.	מות תחרה	—	מתח וריב
"	10.	ובעבורו	—	ובעבור
"	13.	מחול אל חול	—	חיל מחיל
"	16.	מפני נדעכו	—	לפני נדעכה
"	18.	יין ושכר	—	יותר שכל
"	22.	שרה	—	שרי
"	24.	צדק	—	צדקה
"	28.	מני	—	בני
"	30.	עוז	—	עז
xli.	1.	חיים	—	הוי
"	2.	חקיק	—	חזק
"	2 <sup>c</sup> .	ינקש	—	ונוקש
"	"	כושל	—	מושל
"	4 <sup>c</sup> .	איש	—	אין
"	5.	דבר רעים	—	דבת ערים
"	9 <sup>b</sup> .	לקללה	—	לקללתה
"	10.	מאפס	—	מאונם
"	"	כן	—	בן
"	12.	חכמה	—	חמדה
"	13.	טובת	—	טוב
"	"	ימי מספר	—	מספר ימים
"	14 <sup>c</sup> .	תועלה	—	תעלה
"	15.	מאיש מצפן	—	מארון
"	14 <sup>a</sup> .	משפטי	—	משפטו
"	19 <sup>c</sup> .	תגור . . זר	—	נניד . . זר
"	20.	משאול	—	משואל
"	21.	מחשב אפי	—	מיהשע פי
xlii.	1.	על	—	כל
"	1 <sup>e</sup> .	על	—	אל
"	5 <sup>a</sup> .	תמהות	—	תמורת
"	5	ממחיר	—	מוסר
"	7.	תפקד	—	מפקד
"	9.	דאנה	—	ודאנתה
"	11.	סרה	—	סרח
"	11 <sup>c</sup> .	והושבתך	—	והובישתך
"	12.	זכר	—	תזכר
"	"	תסתויד	—	תסתיר

		Text.	—	Margin.	
xlii.	15 c.	לקחו	—	לקח	
"	17 c.	אימן	—	אומץ	
"	"	להחזיק	—	להחזיק	
xliii.	2.	מביע בצרתו	—	מופיע בצאתו	
"	4.	מצוק	—	מצוק	
"	"	שולח	—	שולח	
"	"	ידיק	—	יסיק	
"	4 c.	לשאק	—	לשק	
"	5.	נדיל	—	נדול	
"	"	ינצח	—	ינצה	
"	6.	עתות	—	עת עת	— עד עת
"	7.	חמני	—	וממני	
"	8.	בחדשו	—	כשמו	
"	"	בהשתנותו	—	בחשבותו	
"	8 c.	מרצף	—	מערץ	
"	10.	ישח	—	ישק	
"	11.	עושה	—	עושה	
"	"	נאדרה	—	נהדרה	
"	12.	בכבודו	—	בכבודו	
"	"	אל	—	לא	
"	13.	ברק	—	בקר	
"	"	זיקות	—	זיקים יקום	
"	14.	למען	—	למענו	
"	17.	זלעפות	—	עלעול	
"	71 c.	דרתו	—	רדתו	
"	18.	ינהה	—	יהנה	
"	20.	מקורו	—	מקוה	
"	22.	רטב	—	שרב	
"	23.	מחשבתו	—	משוכתו	
"	25.	מעשהו	—	מעשיו	
"	26.	למענו	—	למענהו למען	
"	28.	נגדלה	—	נגלה	
"	30 c.	מרומים תחליפו	—	מרוממיו החליפו	

S. SCHECHTER.

**Wilhelm Gesenius' Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament in Verbindung mit Prof. Albert Socin und Prof. H. Zimmern bearbeitet.**

*Von Dr Frants Buhl, Professor an der Universität Kopenhagen. 13te Auflage. Verlag von F. C. W. Vogel: Leipzig; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. M.18.*

THE continued popularity of Gesenius' "Handbook" is seen in the issue of a new edition after less than four years. Sixty-five pages of new material are the result of this interval. The editor and his co-workers are the same as in the twelfth edition, and there are no radical changes in the nature of the work. There is, however, much improvement. The number of illustrative forms given is largely increased with great advantage to the student. The attitude towards the Massoretic text is still conservative. Needless to say, any radical criticism of the text is for the most part, if not altogether ignored, but some suspicious readings have now been marked as such.

The philological notes and etymologies are still retained (as distinct from Siegfried and Stade's Handwörterbuch, where they are entirely abandoned). This will continue to cause disagreement among scholars. Illustrations from Arabic words must remain very precarious until there has been a more systematic investigation and classification of the vocabulary of the early Arabian writers. It is strange that חֹב is still referred to the Arabic hāba, although Professor Bevan pointed out (in the *Critical Review*, vol. v. p. 130), that khāba is the real equivalent of the Syriac hābh, and this has been adopted in the Oxford edition of Gesenius.

In fact, this part of the work gives rise to serious questions. There is not a sufficient difference made between generally accepted derivations and those which are more doubtful, *cf.* for example the words חָרַר and כָּוֹר here and in the Oxford lexicon. This may not affect the Semitic scholar, who can control the results by his acquaintance with the other Semitic languages, but is a drawback to the use of the book by the student.

It is noticeable too that among the etymologies given, some are very incomplete, *cf.* to כֹּכַב; some are misleading, *cf.* to כָּבַד where the reference should be to the Arabic kabadun, *difficulty*, etc., rather than to the word for *liver*; and such a note as that to the word כֶּכֶס is useless.

One of the chief events connected with the study of Hebrew since the publication of the last edition of this dictionary has been the publication of the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus xxxix. 15—xlx.

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2 c



11. This has been used by the editor for illustrative purposes, *where the text is certain* ("aus den gesicherten Teilen"). This reserve seems to exclude the use of words in the margin of the Oxford manuscript. But surely in the case of ἀπαξ λεγόμενα and rare meanings, it would have been worth while noticing these, *e.g.* in the case of זָכַר (Gen. xxx. 20) in a marginal reading to Eccles. xl. 29, and חָסַר in the sense of "reproach" in the margin of xli. 22 (where too the note in Driver's glossary to Ecclesiastes might have been used).

Even the text, where quite certain, has not been fully used, *e.g.* in the Hiph. of הָרַר I "to shine" (Dan. xii. 3), reference should have been made to Eccles. xliii. 8, and under חָרַר Eccles. xliii. 13 might have been referred to. (There is a misprint under חָר where Sir. xlviii. 12 should be read.)

These remarks are of course founded on the editors' assumption that the new text is the original Hebrew of the work of Jesus ben Sirach. If Professor Margoliouth is right in his conclusions (see his pamphlet: *The Origin of the "Original Hebrew" of Ecclesiasticus*. Oxford, 1899), all the references to this text are useless.

The Aramaic part has been very much enlarged and improved. The constant use of the grammars of Marti and Dalman, and the references to the works of E. Meyer and Krauss have brought it thoroughly up to date, while a more complete list of passages in which words occur, has made it practically a concordance.

G. W. THATCHER.

### The Works of Dionysius the Areopagite,

*Now first translated into English, from the original Greek. By the Rev. John Parker, M.A. Vol. II. London: James Parker, & Co., 1899. 8vo, pp. xx. 168. Price, 3s. net.*

THE first English edition of the works of Dionysius, called the Areopagite, is necessarily of interest. Dionysius, notwithstanding Vaughan's half-humorous depreciation of him, was a profound and subtle thinker. His works mark the complete interfusion of ecclesiastical Christianity with Oriental mysticism. And his doctrine exerted a powerful influence upon the religious thought of England, from the twelfth century to the sixteenth.

Mr Parker's attempted identification of Dionysius with the convert of Paul mentioned in Acts xvii. 34 need not detain us. His arguments are familiar enough. They are mainly those which were massed together by the Jesuit fathers in the Antwerp edition of 1634, braced with the conclusions of certain moderns, notably

Mgr. Darboy and Dr C. M. Schneider. But Mr Parker is much less accurate than his authorities.

The subjects discussed in Mr Parker's too-credulous preface are of interest to very few. But the completion of his translation naturally leads one to speak of the impression which the writings of Dionysius left on the life and thought of mediaeval England.

The writings of the "Areopagite" became widely known in Syria, in the first decades of the sixth century. In the Western Church their reception was, as we should expect, more tardy. They were sent by Pope Paul I. to Pepin of France, in 758. A few years later other copies were sent by Adrian I. to Abbot Fuldrat. In 827 (or 824) still another set of the works of Dionysius was received in Paris—this time the gift of the Emperor Michael II. to Louis the Meek. The writings were entrusted to the care of the Abbot of St Denys, Paris. Hilduin, whose pleasure it was to identify Dionysius with the apostle and patron-saint of France, endeavoured, but without success, to translate the precious manuscripts into Latin. About 860 John Scotus, Erigena, who had brought with him to the Palace School of France the ampler learning which then distinguished the monasteries of the Irish Church, accomplished the translation into Latin of all the works of Dionysius. He added original Expositions on *The Celestial Hierarchy*, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, and *Mystical Theology*. The translation is bare and difficult, and has been characterized as a rendering of words rather than of thoughts; but the annotations are sometimes singularly acute.

In the tenth century religion in the West seemed to be smitten with mortal languor. Into that deadness the mystic fervour of the succeeding age came like a breath of spring.

Among the sects with which the Middle Ages were thickly sown the new life sometimes displayed a rank, undisciplined growth. Within the Church it was controlled by the concurrent revival of monasticism, and was moulded into conformity with the system of doctrine which had already been impressed upon the souls of men. It was especially given to the canons of St Victor to prune and train into ecclesiastical forms the wild vigour of Middle Age mysticism. In the second half of the twelfth century the Abbey of St Victor was a veritable culture-bed of contemplative theologians. They passed out and spread over Europe, from Italy to Scotland. In England many of the highest ecclesiastical offices were filled by the canons of St Victor, and the writings of their doctors were eagerly read.

The Victorines soon discovered that Dionysius had already essayed the task in which they were engaged. He had endeavoured to compass the reconciliation of mysticism with dogma.

It was inevitable, therefore, that they should seek the aid of one who seemed to speak with apostolic authority, and whose doctrine of a divine *gnosis* had presumably continued in the Church from the first age. Hugh of St Victor wrote a voluminous commentary on *The Celestial Hierarchy*, and succeeded in making Dionysius talk in a fashion which would not misbeseem an Augustinian canon.

About the middle of the twelfth century John of Salisbury, the faithful counsellor of Æ Becket, encouraged Sarrašin to undertake a new translation of the works of Dionysius. In the year 1166, Sarrašin sent to the English ecclesiastic his version of *The Celestial Hierarchy*, and received the following reply :—"I am waiting under your favour for the translation of the rest of the *Hierarchy*. I desire that through your goodness, and to your eternal renown, the blessed Dionysius may become better known to his own people of France. Would that I could sit at your feet, as Mary sat at the feet of Christ—for I am persuaded that Christ dwells in your heart—but the evil temper of the King of England hinders the fulfilment of my desire."

But the introduction of the doctrine of Dionysius into England was mainly due to the great bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste (d. 1253). He translated into Latin, and wrote "interpretations" of all the works of Dionysius ; and several of his works, as, for example, his *Theological Common-places* (*Liber Veritatis Theologiæ*) bear unmistakable marks of the influence of the Areopagite. It was enough to secure consideration among Englishmen for the writings of the ancient Syrian mystic, that they had been received from the hand of the good bishop, who, "never from any fear of man had forborne to do any good action which belonged to his office and duty." The diocese of Lincoln was then by far the largest and most populous see in England. To this diocese Wiclif, a century later, belonged. He appeals often, and with the utmost respect to "Lincolniensis." Indeed, in two chief respects Grosseteste was the forerunner of Wiclif ; for the unflinching opposition of the faithful prelate to the encroachments on the Church and Commonwealth of England by the Bishop of Rome roused the spirit of the nation, and his lofty zeal for the purity of the Church, the fulfilment of pastoral duty, and the salvation of men almost antedated the Reformation. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Latin rendering of the works of Dionysius was in familiar use in England, both in the version of Erigena and in that of Grosseteste. Grosseteste's "interpretations" were first printed in the Strassburg edition of the works of Dionysius, in 1502.

The foundation thought of Dionysius' mysticism is that God Himself is the ground of the soul. When, in perception, or by

discourse the soul reaches forth towards creature-existence, it turns from God. But when, by an act of "holy introversion," it renounces the creature and sinks into the fathomless abyss of Deity, it finds its true being. Sense and reason grow blind in the uncompounded light of God: to them it is as darkness. Therefore, the strife of intellectual operations is hushed in the quiescence of pure contemplation, and, in "that simplicity of thought which is devoid of all thinking," the soul is restored to oneness with God.

This doctrine is the ground-work of that mystic theory of contemplation which maintained the religious fervour of the Victorines and their followers.

The Victorines reared the ladder of perfection, and, by penitential purification and spiritual enlightenment, climbed the mountain of their transfiguration until they attained to the mystic oneness of the soul with God. Their watchward was, Dialectic is insufficient: it is moreover perilous. The uncorrupted truth of things can be discerned only by the vision of the heart. To know is to believe; to believe is to love. God is truly known only as He is truly loved.

The influence of the Victorines was felt in every part of England, and a great wealth of mystical theology belonging to this period lies in manuscript on the shelves of our English libraries. Many of these tracts were published in the early days of printing: many of them still wait recognition. The MSS., however, which are of special interest to us in this connection are, *Deonise his diuinite* (MSS. Harl. 674; Kk. vi. 26; Dd. xii. 68), a fourteenth century translation of the *Mystical Theology*; and *The Clowde of Unknowyng* (MSS. Harl. 674, 959, 2373; Ff. vi. 41; Ii. vi. 39; Kk. vi. 26; Univ. Coll. Oxf. 14; Bibl. Reg. 17 C. 26; etc.), a treatise of contemplation in 75 chapters, attributed to Walter Hilton and William Exmeuse, and directly inspired by the *Mystical Theology* of Dionysius.

One may select as representative English mystics of the fourteenth century three writers on the life of contemplation, who are all indebted to Dionysius, but in different ways, Richard Rolle, Walter Hilton, and Mother Juliana.

About the year 1300 Richard Rolle, afterwards the hermit of Hampole, was born at Thornton, a village in the North Riding of Yorkshire. At the age of 19, being startled into a profound realization of sin and grace, he left Oxford, and addressed himself to a life of solitary communion with God. He was familiar with Bernard and the Victorines, but his master was Buonaventura. Buonaventura was a diligent student of Dionysius, and his writings, especially his *Itinerarium mentis in Deum* take us directly back to the *Mystical Theology*. It is the distinction of Richard of Hampole

that he first translated into English speech and interpreted in English modes of thought the mystical theory of contemplation. He released the life of solitary meditation from the rigour of ecclesiastical rule, and pressed it upon men's consciences, as being not merely the source of individual blessedness, but also the channel of practical benevolence.

Of all the followers of Rolle, Walter Hilton, Canon of Thurgarton, in Nottinghamshire, was the most influential. Thurgarton was an Augustine house of canons regular. It was founded by Ralph de Ayncourt, c. 1130. A Cambridge MS. of the fifteenth century contains the translation of Buonaventura's *Stimulus Amoris*, by "Maister Waltir hilton chanon and gouernoure of the house of Thurgarton biside Newark." Hilton died in 1395-96. As a canon regular, he lacked the spontaneity of the Hermit of Hampole, but his teaching is more systematic. His first counsel of perfection is, "Draw all that thou feelest and intendest within the truth of Holy Church." Hilton, like all the contemplationists of his time, was familiar with the writings of the Victorines, Bernard, and Buonaventura, but he had studied Dionysius for himself. A few sentences from the *Scale of Perfection* will show how deeply he was impressed by the mysticism of the Areopagite.

"The soul has now begun her journey to Jerusalem, the vision of peace. Always humility saith, I am nothing, I have nothing. And love saith, I covet nothing but one, and that is Jesus. And to humility and love the eye answers, I would see just nothing; and the mouth, I would savour just nothing; and the ear, I would hear just nothing; and the heart, I would think just nothing of earthly things nor of bodily deeds, nor would have my affections fastened fleshly to any creature, but only to God and to Godwards. Thus faring forth towards Jerusalem the soul has entered into that secure darkness and *onlyness* which is the passage from the love of the world to the perfect love of God. And verily the darker that this night is, the nearer is the true day of the love of Jesus.

"Then do thou wholly give thyself to the beholding of Jesus. He is within thee. When the soul is so gathered into herself, and separated from beholding of all earthly things, and from the use of her bodily senses that she feelet herself as she is in her essential being, that is, spiritual and incorporeal, then the soul is but a clean mirror in which thou shouldest see God spiritually. And this *lightsome darkness* and *rich nought* into which the soul has entered may be called purity of spirit, and spiritual rest; inward stillness, and peace of conscience; highness of thought, and oneness of soul; a lively feeling of grace, and retiredness of heart; the watchful sleep of the spouse, and tasting of heavenly savour; burning in love, and shining in light; the gate of contemplation, and reform-

ing in feeling. All these expressions are found in holy writings of divers men, for everyone speaketh of them according to his feeling of grace.

"This inward vision is the beholding of Jesus God: it is the spiritual sight of the Godhead in the Humanity of Christ." (B. ii. P. ii. c. 3; 5; 11.)

The "lightsome darkness" and "rich nought" described above, is just the "cloud of unknowing," the "divine darkness" of Dionysius.

Mother Juliana was born in 1342. She was a recluse of Carrow, and her cell was in the churchyard of St Julian's Church, Norwich. She wrote "XVI Revelations of Divine Love made to a devout servant of our Lord, called Mother Juliana, an anchoress of Norwich." She lived to a great age and commanded a wide influence. Her *Revelations* were written in 1388. Along with many puerilities which this interesting book contains there is much deep mystical thought. Mother Juliana was familiar with the general teaching of "St Dionise of France," and did not spare to make use of it. But she seems to have received it, not so much from the Victorines as from the German mystics. The *Orologium Sapientie*, a free English translation of Heinrich Seuse's great work, was already a favourite with English devotees, and other German treatises were finding their way across the sea. A sentence like this at once betrays its origin—"Thus is the kind made rightfully oned to the Maker, which is substancial kind unmade, that is, God."

About the year 1493, John Colet, the young rector of Dennington, left England that he might further his studies in France and Italy. In Florence Marsiglio Ficino and Pico della Mirandola were expounding Plato, while Savonarola was crying in the Duomo, "Wake, Christ." Colet was influenced both by the Reformer and by the philosophers. Ficino had translated into Latin the writings of Plato, Plotinus, and Dionysius—"the highest of all Platonists." Colet had read Plato and Plotinus at Oxford: he was now introduced to the teaching of the Areopagite. Shortly after his return to England he wrote two treatises, *De Cœlesti Dionysii Hierarchia*, and *In Ecclesiasticam Divi Dionysii Hierarchiam*. These writings are not so much a commentary on the *Hierarchies* of Dionysius as a very free and occasionally altered paraphrase.

The great Latin system-builders, especially Aquinas, had swept into their church-doctrine the speculations of the Areopagite. But they had qualified his mysticism, corrected his errors, and supplied his defects. Colet followed the theologians in repairing Dionysius' doctrine of sin, and in rendering somewhat less inadequate his doctrine of grace. Dionysius had taught that sin is lack of en-

lightenment: Colet maintained that it is antagonism to light. Dionysius had filled the infinite distance between God and man with endless mediating orders, scarcely leaving room for Christ, and preserving an almost unbroken silence regarding the atoning efficacy of His work: Colet witnessed with the fervour of faith to the power and preciousness of the Redeemer. In Colet's other writings, as in the *De Sacramentis Ecclesiæ* and *De Compositione Sancti Corporis Christi Mystici*, both of which are based upon the teaching of Dionysius, this divergence is even more strongly marked.

With regard to the essential necessity of the Episcopate, Colet evinces no uncertainty. Dionysius maintained that the government of the Church by bishops belonged to the very framework of nature, and was determined by the constitution of the universe — the heavenly hierarchy bestowing existence and form upon the earthly. The time had not yet come for Churchmen to imagine that anyone, who claimed to represent the Christianity of the Apostolic Age, could reject all mediation by a merely human priesthood, or affirm that the soul's approach to God is immediate and unhindered. Colet, indeed, as we should expect from the commentator of Paul, acknowledges that "in the human priesthood are all those who are consecrated to God in Christ." But he makes no attempt to loosen the strait bands of authority which compelled all men to confess the divine potency and unshaken permanence of the Episcopate.

The chief lesson, however, which Colet derives from the inherent necessity of the ecclesiastical hierarchy to conform to its celestial antitype is that personal holiness is thereby incumbent on every member of the officiating priesthood. The friend of Erasmus knew what need there was of reformation among the religious orders, both regular and secular, and his utterances on that theme are emphatic and penetrating. He denounces the traffic in benefices, the abuse of papal indulgence, the decay of discipline, and the loss of purity. "Unless God shall have mercy upon us," he adds solemnly, "all things will go to ruin."

Colet was made Dean of St Paul's about 1503. Almost immediately after his investiture, William Grocyn began to deliver in St Paul's Church a course of lectures on the *Hierarchies* of Dionysius. Grocyn was the friend both of Colet and of Erasmus, and we are fortunate in having two brief but characteristically vivid descriptions of these lectures from the pen of the Scholar of Rotterdam. He tells us that Grocyn, an Englishman by birth, was a man of most exact and unblemished life, careful in observing the rites of the Church even to the verge of superstition, learned in scholastic theology to the finger tips, naturally possessed of a most keen judgment, and conversant with every kind of intellectual discipline. He began to lecture in St Paul's Church, to a deeply

interested audience, on the *Celestial* and on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*. At first he was very indignant with all who denied that the author of these writings was the veritable Dionysius of Mars' Hill, and he especially denounced Laurentius Valla. But when he had lectured for several weeks, and had become familiar with the tone and spirit of his author, he did not hesitate to recant his former opinion, and to assure those very hearers that he did not now believe that the author was the Areopagite.

In his *Annotations on the New Testament* (edit. 1519), Erasmus refers to the arguments of Valla and of Grocyn, and summarises them. Thus, as Fulke says, Erasmus "cracked the credit" of Dionysius.

But, although the reputation of Dionysius as a writer of the Apostolic Age was "cracked" beyond repair, his eminence as one of the ancient rulers of thought has even now not wholly passed away.

DAVID M. M'INTYRE.

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### Recent Norwegian Thought.

"*Biskop Dr A. Chr. Bang*" af Johannes Brochmann. Christiania : Alb. Cammermeyers Forlag. 8vo. Kr.2.50.

"*Tro og Tænkning*," i.e. *Faith and Thought*. Twelve University Lectures by Dr E. F. B. Horn. Christiania : H. Askehougs Forlag. 12mo, pp. 156. Kr.3.

"*Verdens Ende*," i.e. *The End of the World*, by Lars Nielsen Dahle. 8vo, pp. 80. Kr.1.50.

"*Profeten Jonas*," i.e. *The Prophet Jonah*, by the same author. Stavanger : L. C. Kiellands Forlag. 12mo, pp. 157. Kr.2.50.

"*Bibelens Krav til vor Tid*," i.e. *The Claim of the Bible on our Age*. Lectures by Chr. A. Bugge, Theol.D. Copenhagen : Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag. 12mo, pp. 92. Kr.1.75.

NORWEGIAN literature is of comparatively recent growth. Until the beginning of this century Norway had no University of its own, and no centre where independence of thought and interest could find congenial soil and whence its results might be widely disseminated. For higher education and for cultured society a Norwegian had to betake himself to Copenhagen; and if he had any message for his fellows he must write in Danish and publish in Denmark. But with 1814, when Norway was united to Sweden, a new era dawned. There was a unity of action that extorted from Sweden the liberal constitution the country enjoys to-day. There was a freedom of thought that introduced an enlightened educational



system and numerous political and social reforms. There was a development of national life that in a single generation made Norway as independent and united as she had formerly been subservient and oppressed. This independence has had its prophets and apostles, its singers and poets, whose inspiration and influence have made Gamle Norge what she is to-day.

It may be that some of her greatest spirits have had an audience composed only of their fellow-countrymen ; but although few of her poets are well known beyond her shores, the national music to which these singers have in some degree given the impetus, is familiar to us through the strains of Edvard Greig, as it was to a former generation through the strings of Ole Bull. In drama, through Henrik Ibsen ; in fiction, through Björnson and others, the whole world knows what the Norwegians now possess. But in the religious domain Norway has been mainly marking time. The Church is a fossilised Lutheran Erastian institution, conservative to the last degree. At the beginning of this century there was a revival of religion which the Church failed to foster ; but that revival begot the missionary enterprise of which Norway is entitled now to boast ; and when, from another revival half a century later, forms of Free Church life began to emerge, the theological stagnation became disturbed. At first such writings as appeared were more or less polemical, but latterly some really able theologians have been occupying themselves with worthy themes, and not a few have written volumes deserving of a wider circulation than a Norwegian or Scandinavian world can afford. To Germany we have been accustomed to look for Lutheran theology, but in Norway there are several theologians of considerable independence of thought, thinkers well able to assist us in solving knotty problems, authors more deserving of attention and more worthy of study than very many of the Germans whose works are well known in our land. The reason is partly because Norway is a small country and its writers very modest, and partly because so few of our scholars read Norwegian and take means to make such able books as come under their notice known, and to get them reviewed, translated and published. We should be glad if Norwegian publishers would regularly forward their best books for review in this country in order that philosophical and theological readers might become acquainted with their leading writers and with the domains of thought which they have made peculiarly their own. The books upon our table to-day may be taken as a sample of recent theological thought and the four authors as representative men.

1. Brochmann is one of the most thoughtful Norwegian authors, and he has a wide range of subject and interest. His *Haakon*

*Athelstan's Foster* is a drama on the same subject—the introduction of Christianity to Norway—as Ibsen's *Warriors at Helgeland*, and quite as graphic and informing. His *Third Kingdom* is a powerful exposure of Ibsen's principles and ultimate aims. A play of Björnson's, *Over Ævne*,—i.e. *Ultra Vires*,—was challenged by Brochmann as subversive of Christianity, and his exhaustive critique was so persuasive and convincing that no theatrical manager in Norway dare place the piece upon the stage, although it has been produced in other lands. But perhaps his best known work is *Present Day Pictures of the Norwegian Church*, which we have seen nothing to equal, for grasp of the salient points, characterisation of the leading personalities, and lucid, interesting style. In *Biskop Dr A. Chr. Bang* Brochmann portrays the present Primate of Norway, and introduces us to a charming personality whose life and work have been of great value to the National Church. It is a model biographical sketch; the language choice, the style vigorous and clear, and the presentation of the various incidents excellent. We obtain a capital idea of the character of the man, the scholar, the professor, and the ecclesiastic; and we are shown the influences that combined to make him what he is, and the influence in turn that Bishop Bang has exerted on the Norwegian Church and his native land.

What a varied life the Norwegian Primate's has been! He sprang from the humblest position, fought his way on in spite of manifold difficulties and hindrances, and first came to the fore by writing the *Life of Hans Nielsen Hauge*, the Norwegian Wesley. It was a daring book for a young priest to write, because Hauge had been persecuted by the leaders of the Church, and his views were most unpopular among bigoted Churchmen. But Bang won sympathy for Hauge from an unwilling host. He brought thereby a healthier life into the Church; he secured approval for some of Hauge's methods; and Norwegian Home Missionary zeal to-day is altogether due to the right appreciation of the humble peasant and his self-sacrificing work. Bang from this beginning took up the study of the Church history of his country and soon became acknowledged as the authority on the subject. He was eventually appointed Professor of Church History at the National University, and became a D.D. when there were only two in the land. Thereafter Bang was selected as Minister of State for the Church, a position for which he was eminently fitted,—perhaps specially because he had ever held himself aloof from party politics,—but one which he could hardly have coveted, considering the unsettled state of affairs in the country and the surety that, when the stop-gap Government was thrown out, he would find the door of the University closed

against him. Two years later the deluge came, and the ex-Minister could obtain no better post than that of curate in Trinity Church, Christiania. But when the sudden death of Bishop Bugge created a vacancy in the ancient and historic Metropolitan See the friends of Dr Bang were in the position to secure his appointment, and he was translated from the curacy to the primacy, from humble service in the National Church to its place of highest influence and power. Many a "Life" has been spoiled by a well-meaning biographer's incompetence; but we lay down Brochmann's book with regret, and only wish it had been longer; it could hardly have been better than it is.

2. It is over two (April 1897) years since a volume from Dr Horn's pen was noticed in the *Critical Review*, and we are pleased to renew acquaintance with him in these lectures. Horn is a veritable dungeon of erudition and a voluminous author equally at home in philosophical and theological subjects ranging from the "Significance of Periodicity in Herbert Spencer," to a handbook for catechumens and a volume of popular sermons.

In *Tro og Tænkning* he endeavours to set forth the relation between faith and thought. Between faith and knowledge he holds there is no clearly defined distinction. When we read, "I know that my redeemer liveth," or, "We know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, etc," the knowledge implied is only faith, confident faith. According to Horn the domain of faith is the invisible world, *e.g.*, God, angels, eternal life, spirit, etc. The domain of thought is the world of the senses, *i.e.*, all we see or perceive in any other way; therefore all exact research, even where a language of symbols may be largely employed, as in parts of psychology, ethics or higher mathematics, belongs to the domain of thought. The ordinary man who, with a healthy happy instinct, determines the relation between faith and thought, between the supersensible and the sensible, declares that between them there can be no real conflict. And indeed such conflict as there is is between faith and false thought, or between thought and false faith—and on the border line where the sensible and supersensible meet, as in miracle and Christ, confusion may readily arise.

In the course of the book Dr Horn treats of the components of thought, evolution, life, organism, intuition, soul, personality, spirits, ethics, etc. Every point is well taken; every paragraph is well reasoned; all the illustrations are apt and reveal familiarity with the most varied fields of knowledge. But time after time the difficulty of distinguishing between faith and thought in certain domains is made manifest. Having fully set forth the great principles according to which he deems everything should be judged,

he leaves the reader to apply them and gives an example of how he proceeds.

He takes up prayer. Rationalists, he says, look upon prayer as a paradox, a self-contradiction. For what meaning is there in that I, an ignorant mortal, should in my prayer teach the omniscient God? Theologians of the old school say *Credo quia absurdum*; and cling all the same to prayer. If the question be looked at from the point of view of a mechanical, external relationship between God and man, the paradox is there. But if the relationship is regarded organically everything is changed. I am in God, but God is also in me. He is therefore in my prayer, and the paradox disappears, but not the mystery. For the organic is a riddle I do not solve. And the same holds true of *faith*. From a mechanical point of view faith is perfectly superfluous. For if Christ has paid all our debt what need have we of faith? And yet it is necessary. That is a paradox. But if the relation is regarded organically, the absurd and self-contradictory disappears. But the mystery does not disappear, since the living relation to Christ is itself a riddle. We regret to hear of Dr Horn's decease.

3. When a few years ago Bishop Dahle's *Livet efter Døden* (Life after Death) was noticed in the *Critical Review* (July 1895) and was thereafter translated and published, the book was acknowledged on every hand to be a fresh and valuable contribution to our theological literature. In *Verdens Ende* Dahle deals with a part of the same subject and might even have made this a section of his former book. It considers the end of the world from the point of view of Scripture, science, pagan and popular superstition, and "the calculations." He sets forth very clearly the limits of our knowledge and the reasons why there are mysteries which must remain so until the revelation is complete and God places the key in our hand. Our partial knowledge encourages faith and strengthens hope; as Christ said "These things have I told you that when the time shall come ye may remember that I told you of them."

Discussing the question of the When, which is generally more interesting than the How, he treats in order of the Gospel being first preached to all people, the conversion of the Jews, the great apostasy, Antichrist, the first resurrection, and the millennial kingdom. To us in Britain there is perhaps little that is quite fresh in the book; but it seems that in Norway very wild and insidious notions and errors have been promulgated, and the leaders of missionary enterprise have had so many subscriptions withdrawn "Because the end of all things is at hand" that some such book as this was needed to correct these errors. Dahle makes a strong point that many of the books of so-called Prophecy, dealing with the calculations of times

and seasons, are deliberately deceitful, written merely for the purpose of alarming people and so making money. He shows how such publications destroy reverence for God's Word, and become a stumbling block to many. For every calculation proved by the issue to be erroneous has excited the expectation of some who, when disappointed, lose faith not only in the false prophet but in the true Word of God; whilst scoffers make a mock at Christianity because some deluded souls have been making preparations for the end, which does not come. If this book, so sane and convincing, reaches the hands of those in danger of being thus misled, it is well calculated to restore their faith to proper channels and to give them right views of the things of the end.

4. Dahle's *Prophet Jonah* is a most interesting volume. Its author governs the whole missionary policy of the Norwegian Church; he spent long years, full of experience, in the mission field; the book in considerable part was written in Madagascar;—and it deals with Jonah as the first foreign missionary. We have a vivid account of Jonah's person and age, his task and mission. Some of the sections of the book are conceived in the highest spirit, and give us graphic glimpses of the prophet and his work. Especially is this the case when we see Jonah preaching repentance in Nineveh, and the prophet at the city gate. The chapters on the divine mercy and on Jonah as a type are equally admirable.

Occasionally one realises that distance from authorities, especially recent literature dealing with some of the phases of the history, has made the book less up-to-date than it might have been. In the case of the "whale" we are rather disappointed. Dahle points out that in the Mediterranean there are still fish that could swallow a man alive, but he says of the incident: "On the whole we cannot explain it. But who may say that we are bound to explain it if we will only believe it. The Bible sets it forth as a miracle; and to explain a miracle would be to conceive how it came about naturally and agreed with the ordinary laws of nature. Then it would be no miracle. This miracle is not one whit more inexplicable than the others in the Bible—than the three princes unconsumed in the furnace, or Lazarus coming forth alive, having been four days in the tomb."

The most apt and powerful chapter of all is just the one Dahle is best fitted to write—Jonah as a preacher to the Church interested in missions and to its missionaries—a chapter all too short, but still too long for more than simple indication here.

5. *The Claim of the Bible on our Age* is a most timely volume. We note that the book is published in Denmark. That is partly

because the author is as well known to the Danes as to his fellow-countrymen, and partly because the lectures which comprise the volume were delivered in Copenhagen. Dr Bugge, a cousin of the late Primate of Norway, is one of the clearest thinkers of the Norwegian Church. The national University is very sparing of its degrees, especially of the Divinity Doctorate. There are only six D.D.'s in the country, and Bugge is one of them. If this volume is a fair specimen of his theology and scholarship, his critical acumen and independence of thought, his confidence, courage, and grace of style, we freely acknowledge his title to wear the doctor's hat. His other most important works are a large volume, *The Paradoxes in the Teaching of Jesus Christ*, and a shorter, *The Parables of Jesus Christ*, a valuable contribution towards the solution of the main problems of the parables of our Lord.

In this book Bugge shows that the Old Lutheran doctrine of verbal inspiration does not agree with the Bible, and that it creates more difficulties than it removes. He shows how Christianity is ever changing. In order to be eternal it must be changing. In a world which is subject to the law of development that which is unchanging may no doubt exist, but it has ceased to live. He shows the gradual nature of revelation in scripture, how provisional enactments gradually became of universal application. Christ came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it, yet He trespassed the conventional injunctions, *e.g.*, the Sabbath command. Why? Just because He came to fulfil, to show that the principles of the law must be permitted to expand fully. Some injunctions bear on them the stamp of universal truths, *e.g.*, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye also so unto them." None of Christ's own words have required to be set aside by reason of the demands of a newer age. Christ only preached principles. Beginning with the absolutely inspired revelation given by the Messiah, Dr Bugge traces the character of the inspiration of Holy Writ, showing how holy men of old wrote as they were moved. But they did not write as if they were shorthand reporters. They were called to do certain work and they did their best with the materials at their disposal. Hence the weaknesses and frailties of their characters, education, environment and age, are all reproduced, and make God's Word in some respects more valuable than it would have been had it come to us written by His own hand or to His immediate dictation.

In the latter portion of the book our author treats of Paul's social programme. Christianity arose as a radical opposition to Judaism as it existed in Christ's day. Christianity was a transition from a religion of law to a religion of liberty. "Where the spirit of the Lord is there is liberty." He explains how many progressive ideas have had their best champions among freethinkers, although

the ideas were created both logically and historically by Christianity, and modern Christians had forgotten how the ideas had been burned into history by many a martyr fire. It is the part of true Christians to discern the right and the divine. The social programme of Christianity is far from exhausted. Bugge then takes up and applies to the present day the principles set forth by Paul in his programme, "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for all are one in Christ Jesus." Here, he says, we have the contrast between the old and the new. Slavery — the difference between the members of society; woman's position — the difference between the sexes; national pride — the difference between nations. These are the topics round which he gathers thoughts worthy of careful consideration by all Christians, showing how far short we fall of the programme prepared for us nineteen centuries ago.

The provisional, he points out, will always have its place, for it springs from that which is imperfect. The imperfect is a result of sin, and sin we must always fight against. But so long as the principle lives, the development goes forward and the good wins ever greater and greater victories, until the prophecy of the cradle song of Christianity is fulfilled, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill towards men."

JNO. BEVERIDGE.

### **1. Baptism, its Mode and Subjects.**

*By Rev. W. J. Lowe, M.A. Londonderry: Nisbet & Co. Pp. 200. Price,* .

### **2. The Calls of God: Devotional Studies.**

*Rev. Ebenezer Morgan. Chas. H. Kelly. Pp. 348. Price,* .

### **3. A Primer of Free Church History.**

*By A. Johnson Evans, M.A. H. R. Allenson. Pp. 140. Price, 2s. 6d.*

### **4. Religion.**

*By Rev. Canon Newbolt. Longmans, Green & Co. Pp. 301. Price, 5s.*

1. THIS work consists of eleven lectures. The first four are on the Mode of Baptism; six deal with the subjects of Baptism: the fifth lecture is the transition from the one division to the other. There is an Appendix on βαπτίζω in the Classics and in the LXX and the Apocrypha. The book is amply indexed.

The lectures are published just as they were delivered in the ordinary course of the writer's ministry. That is risky even where necessary slight alterations have been made; in this case certain phrases, quite permissible in oral delivery, have been allowed to stand in printed form when all justification for purely local and transient allusion has been removed. In a brief preface the author explains that the sermons have been published because of many and "representative" requests. It is sometimes best to resist such entreaty.

There is a laborious fulness of detail hardly needing publication to-day. Indeed, the book might have been published any time this last fifty years, so far as timeliness is to be ascribed to it. There is no evidence that the author is aware of any change in the bearings of his problem during that period. The book is not modern; it is strangely antiquated in style as well as in matter. That a treatise on this subject could come from the desk of an English-speaking author and ignore what is the chief element of its interest and importance to-day in Evangelical Christendom seems strange; but that is what appears to us to be the case with this volume.

The author is, of course, entitled to think it necessary to restate the arguments for and against Infant and Adult Baptism, Baptism by sprinkling and by immersion. He is of course better qualified to judge of the necessity for the particular district of the country first reached by the sermons preached and reported. We doubt his judgment in feeling any necessity for such a restatement in the wider range which a volume like this might be thought to reach; although upon such a restatement being required we should impose the condition that it be freshly done and in terms of contemporary life and thought. The first authority cited by our author is Dr Carson, who was ordained in 1798. That is symptomatic of the work as a whole. "May I venture to say for the benefit of any student who may be here, that there is a most scholarly and exhaustive and conclusive discussion of . . . the whole question of the mode of Baptism in an article by Professor Moses Stuart in the *Biblical Repository* for April 1833!" This is spoken less than twelve months ago.

Not that more recent authorities are unmentioned. The names of Godet, Beet, Edwards are to be found; but the reader will find much greater deference paid to a work entitled *Classic Baptism* by Dr J. W. Dale (U.S. of America).

The work suffers from a style or tone which, whether suitable for controversial oratory or not, is certainly unsuitable on the printed page and with a different auditory. There is something lacking in a sentence like the following: "No one



who has even the ordinary instincts of an ordinary student, not to speak of the enlightened instincts of an enlightened student of Holy Scripture, will be guilty of the barbarity of arbitrarily ruling the past out of Court in a case in which the past is directly concerned, and of refusing the light which the past cannot be kept from giving. . . ."

We believe the times require us to go beyond the considerations favouring or conflicting with the Baptist position, and to consider the significance of attitude resulting on either side. It is not to disparage, nor is it to offer delay to, the union among the Churches which is so much in the thoughts and prayers of Christian people at the present time, to recognise where formidable barriers lie, and where passage is safe. A barrier really formidable lies here. We may agree that Baptists are not more faithful to their own view in regard to this sacrament than their fellow-Christians who hold the opposite view, though they attach a significance to it, and are tenacious of its significance beyond their opponents. The significance really amounts to being sacramentarian. A mere remnant of sacramentarianism some may deem it; but it is vital with even the open Baptist, and is an essential factor in any movement towards real unity of the Church of Christ. In regard to this, which we deem the most pressing issue of the problem Mr Lowe has elected to discuss, we should have welcomed any helpful contribution he might have made.

2. This is a volume of sermons. They are plain sermons, spoken to the people. They attempt nothing beyond a forcible application of evangelical religion. They often put familiar truths freshly and impressively. They are earnest, practical addresses to an average English Methodist congregation. All the subjects are personal ones. Adam is the first; Abraham, Moses and others follow to the number of sixteen or seventeen altogether. The precise number depends upon including one sermon different from the rest. It is entitled "Two Disciples," and is founded on Matt. viii. 19-22, and is obviously personal in quite a different way from the rest of the book. This is the only unity in the work.

The treatment varies considerably. As the writer says, some are topical, some are textual. He is freest and most telling in the topical treatment. In exegesis he is safe and sound, never venturing so far as on any original reading of his text.

That is the limitation of the book. It is not original beyond honesty and earnestness. There is no vision. Occasionally a page is lighted up by a touch of imagination or picturesqueness. Illustrative matter is scattered over his pages. Sometimes a quotation is handled with telling effect, but no theme lifts him into the heavens of prophecy and power.

They are devotional studies, and any one desiring a book that will encourage devotional energy without postulating a little hard thinking on the readers' part, might profitably make use of Mr Morgan's volume.

3. English Free Church life does not foster pride of glorious ancestry as the English Established Church is so successful in doing. "Churchman" cannot be pronounced by an Episcopalian without an accent of his glorious heritage. The sense of heritage is sedulously cultivated. Rare is the sermon of that Church where the appeal to her high and glorious ancestry is not conveyed. All this the Free Churches appear to eschew. Only spasmodic reference is made to an ancestry certainly not less glorious and thrilling. With the consequence which is natural that the sense of noble heritage is not general, and the Free Church life in England proportionately impoverished.

It is not uncommon for Free Churchmen to decry the success of this appeal within the Episcopal Church, and to affect superiority to all such adventitious pride of stock. Is not this a fine essence of bigotry, seriously despoiling young Free Churchmen of needed and legitimate spiritual power? Happily signs are not wanting that opinion is setting away from this ecclesiastical prudery. Some of the ablest leaders in the younger generation, alive to the gravity of the situation, are doing all they can to touch the imagination of the Churches with the glory of their descent. The late Dr Berry did splendid but exhausting service in this cause.

It is a heroic and deeply-moving story. When arrayed against a powerful and long-established State Church, it is true the splendid courage and enduring steadfastness of Free Church martyrs may not have appeared to their own contemporaries virtues destined to grateful and reverent admiration; but when regarded by posterity in their true place in the advancing Kingdom of God, they stand out as burning and shining lights, lighting the way of the Church of God.

"The author looks forward," Mr Johnson Evans tells us, "to the advent of a sound history of the Free Churches as a whole, written by a scholar imbued with the modern historical spirit, yet enthusiastic enough to present to the world the inner meaning of British Nonconformity."

This is Mr Evans' own description of the need to-day, and is evidence that he has insight into the true condition of Free Church life at the present time. It would have been a real pleasure to have been able to speak in appreciative terms of the way in which he has sought to meet the situation. But we miss much. Complete success is perhaps more than could be expected of the pioneer;

but it would be excessive to say more than that he has rightly diagnosed the case, and his own failure lends emphasis to the conditions of success. That he is himself partly conscious of this is apparent, when he says, "This method of writing"—avoiding *ex parte* statements—"deprives the reader of some of that glow which comes from the perusal of books that are more partisan, but the loss is surely compensated by the increased historical sense," &c.

Yes, indeed ; but, to our regret, the historical sense is not present to compensate ; and there is no glowing page from board to board. It is a lame, halting book. Historical accuracy may be made good in particular sections of the work, but we have no doubt what must be the verdict upon the author who, even in a primer, can write history to this tune—

"The influx of Scotsmen into England has given rise to another body"—in the present day—"the Presbyterian Church of England, consisting partly, specially in the North of England, of old Presbyterian Churches, dating from the seventeenth century, and partly of new churches formed mainly to meet the requirements of young Scotsmen migrating southwards. It is in communion with the Free Church of Scotland" (p. 123). What do native-trained English Presbyterians think of that ? What does Dr John Watson think of it ?

4. Messrs Longmans are issuing, under the editorial care of Revs. Canon Newbolt and F. E. Brightman, a series of works on practical theology. The aim of the series is to translate the solid theological learning of the schools into the vernacular of every-day practical religion. The name given to the series is the Oxford Library—a name not without significance as to the general attitude of the contributors. Canon Knox Little and Bishop Wall of Vermont, are among the early contributors. It is a project to be welcomed heartily on the part of all the churches in England. Discussion will of course be due whenever the scientific spirit is sacrificed for denominational interests or limitations. Whatever will make the general Christian public better informed theologically and more disposed to independent reflection will be a substantial gain to the religious life of England. How great the disparity in regard to theological knowledge between educated people in England and in Scotland !

The present volume is the first of the series. Canon Newbolt has set an unfortunate example. This is not theology. It is talk somewhat discursive, very diffuse. He writes not as a student but rather as a partisan. He might have translated the relative data of Theology ; he might have given spirited paraphrases making them burs on the conscience : and, in either case, he might have

added denominational finger-posts for the guidance of his special audience. That would have been a real stimulus to thought, and a substantial increase to popular knowledge. But we suspect the editors do not indeed contemplate giving any considerable authority to reason, their wish being indeed rather to buttress the authority of the Church so far as theology can be pressed into that service. The subject is mapped out as follows—we give our own description not the author's table: Religion must be dogmatic. Life must approximate belief and the ideal is high. Expression is given to religion in worship and character. Divine help is provided in atonement and in the Church. The author accepts as definition of his subject "Religion is essentially a relation towards a person," and then proceeds to fill out the definition in accordance with his own ecclesiastical belief.

"Men talk sometimes as if a Church could be constituted simply by Christians coming together and uniting themselves into one body for the purpose. Men speak as if Christians came first and the Church after; as if the origin of the Church was in the wills of individual Christians who composed it. But, on the contrary, throughout the teaching of the apostles we see that it is the Church that comes first and the members of it afterwards" (p. 231).

" 'Video meliora proboque  
Deteriora sequor' "

floated mournfully in the breeze over the wreckage of life, as a melancholy tribute to the power of irresistible heredity. And knowing this, He instituted at the very forefront of this scheme"—*sc.* Dogmatic Religion—"the sacrament of baptism. . . . Baptism is the initial force which is brought to bear on a soul by nature born in sin" (p. 66).

There is some vigorous and even striking writing in the book. One such passage we had marked on p. 208. The series, we trust, will improve with the later volumes, for there is no doubt in our mind of the service possible on such a plan.

### **Religion in Greek Literature: a sketch in outline. The Gifford Lectures, St Andrews, 1894, 1895.**

*By Lewis Campbell, M.A., LL.D., Emeritus Professor of Greek in the University of St Andrews. London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans Green & Co., 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. 423. Price, 15s.*

THE Gifford Lectures already published are of many sorts and various degrees of merit. Professor Campbell's contribution is quite out of the line of anything we have yet got in the series. His

subject is a fascinating one and one with which the author is pre-eminently fitted to deal. The result is a charming volume, which will be enjoyed by a much wider circle of readers than are the usual Gifford Lectures. For the man of average culture is interested in anything concerning the wonderful people of Greece and knows a fair amount about their history, and from him these chapters, written as they are in a more or less popular style, and without too obvious a display of erudition, will receive a cordial welcome. The book, it need hardly be said, is the fruit of ripe scholarship and is notable for breadth of view, and intelligent sympathy with the Hellenic spirit. But while all this is so, one lays down the volume with a feeling akin to disappointment. It is not as great a book as we had looked for. Perhaps we expected too much, but some of its faults could easily have been corrected. Without making it less readable—indeed with the opposite effect—the author might have greatly increased the value of the work by giving in many places more illustrative quotations, and all through the volume accurate references should have been rigidly given. If the demands of space are pleaded in excuse, the answer is that there might have been more condensation in other parts, such as in the historical and political surveys. But as a matter of fact the subject was worthy of a bigger volume. Perhaps the limitations of size are also accountable for the fact that the earlier authors seem to be treated with more thoroughness than the later. So far as the direct subject of the volume is concerned, Homer, Hesiod, and Pindar are discussed with a fulness out of all proportion to that given to the dramatists and Plato. Then, again, the argument is not always arranged in the clearest way possible, and indeed at the end of most of the chapters the author tries to bring together for his readers the broken threads by means of summaries, which should have been quite unnecessary. But it must be admitted that difficulties abound, and Professor Campbell has moved through these with a conspicuous degree of sound judgment. This is perhaps the great excellence of the book: Professor Campbell is not led away by any particular school of theorists, but considers every problem with an independent and well-balanced mind. One can only wish that he may see his way to recast and extend this “sketch in outline” and so give us some future day a really great work on “the contribution of Hellas to the spiritual inheritance of humanity.”

It is to be noted that it is the most advanced thought of each period, the attitude of the great literary geniuses of Greece towards spiritual things, that is the subject of Professor Campbell's study. Folklore, the religion of the common people, the fascinating subject of origins, concern him little. Mythology and ritual are introduced only with the view of showing how they “reacted on the higher

minds of Hellas as reflected in classical Greek literature." He disclaims any intention of entering into competition with such books as Mr Farnell's "Cults of the Greek States" and Mr Fraser's "Pausanias." If, however, he often seems to overstep this rigid limitation of himself, no one will grudge him the space, for there is always much wisdom in his remarks. His first fifty pages are devoted to speculations about pre-historic religion, the state of pre-Homeric Hellas, the traces of primitive worships, and on all such subjects he has something interesting to say. He reminds us of the essential sameness of human nature, and cautions us not too readily to "connect developments on Grecian soil with similar appearances in Babylonia, Phygia or Egypt." He lays great stress on the due recognition of the guiding principle of the "contamination of worships," i.e. the influence exercised by the religion of the conquered on that of the conquering people. A good example is the case of the Dodonæan Zeus, where the old deity was retained with many of his old attributes, but was consecrated afresh by the conquerors and imbued with a new spirit.

In historic times two factors are noted by Professor Campbell as having an enormous influence in the development of Greek religious thought, and as contributing much both to the value and to the interest of the study. The first of these is the earnestness of the Greek himself. The Greek is often but quite erroneously pictured merely as a lover of the beauty and the happiness of life. But his, in fact, was an intensely religious spirit, with vague mystical yearnings, surging beneath the outward serenity. "The Greeks made life beautiful, not because they were self-pleasers but because they believed in Gods who cared for human perfection." The other potent factor was the liberty of thought enjoyed by the Greek. "From first to last Greece was the home of spiritual freedom." Although religious and secular history are nowhere more closely bound together, no priesthood ever dominated Hellas, and worship never became merely a stereotyped tradition.

It is impossible to do more here than indicate the main steps in the ascent from Homer's childish fancies to the colossal heights of Plato's contemplations. With all his inconsistencies, due to the non-reflective character of his age and mind, Homer is considerably advanced in his theology and ethics. He is at heart fully conscious that 'all men have need of the Gods.' But the Gods are regarded in two aspects, at one time as vague omnipotence, and at another only as magnified human personalities, often swayed by caprice and passion. Zeus may have very human quarrels with Hera, but he is also the supreme deity. "His supremacy, sometimes hardly distinguishable from destiny, is the most definite theological conception in the Iliad." His righteousness, however, is not so clear. Again

the great ideas of Destiny, Fate, Nemesis are taking shape. His moral code, when compared with modern standards, is simple and deficient, and the ethical vocabulary is very meagre; but the *Iliad* is full of "a morality of feeling which in many ways anticipates the most refined ethical determinations." In some points the *Odyssey* shows an advance on the *Iliad*: for instance justice and self-control in a man are more admired and Olympus, the dwelling-place of the Gods, is a more abstract conception. Professor Campbell notes two strange omissions in Homer. In the Homeric pantheon which he describes in detail, there is no mention of Demeter and Dionysus, whose worship was so influential in Attic times, and again there is little or no trace of hero-worship. These cults must have been established long before Homer's time, and Professor Campbell suggests very plausible explanations for their absence. Homer's audience of proud warriors, whom he sang to please, cared little for the simple village celebrations of Demeter and Dionysus, and, again, as Homer was depicting the very heroes themselves in the full vigour of their life, artistic demands prevented any allusion to their subsequent worship.

Hesiod is a complete contrast: his manner is subjective and didactic, and his environment one of gloom. But he exhibits an even deeper consciousness of man's dependence on superhuman agencies. The idea of justice is firmer but the gods are not yet free from caprice. A distinct step is indicated in the attempt, however childish, to construct a detailed theogony. "The question has occurred to the mind of the age, How did the gods come to be? and this was a first step towards universal speculation about nature and its cause or author."

After a survey of the great political and intellectual development in Greater Hellas during the 7th and 6th centuries, when law was gradually coming to the front in civic life, and philosophy was born to be a growing menace to mythology, Professor Campbell gives a chapter on Pindar and Herodotus. A significant fact is the growing use of general terms for the divine agent. Even in the *Odyssey* θεός is used sometimes without any very particular reference, and in Pindar the generalised use is more frequent. Herodotus goes still further: he is the first to use such abstract terms as τὸ θεῖον or τὸ δαιμόνιον, a distinct step, as Professor Campbell holds, towards a worthier conception of divine action. But the divine government is still far from being a righteous government. Man's success in itself is sufficient to provoke the envy and wrath of the gods. It is in Aeschylus first that we get the deeper thought that, not success, but the insolent pride that springs from success is the cause of God's anger and man's overthrow. Pindar's great glory, of course, is his grand conception of a blessed immortality. Hades

in Homer is a cheerless place of strengthless shades: even in Aeschylus the dead are not spoken of as blessed. But Pindar sings in noble strains of a judge in the under world from whose sentence there is no reprieve, and of a life reserved for the good, exempt from care and toil, cheered ever by the sun and enriched by communion with the gods.

After the repulse of the Medæ, interest centres in Athens. Some interesting chapters on the effect of the Persian war on Greece, Attic worships and festivals, and the Mysteries prepare the way for a consideration of the great Athenians. The importance of Orphism and its relation to Pythagoreanism are carefully discussed, and its distinctly elevating influence is insisted on. The belief in immortality and the idea of personal holiness are its two great contributions to religion. This brings us to the birth of Tragedy and the mighty figure of Aeschylus. Prof. Campbell's treatment of the great tragedians is hardly satisfactory: from him one had looked for a much more detailed study. The bones of a good Essay are here, and that is all that can be said. Aeschylus and Sophocles still clung devoutly to the old faith, though struggling earnestly with the great problems involved from somewhat different points of view. In Aeschylus, the more original, with his profound conviction of the divine righteousness, we get a higher note than occurs in any of his predecessors. Amidst all the seeming contradictions of life he displays a sublime confidence in the ultimate victory of good over evil. Man is in great measure the maker of his destiny. Again his picture of Zeus, the supreme deity, seems almost inspired. The supremacy of the eternal laws of holiness and purity, the breach of which involved inevitable calamity, is Sophocles' theme. The conception of the state after death has now undergone a radical change. In Homer the body in the tomb is the man and only a shade flits underground, but in Sophocles it is the person himself, retaining all his affections and relationships, that passes beneath. But now at last Athens was becoming permeated with the philosophic questionings that had arisen earlier in Magna Graecia and Sicily, where Xenophanes had rejected anthropomorphism, and Heraclitus had derided bloody sacrifice. Though these thinkers were no mere scoffers but in reality deeply religious men, the effect of their teaching was to undermine the old faith and give the common people nothing in its place. In the orators who reflect the common mind, a note of insincerity is to be detected on all sides in their references to the old religion. Euripides is a sceptic but his scepticism may be taken too seriously, for it must be remembered that the stage had now become a place of amusement rather than instruction, and Euripides thus felt the tyranny of the audience in a way unknown to his predecessors.



Here and there in his plays occur flashes of clear insight and deep faith which may be accepted as his truest thoughts. It was into the midst of this atmosphere of unrest and doubt, charged with immense intellectual energy, that Socrates came with his religious vocation and new method of inquiry. The chapters on the great teacher and on his still greater pupil are well done, and illustrative quotations are freely made from Plato's dialogues in regard to the great doctrine of immortality. As Prof. Campbell says, "What is peculiar to Plato is not the assertion of a life of the soul after death, but rather the identification of soul with mind. This places the idea of immortality on a new footing. For on the condition of the soul in its relation to truth and righteousness depends her state of blessedness now and hereafter." The moral nature of God is conceived by Plato as absolutely good and true: envy and falsehood are alien to Him and He can be the author of no evil. He is perfect and unchangeable and omnipotent. "Such views of the divine nature are far in advance of any earlier theology; indeed, it may be questioned if much that has been called theology in later times might not bear to be revised by Plato's rules."

We have now reached the summit of Greek thought, and with a few remarks on Aristotle and subsequent developments this interesting book comes to a close, leaving only a regret, as was said at first, that it is not longer and more complete. Readers will agree with Prof. Campbell that a study of this nature helps to invigorate and even to purify traditional Christianity.

J. L. SALMOND.

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### Christliche Ethik.

*Von Julius Köstlin, Dr Theol., jur., et phil. Professor und Oberconsistorialrat in Halle. Berlin: Verlag von Reuther und Reichard; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. viii. 699. Price, 10s.*

FEW men can have ventured the production of a standard work on Christian Ethics with ampler qualifications than Professor Julius Köstlin, of the University of Halle. He is best known, indeed, by his *Life of Luther* and his work on *Luther's Theology*; but apart from the indirect preparation necessitated by writing such treatises as *Der Glaube, sein Wesen, Grund und Gegenstand, seine Bedeutung für Erkennen, Leben und Kirche* (Faith, its Nature, Ground, and Object, its Significance for Knowledge, Life, and Church), 1859, of which *Der Glaube, und seine Bedeutung für Erkenntniss, Leben und Kirche*, published in 1895, is a thorough re-cast; *Die Begründung unsrer sittlich-religiösen Ueberzeugung*

(The Basis of our Ethico-religious Convictions), 1893; and *Religion und Reich Gottes* (Religion and the Kingdom of God), 1894, he has regularly lectured on the subject since 1862, and at intervals published dissertations on such kindred themes as "The Moral Law," "Religion and Morality," "Right, the State and the Church," "The Problems of Ethics and the most recent Discussions thereof."

The interests both of author and reader will, I think, be best consulted if I first of all indicate the line of treatment followed in Professor Köstlin's work, by a brief summary of the table of contents.

An introductory chapter describes the scope of the inquiry, defines the relation of Ethics to Dogmatics, and of *Christian* to Philosophical Ethics, besides touching on other preliminary points. What follows is divided into two great parts, of which the *First* is devoted to The Presuppositions and Bases of the Christian-moral Life, to wit, The Moral Capabilities (Conscience, Will, the Moral vocation in general); Sin; The Saving Revelation of God, in the Old and New Testaments. The *Second* great part consists of *two main divisions*, the *first* of which, A, is headed, "*The Christian Moral Life as the Life of the Inner Man in Fellowship with God*," and embraces two sections, *one* devoted to "The Initiation of the New Life by Conversion and the New Birth," in the course of which the Relation between Penitence and Faith, Enlightenment and Awakening, is discussed; *a second* to "The Further Inner Life of the Converted Man," in the course of which are discussed, (1) Essential nature and character of the New Life (Faith, Love, Hope); (2) The temporal course of the New Life (New Sins and New Penitence); (3) Acts of inner self-collection which appertain to the New Life (Prayer, Asceticism, Vows); (4) Ethical Good in the New Life regarded from the points of view of Virtue, Law and Duty, The supreme Good (The Kingdom of God and Eternal Life). The *second main division*, B, headed "*The Christian-moral Life as Life in this World*," is sub-divided into four *sections*, the *first* of which gives a "General View of the Life"; the *second* treats of "The Life as that solely of the Individual," under the following heads: (1) Self-maintenance (Suicide); (2) The Chief Sides of Human Nature (Body, Soul, Spirit); (3) Moral duties to one's own body and soul; (4) Moral duties to one's *natural* and personal environment; (5) Relaxation and Pleasure; (6) Relation to God in one's World-life. The *third section* treats of "Social Life and the Conduct of Persons towards each other," under the heads, (1) Respect and Love; (2) Truthfulness; (3) Love of one's neighbour as regards his inner life; (4) Social Life in relation to Property; (5) Social Life in relation to Vocation; (6) External Social Organi-

zation (Law, Punishment, etc.); (7) The Individual as related to himself in Society (Self-defence, Duelling); (8) Relation to God in Society (Oaths). The *fourth section* treats of the four chief forms of social relationship under the following heads: (1) The Family (Marriage, Divorce); (2) Nationality (Friendship, Acquaintance, Social Intercourse, Clubs, Customs, Fashions); (3) The State (Functions, Constitution, Authority, International Relations, War, Patriotism); (4) The Church (Nature, Specific Functions, Organization, Relation to the State, Divisions).

The use of the work is greatly facilitated by a complete Table of Contents, and very full Indices both of subjects and passages of Scripture more or less fully explained.

Professor Köstlin's treatment of ethical questions is, with slight exceptions, characterised by insight, breadth, and judiciousness. Such difficult subjects as counsels of perfection in distinction from positive duties or commands; of *Adiaphora* or supposed matters of indifference; of recreation and pleasure; of necessities and luxuries; of poverty and wealth; of duels; of gambling; of lies, which seem or are unavoidable—are touched with mingled delicacy and firmness. His style and method cannot be said to be brilliant; his readers will not be carried on rapidly, and for the moment fancy that they have got the solutions of all sorts of problems in their hands; but they will be made to think, and they will be brought face to face with principles which they can apply for themselves. Some probably will think the author heavy and roundabout; his heaviness, however, is rather weight, and his seeming roundaboutness is the result of a constant effort to look at the points in hand from all sides—to do justice to everyone of them.

Occasion for criticism will be chiefly found in the Introduction, in the First Main Division, and in the first part of the Second Main Division.

The Introduction bristles with problems both formal and material—*e.g.* The relation of Ethics to Dogmatics, of Christian to Philosophical Ethics; the distinction between Ethics and theories of Art; the contrast between Roman Catholicism and the Evangelical Church as to Ethics; the Sources and Norms of Ethics. But no attempt is made at an adequate discussion of any one of them.

The question to which the author gives most space is that of the relation between Philosophical and Christian Ethics, though, owing partly to the critical and hypothetical mode of touching it, one is left in doubt as to his own view. He makes no attempt to deal in a general way with Roman Catholic ethics as distinguished from that of the Evangelical Church, though this is just a point on which the reasoned judgment of one who is so steeped in the spirit of the

Reformation and so judicial-minded would have been of special value. He does enter on the subject in connection with various details in the course of his work ; but one would have welcomed a discussion of the general principles of the two systems.

In dealing with the vexed question of the relation of Christian to Philosophical Ethics—to a brief notice of which I must restrict what I have further to say—he starts with an inquiry into the sources whence we derive ethical truths. With regard to these, he says: "The present treatise on Christian Ethics, produced as it is by a member of the Evangelical or Protestant Church, is controlled by the conviction that in this Church and its Confession of Faith and Doctrines, the fundamental principles of a Christian-ethical life and of the divine will relating thereto, as well as the fundamental truths of the faith relating to God Himself, to His revelation of love and His saving work, are correctly grasped and truly apprehended." At the same time, though the author would thus seem to be pledged to accommodate his exposition to the deliverances of this Church, it must not be forgotten, he remarks, that for light on ethical principles this Church itself points him to the divine revelation given through our Lord and Saviour Christ, and to the Holy Scriptures in which that revelation has been deposited ; nay more, it requires him to test its own teachings by those of Christ and Scripture.

Still further, as an Evangelical Christian, he is not merely permitted but bound to hold that ethical truth consists not of commands which have to be blindly obeyed, but of such as commend themselves intrinsically to the human heart and conscience—commands which man pronounces right even when they conflict with his inclinations. In other words, the true Christian is aided by the Holy Spirit working within him, clearly and certainly to recognise as verily true not only the truths of Christianity generally, but Christian ethical truth in particular.

At the same time, that which we thus owe to revelation and which finds an echo in our innermost being, may and should be made the object of a specifically intellectual examination ; its inner connections and relations should be investigated ; efforts should be put forth to understand it.

If the Christian Ethicist owes ethical truth to these sources—i.e. to the Church, to Revelation, to intuition, and to the scientific reason ; if they furnish him with the norms by which conduct is to be judged and the proofs with which he has to work, whence is the Philosophical Ethicist to derive them ?

It is held by some that Philosophical Ethics draws its principles, tasks, ideals, etc., purely from the nature and constitution of man by the means of purely rational processes. Reason itself, it is said,

prescribes the laws for the activity of the human will on nature and for the ordering of the relations of men to each other.

But at this point the question is legitimately raised, What are we to understand by *reason*? Of what nature are the intellectual activities which are designed to be summed up in the term? Is a thinking meant of the Hegelian kind which proceeds *à priori*, which develops and builds up its content out of itself? Or one that rests on intuitions, feelings, immediate sense, and therefore makes no pretence of logical proof? Or is it one which tries to arrive at general truths and supreme principles from sensuous experience, and recognises only material realities as truly real? Besides, the philosophical thought of the present day is by no means agreed as to the nature of man, as to that which is of the highest value to him, and as to how this highest is to be secured its proper place in the life of individuals and societies.

Equally diverse are the ethical systems which philosophical or would-be philosophical thinkers have developed from the premises alluded to.

Besides, the Christian may fairly urge that, even though the business of evolving the ethical principles interwoven with the original nature of man and the cosmos were assigned to philosophy, a systematic presentation of ethical principles in the modified form given to them by the redemptive revelation of God, in other words, as modified by sin, would still be necessary.

The author indicates—and only *indicates*—what seems to be his own view of the relation between Christian and Philosophical Ethics in the following hypothetical form. If the fundamental questions of knowledge and the real principles of the entire material and spiritual spheres in their relation to each other, are considered with all the exactitude that befits philosophy; and if further equally careful efforts are put forth under the constant guidance of logical law to understand the specific nature of the ethical as revealed in our own inner experiences and in the facts of human history, will the thinker not be driven to confess the necessity of a higher, illuminating, redeeming activity of God and the actuality of the Christian redemptive revelation, that too without at all surrendering his claim to the honour of proceeding philosophically? Will he not have to allow that the moral light which is presupposed and sought in the constitution and essential nature of man, shines nowhere beyond the limits of Christendom? But if these things are true, what becomes of the assumed antithesis between the two forms of Ethics? Is not Philosophical Ethics, in that case, identical with Christian Ethics? And will not its differentia consist solely in the attempt made to link ethical truth on to the general principles of thought and being?

I am not quite sure that I rightly grasp the author's exceedingly general and highly compressed hints and suggestions, but they seem, if not to point towards, at all events to find a legitimate interpretation and unification, in some such position as the one of which the following are the chief features. If so, I venture to express my regret that Professor Köstlin should have judged it beyond his province to sketch in outline the main features of the view that hovered before his mind. He would have done something to make clear and narrow an issue of no slight importance, not only theoretical but practical.

The real source of the difference between Philosophical and Christian Ethics will prove to be a difference of general view of the world (*Weltanschauung*).<sup>1</sup>

Ethics after all is the science of man's relations so far as they are under his conscious free control, in other words, his properly personal relations. But personal relations like all other relations, presuppose a system of beings related to each other. As the beings so the relations; as the personal beings so the personal or ethical relations.

If the system to which man belongs is self-contained and complete without God, then an Ethics which deals with man solely as related to nature and to his fellowmen is the only possible, the only true Ethics; and if the method pursued in the construction of such a system, that is, if the method by which the ethical relations of man are ascertained and concatenated is scientific or philosophical a system of Philosophical Ethics will be the outcome. Any other system of Ethics would be undeserving of the name.

But if the system to which man belongs embraces the living God; and if man is constituted for personal relations between God and himself; clearly an Ethics that takes no note of such relations and the consequences thereof for men's conduct towards each other, must be essentially defective, and to that extent, whatever its method, it would be scientific only in a superficial sense: if universality is an essential note of philosophy, it certainly would not be philosophical.

On this view of the constitution of the world, clearly Revelation, as a contribution of the divine factor towards the knowledge of ethical truth, would be as natural and normal as the contribution supplied by the human factor in and through its history. Whether that history be supposed to be a process of evolution or not could make no real difference.

The assumed antithesis between Philosophical Ethics and Christian Ethics, grounded, as Professor Schultz seems to think,

<sup>1</sup> As is in fact allowed by H. Schultz in his *Grundriss der evangelischen Ethik*, 2. Aufl. 1897, though strangely enough he fails to draw the logical consequences of his concession.

in the fact of the latter appealing to Revelation or religious dogma, thus falls to the ground.

The only real difficulty arises in connection with the question of sin. Sin has introduced the problem not only of prohibited personal, i.e. freely and consciously chosen conduct, but also of personal, i.e. freely and consciously chosen conduct, which, though relatively to *sinless* man, or to man according to his true idea, abnormal, relatively to man that has sinned is normal. I refer to the duties of self-reproach, self-humiliation, confession of and sorrow for the conduct—in short, repentance and others of a kindred nature, which devolve on wrongdoers. These cannot be regarded as *duties* for a *normal* man ; yet when a man has behaved abnormally they are duties, and therefore in a sense normal.

But if philosophy is bound to reckon with all actualities, whatever their nature, clearly it must reckon with the evil moral state of the human factors of the system, either in connection with Ethics or separately ; and the relations devolving on such factors would naturally have to be considered by the philosophical ethicist.

Or shall the abnormal-normal ethical relations or duties be relegated to a separate science? Whether this is Professor Köstlin's view or not, I am unable to say, but for myself I see no reason why, unless philosophy is under the necessity of restricting itself to the ideal, whether actual or not, and is precluded from the attempt to give an account of the abnormally actual, philosophical ethics should not consider the conduct which becomes obligatory when personal beings have originated relations, opposed both to their own true nature and to that of the system of which they are members. But this is not the place to pursue the subject further.

The subjects of man's moral endowments and sin, embraced in the first great division, are treated, though of course very briefly, with the hand of a master. The same remark may be made regarding the account given of the initiation of the true life in abnormal man.

I would conclude with the expression of my sense of the sound judgment, breadth of view and sympathy, and true Christian insight which characterise this ripe fruit of the author's experience and thought.

D. W. SIMON.

### **Die Ethik des Judenthums**

*By Professor Dr M. Lazarus. Frankfort a. Main: Kauffmann; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. 469.*

SCIENTIFIC ethics, like modern philosophy, began with a period of general scepticism. The doubt as to the reality of knowledge led to the search for the criterion of truth; the doubt as to the content of morality necessitated the formulation of ethical principles. But the content of Jewish morality was largely embodied in a divinely revealed code. It was never exposed to any such sceptical doubt, and no attempt was made to reduce it to an harmonious whole or to examine its first principles. The Jewish mind, moreover, has but little natural inclination to systematization. These considerations explain somewhat the remarkable contrast presented by Jewish morality and Greek ethics. In the one, the wealth of moral thought is discounted by its chaotic form; in the other, the real poverty of content is largely compensated for by its association with a definite ethical theory. Professor Lazarus is convinced that the chaos in Jewish morality is only apparent and superficial. Beneath it, there is a real objective continuity which has only to be recognised and described. It is precisely in Jewish morality that least is owing to the creations of individual minds; these have served merely as vehicles of expression for the objective development. Though the foundation of the moral law is in the Bible, and its full development is in the Rabbinical literature, yet there is no breach of continuity.

In the attempt to give formal expression to this real unity, the author is fully conscious of the necessity to guard against the introduction of foreign system and conceptions. He proposes to do so by the careful study of the sources. But he emphasises one postulate as all important. It is not sufficient to translate the word of the Bible and Talmud into modern speech,—the thought must be recast into the forms of modern thought. The difficulties awaiting the author are obviously great. Form and content are not independent. It is impossible to avoid the introduction of irrelevant associations in the change of form, and the danger of subjective exegesis is extreme.

The debt all scholars owe to Professor Lazarus for his bold and original attempt is a very real one. The work is not free from general imperfections. The too pronounced Kantian element, and the neglect of the great medieval moralists are the gravest. Yet the author has admirably succeeded in emphasising an aspect of Jewish thought which is too frequently ignored. A representation



of the work is aimed at here which will convey a just idea of its character and contents, and no criticism is advanced that seemed avoidable.<sup>1</sup>

The first part of the book opens with an enumeration of the sources of moral thought. These are the Bible, the tradition, history, poetry, communal institutions, and the general, though not clearly articulated, moral feeling of the people. The living and creative force of the tradition is evidenced by its creation of a new ideal of life after the destruction of the Temple. The Law and its study replace the state as a bond of union. The determination and fixation of the Law, the development of religious and ceremonial observance provided a unifying principle for the social and individual life. The wholly ethical and peculiarly Jewish conception of the spiritual unity of the race by relation to an ideal received a new emphasis.<sup>2</sup> Jewish history contributes two new phenomena of profoundest moral significance: the warrior in defence of faith and the martyr. The complete fulfilment of life was looked for in its resignation to the ideal.<sup>3</sup> Jewish poetry, essentially lyrical and didactic, sought in the world of experience the realisation of ethical ideals. In the popular legend and Hagadah of later days, epic and dramatic tendencies make themselves felt, and the heroes of the race are pictured as epitomising *in concreto* the whole moral law. Social institutions evidence most clearly the character of dominant moral thought. Their large variety proves not only its strength but also its degree of refinement.

The author's analysis of the ethical conceptions realised in such an institution as the "Mishan Abelim" of Berlin is of great interest. But one conclusion drawn is certainly not valid. The charity guards itself carefully against an obtrusiveness which might embarrass the recipients. The author interprets this as a condemnation of pathological motives in morality (40). But the distinction is clear. The author himself shows at the end of chapter vi. that the harsh Kantian condemnation of feeling is not accepted in Judaism.

Above all else, the vast labour expended on the maintenance of schools proves the all-absorbing devotion to the ideal. Wide-spread education makes the general conscience, unimpaired as it has remained by philosophical scepticism or theories of subjectivity, an important source of moral thought. History strengthened the reciprocal responsibility of the society and the individual and their intimate connection. These fundamental moral conceptions were clearly recognised and maintained.

The second chapter, dealing with the principles of Jewish

<sup>1</sup> The reader should note pages 155 (§151), 235, 254, 376, 378, 390, 402.

<sup>2</sup> Aboth ii. 9.

<sup>3</sup> B'rachoth 61 b (R. Akiba).

morality, is one of the most important. Hartmann affirms that Theism destroys the autonomous character of moral law by introducing an heteronomous fiat. The author maintains that morality would lose its autonomy only if its imperative were dependent upon the Divine fiat. If the imperative, however, is based upon the essential worth of morality itself, then the co-operation of religious motives in moral action does not in any way impair the moral character of the action.<sup>1</sup> The reference to God in whom the moral ideal is realised does not ground morality; it encourages moral action. But religious motives are pathological, and the author's position is valid only if he departs from the rigorous formalism of Kant. The author demonstrates conclusively the internal imperative of morality. It is recognised as prior to Divine revelation, for Abraham observed the whole law.<sup>2</sup> With reference to certain laws, mainly moral in character, it is declared that if they had not been ordained, they 'ought' to have been ordained.<sup>3</sup>

The categorical nature of the moral imperative is somewhat strangely illustrated by the author.<sup>4</sup> He finds a reference to it in the emphatic unconditional declaration in connection with the return of lost property—'thou mayest not hide thyself.'<sup>5</sup> But a necessary and universal imperative in the Kantian sense would be most out of place here, since the Talmud declares the fulfilment of the command entirely dependent upon subjective conditions.<sup>6</sup> The author in dwelling upon the universal as the essential character of Jewish and Kantian ethics seems to overlook the peculiarly rigorous nature of the Kantian universal which is quite foreign to Judaism. Morality is grounded on the rational nature of man. Man as rational, belongs to a world of freedom. This stands contrasted to a world of necessary causality to which man regarded as animal belongs. In the moral sphere man is creative; a partner of the Deity;<sup>7</sup> his own creator.<sup>8</sup> In the sphere of nature, he is helpless in the grasp of an inexorable necessity. It is evident no room is left for principles of utility originating in the natural world to influence action in the moral sphere. Utilitarian or Eudaemonistic ends and motives are not recognised in Jewish morality. The *supreme* good is virtue. Thus Ben Azai declares the reward of a moral act to be the opportunity for another moral act. Rabbi Jacob, while regarding this life as the mere vestibule to the future life, and insisting that an hour's bliss in the future life surpasses all the pleasures of this, yet maintains that one hour spent in moral activity surpasses all the bliss of the future life.

<sup>1</sup> 94, 102.<sup>2</sup> Kiddushin, 82.<sup>3</sup> Yoma, 67 b.<sup>4</sup> 99.<sup>5</sup> Deut. xxii. 3.<sup>6</sup> Bava Mezial, 30.<sup>7</sup> Mechilta Yethro, 2; Shabbath, 10 a.<sup>8</sup> Vayikra Rabbah, 35.

The *complete* good however, as with Kant, includes happiness.<sup>1</sup> The author deals ably with one great source of misconstruction,—the emphasis laid upon sanctions in the Bible and the Talmud. The Bible (and so the Talmud) does not only contain a formulation of ethical truths; it is also the Theocratic code. As a legal code it treats of the sanctions with which morality has been armed, but which do not in any way annul the purely moral imperative. The same political and pedagogical considerations influence the Talmudical teachings. But the recognised end is the moral ideal.<sup>2</sup>

In his chapter on the character of Jewish morality, the author treats of its universality in general form and detailed realisation. Jewish morality, from its earliest origin, was social. Though preserving the national setting, its real character was universal. The one God could not be a national God. He must be the God of the whole universe and of the whole of mankind. The inevitable corollaries are the unity of nature and the unity of mankind.<sup>3</sup> The moral law is universal in every direction. It refers to all classes of society.<sup>4</sup> It is eternal, valid for all future generations. It embraces the whole of mankind. "As ye are, so shall the stranger be before the Lord. One law and one manner shall be for you and the stranger that sojourneth with you."<sup>5</sup> The author does not leave out of sight the national particularism which maintains its place in Jewish thought. But the difference is not ethical, only psychological. Universalists and particularists agree as to the end, but the latter emphasise the means to the end. The author proceeds to show by reference to Talmudical ordinances, how the Rabbis succeeded in giving expression to this universalism, in spite of adverse political circumstances and the lack of opportunity for complete application.

In the second part the author treats of the end of morality. This is expressed in Judaism in terms of holiness. 'Ye shall be holy' is the specific signature of Jewish ethics. This is at once its widest principle, its highest conception, and its specific differentia (369). But since becoming holy is becoming moral, the end of morality does not cease to be morality itself. The author is led to distinguish ethical holiness from religious holiness. But the former is a pure Kantian conception, and has no place in Judaism. Becoming holy includes specifically religious experiences, the expression of the felt relation between man and God, which are not identical with effort responding to the moral imperative. 'Ye shall be holy' stands in invariable connection with 'for I the Lord am holy.'

<sup>1</sup> Aboth vi. 6. R. Shimeon B. Yochai.

<sup>2</sup> Psalms xv. and xxiv.

<sup>4</sup> Deut. xxix. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Sifra Kedoshim, chap. iv.

<sup>5</sup> Numb. xv. 15, 16.

The author is quite justified in assigning the place he does to this formula at the foundation of ethics. But this is because it is the essential peculiarity of Jewish ethics that the moral imperative never acts alone. It is always reinforced by the Divine fiat, and is never devoid of religious elements. It is from this ethico-religious standpoint that the crowning conception of human thought is attained, expressed in the Divine words, "And I shall be sanctified in you."<sup>1</sup> "If ye sanctify yourselves, I shall reckon it unto you as if ye had sanctified me."<sup>2</sup> This tendency to abstract unduly from the religious aspect is a general one with the author. When dealing with the supremacy of the ideal enunciated by R. Jacob, he seems to overlook the distinctively religious conception of *חשובה* 'return to God,' which precedes the 'good deeds,' and that it is the religious-moral state which surpasses the bliss of the future world. The author further distinguishes ritual holiness, and analyses its ethical value in a very interesting manner. The arbitrary antithesis between sacred and profane in ritual affords an archetype for the real antithesis to be maintained between holy and unholy in practice. Moral perfection demands that morality be taken as a whole, internally harmonious. The individuality of the person in the realm of nature is extended by unity of action to the sphere of morality. But such a unity is threatened by the intrusion of pathological motives and by one-sided emphasis upon particular parts of the moral law. In holiness, a unifying conception is provided for the moral content. The real end for man is not, however, holiness but becoming holy. As higher moral levels are attained, new prospects for moral action and increased responsibilities present themselves. Great stress is laid upon the morality of character. One must *be* good, truly to *do* good. The moral idea must be realised and become effective in the person.

In chapter v. the author proceeds to illustrate this by showing the connection of morality and submission to law-legality. The tone throughout is Kantian. There is the same undue emphasis upon the mere form of law. With Kant this was certainly justifiable, for the whole moral content was deduced from the pure form. The author does not attempt any such deduction. Form and content are quite disparate. The form is eternal, the content changes. But this divorce of form from content reacts to the disadvantage of the latter. Submissiveness to the form of law, not the fulfilment of its content, is the real end of law (224). The author illustrates this by citing the following passage from Bereshith Rabbah 44. Rav says, 'The commandments were given only to purify the creatures.' This the author understands to mean that the only valuable element in the commands

<sup>1</sup> Levit. xxii.; Ezek. xx. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Sifra Kedoshim 1.

is their formal character, and that the purification is accomplished by submission to the formal element of moral obedience. But all that Rav really says, and this the context makes clear, is that God did not give us the commands for His own benefit but for ours. (Compare Vayikra Rabbah 13, where Rav continues, "and wherefore all this? Because He is a buckler to all who trust in Him.") But further, obedience to God, with all its religious associations, and it is this which the Rabbis emphasise, is most certainly not obedience to a formal principle of moral law. This all-important point seems to be quite overlooked in this connection by the author. To illustrate further that it is submissiveness (legality) which is the ethical characteristic of action, he proceeds to cite the well-known controversy as to the comparative merits of 'acting when commanded' and 'acting without being commanded.' The former is given the preference.<sup>1</sup> The author seems quite to disregard the fact that the moral imperative applies to both cases, and that both are instances of submissiveness to the form of law. But in the first case the Divine fiat co-operates with the ethical fiat. The difference in submissiveness is of kind, not degree. The formal element of law is shown by the author to be the best means for attempting to realise the ideal of the complete harmonization of life. If it can create no systematic unity, yet when submissiveness permeates the whole of life a certain uniformity is produced. Above all else, its value lies in its universality, which makes it a bond of union for all moral beings. It associates them in a kingdom of ends, and serves further to strengthen the bonds of common physical needs and aims that are the natural foundation of society. The author's treatment is here very clear, and philosophically interesting.

The sixth chapter, entitled 'Law of Nature and Moral Law,' is, like the whole of the book, intensely interesting, and yet in parts very perplexing. He formulates the antithesis of moral law and causal process in true Kantian fashion. The two realms of morality and nature are entirely separate, and no encroachment can take place from either side (135). The position is an absolutely untenable one for the author. He, unlike Kant, does not deduce the moral content from the universal form of law. In spite of frequent insistence upon the exclusive ethical value of the mere form (224), he is compelled by his own position, and by the real nature of Jewish ethics, to modify this at the end of this chapter (287), and to include in the ethical ideal more than the 'ought.' But if natural conditions are to be brought by man under the ethical form, and if this is to constitute the full ethical ideal, then the ordinary reader will certainly fail to see how the

<sup>1</sup> Kiddushin, 31.

rigid mechanical conception of nature can be retained. If the causal nexus be determined and unchangeable, it is difficult to see how man can 'use' or 'direct' it for ethical purposes (136). Descartes' hypothesis of direction without change is scarcely one that the reader will think the author likely to adopt. For Kant the difficulty is largely obviated by his metaphysics, and the author does not appear to follow him here. But further, is the mechanical conception of nature the dominant one in Jewish thought? Does Judaism leave the two infinities, the starry heavens above and the moral law within, unconnected and disparate? Already in Genesis we find natural conditions dependent on the moral state. 'Cursed be the ground for thy sake' is not reconcilable with the conservation of energy. Throughout the whole of the Law an intimate connection of the moral and natural orders is asserted. It is not so much a sanction that is enunciated in "Honour thy father . . . that thy days may be long . . .," as a natural corollary. You are not good that it may rain; it rains because you are good. In Vayikra Rabbah 35, the gradually declining fruitfulness of the soil is associated with the progressive decline of morality. כמה חטא נורם illustrates clearly the standpoint taken. In Berachoth we have the famous dictum אין הערוד ממת אלא החטא ממת— it is the sin alone that slays. Physical death is here referred to. In Gitin 57 we are told that an extraordinary rise of market prices occurred. Some gross immorality was at once suspected. Investigation and expiation ensued, and the market rates resumed their normal standard. The immorality referred to was not that of the speculative corner. The author cites in support of his position the dictum in Aboda Zara, 54 b, 'that the course of the world is not to be altered' because of idolatry, etc. This possibly does not really oppose the dominant conception. It is only in the higher stages of moral development that there is real morality, and consequently real causal efficacy (Nachmanides Levit. 26). The author proceeds to show that nature, which is only non-holy and not unholy, becomes holy by union with ethical ends and unholy by association with vice. It is the entrance into the service of morality which constitutes the whole 'worth' of nature. Judaism would maintain with Kant, that 'If righteousness fail, no worth for human existence remains.'<sup>1</sup> The author seems to carry the identification of the moral law and the Torah to an undue extent both here and in his remarks<sup>2</sup> on the study of the Halacha. Resh Lakish is referring to the revealed Torah, with its religious implications, not to the categorical imperative of the practical reason. It is an unduly one-sided view to identify the study of the Torah, and the determination of the Halacha, with that

<sup>1</sup> Aboda Zara iii. a.

<sup>2</sup> Nr. xxxvi.

'cogitation discovery and creation, in true ethical spirit, of law' which Hegel declares superior to the fulfilment of law. Nature and the physical organism, not being in themselves unholy, are enlisted in the consummation of the ethical ideal, and in the complete good happiness is an essential element. The body is not to be contemned, it can be made subservient to the ideal. When, however, devotion to the ideal is extreme, a disinclination to material pleasures is roused which is not always condemnable (283). This extreme ideality is only legitimate for the individual himself; towards others a realistic attitude is imperative. The author would say with Kant that the true ends are the perfection of self and the happiness of others.<sup>1</sup> No citation is given in support of this position, and it certainly requires considerable modification. The enormous emphasis laid upon education has been adequately treated by the author. But the life of the student is precisely one of the most extreme ideality.<sup>2</sup> 'The acquisition of the Law is only for him who surrenders his life for it.'<sup>3</sup> The necessary indirectness in furthering the perfection of others is different only in degree from the indirectness in furthering their happiness.

In the last chapter the author deals with the unifying aspect of holiness. The sanctification of life connotes the unification of mankind. For holiness cannot properly refer to the individual, but to the community as a whole. Only the Deity is a holy individual, and He alone is termed in Scripture the 'Holy One.' When the conception of holiness is referred to man, it is to the social body in its generality—'Ye shall be holy.' The only exception, admitted as such by the author, is Kings ii. 4-9: 'I perceive this is an holy man of God'—but there the speaker is a woman (433). But this very circumstance tells against the argument. It suggests that a common form of expression is employed. The author's position is a difficult one to maintain.<sup>4</sup> Certainly in the Talmudic literature there is no such restriction upon the use of 'holy.'<sup>5</sup> The conception of a national holiness is admirably analysed by the author. It demands at once vivid personal consciousness and emphasised personal obligation, and the intimate union of the persons into a common society with an ideally constructed individuality. The author dwells upon the markedly Jewish feature of the continuity of national character. The interpretation given of Aboth ii. 2, which the author cites in illustration of the national unity felt

<sup>1</sup> Tugendlehre Einl. iv.

<sup>2</sup> Aboth vi. 4.

<sup>3</sup> B'rachoth, 63.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Prov. ix. 10; Psalms xvi. 3, xxxiv. 10, etc., where individuals are obviously referred to.

<sup>5</sup> Shimoth Rabbah xxxviii.; Yerushalmi Megillah i. (where Nachum is termed קרשים קרש).

as extending throughout the past and future, is not very convincing, and should perhaps be modified by B'rachoth 27 b, where the qualifications of a communal leader are referred to.<sup>1</sup> His interpretation of Aboth ii. 13 in the same connection is very strange. There is nothing Spinozistic about R. Shimeon's position. The character praised is that of a man with foresight, who balances the sacrifice for a duty against its reward, and does not incur responsibilities he is unable to meet. This is clearly shown by a comparison of the character with its contrary.<sup>2</sup> The author proceeds to analyse the reciprocal interaction between individual and community. Evil itself contributes indirectly to the common end. Not only the successes of the past, but its failures, its defeats and shortcomings, are the price of ultimate victory. The ten generations from Noah to Abraham were failures; Abraham came and reaped the fruit of their labours (Aboth v. 2). The ideal of the association of all souls in a kingdom of ends, once expressed, can never cease to be an ideal. It must remain as a hope, ever more purified and strengthened, in the hearts of men. It must shine eternally in the spirit of mankind, rousing the will and urging it onward to undaunted victorious activity. To forego the ideal is to renounce the worth of life and history, but its realisation is divinely promised—and 'the word of our God endureth eternally' (361).

With these inspiring words the author concludes his work, and we remain indebted to him for having insisted on and demonstrated more clearly and successfully than any recent writer the essential nobility of Jewish ethical thought. Jewish ethics is neither the hide-bound legalism nor the materialistic utilitarianism of prevalent caricature. For making this clear, at least, the debt to Professor Lazarus is very great. The completion of his work will be awaited with eagerness.

JOSEPH M. ASHER.

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### Neutestamentliche Ethik.

*Von D. Hermann Jacoby, Ord. Professor der Theologie in Königsberg. Königsberg: Beyer; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. Pp. xi. 481. Price, M.11.20.*

NEW Testament Theology has for the most part claimed the ethical teaching of the New Testament as a mere province of its own domain. Christian Ethics as a science has now for a long time occupied an independent position in relation to Christian dogmatics, but within the limits of the New Testament it is not

<sup>1</sup> Nr. xlv. a.

<sup>2</sup> Nr. xlv. b.



easy to separate doctrine and morals. Professor Jacoby in this volume undertakes this task, and we may say at once with success sufficient to justify his attempt. It will be well understood, however, from the outset by every intelligent reader that such success can only be comparative, that any complete separation of these two departments of New Testament study is impossible. Whether Gospels, Acts, Epistles, or Apocalypse be in question, both theologian and moralist are bound to deal with the same material, a living whole, in which religion and ethics are indissolubly blended. It is the standpoint that varies; the theologian reproduces the teaching of revelation with the stress laid upon belief, the moralist exhibits the same doctrine in its bearing on character and conduct. A considerable part of Dr Jacoby's volume might find a place quite appropriately in a treatise on Christian doctrine. He would not have been faithful to the spirit of Paul, or of John, or of the Lord Jesus Christ Himself, as ethical teacher, had it been otherwise.

None the less the change in the point of view is instructive, and the author has vindicated the soundness of his plan by giving to familiar material a new impress. He pursues the method of Biblical theology very closely. In his first book he examines the teaching of Jesus; in the second, the Epistles of James, Hebrews, and 1 Peter; the third book is devoted to St Paul; the fourth and last includes an examination of the Synoptic Gospels, the Acts, and St John's writings, together with Jude and 2 Peter. In the sectional treatment, analysis is sometimes pushed to an extreme. The Epistle of James is described chapter by chapter. St Paul's Epistles are examined separately, at least in many cases; even the three Epistles of St John are considered apart. From time to time a summary is appended, in which results are gathered up, but the *method* throughout is analytic to a fault. Dogmatic theologians in the past have, it is true, paid too little attention to the distinctions on which Biblical theology rightly lays emphasis, but it is a mistake to overestimate shades of distinction in Biblical usage. Professor Jacoby fails in synthesis as markedly as he excels in analysis. The *Zusammenfassung* which from time to time he inserts, consists of a series of numbered paragraphs without organic connexion, and one misses in his pages the glance of insight which detects and reveals vital unity in a multiplicity of details, the quickening touch which would make of the collected dry bones a living army. On the other hand, the method adopted leads to a minute examination of documents and chapters and even words, which is most instructive, and the five hundred closely packed pages of this volume form a mine of detailed discussion of great value, in which nearly every aspect of the ethical teaching of the New Testament is displayed.

A word or two must suffice on the author's critical opinions. Rightly enough he does not undertake to give reasons for the critical positions taken up, but he describes at each stage his own view of the several documents on which his conclusions are based. Professor Jacoby may be described as a Liberal Conservative. In dealing with the teaching of Jesus, he relies mainly on the Synoptists, occasionally questioning the trustworthiness of a tradition supported only by one authority. The fourth Gospel he regards as Johannine and as a legitimate source of a secondary or supplementary character, the material being in the author's view largely coloured by the "subjectivity" of the evangelist. He regards "Ephesians" as belonging to the Pauline circle of thought, though not written by St Paul: the Pastoral Epistles likewise cannot be attributed to St Paul in their present form, though they contain material of which the critical student of Paul's writings may avail himself. In the Epistle of James he considers the sections iv. 1-10 and v. 1-6 as interpolations, the denunciations they contain referring to unbelieving Jews. 2 Peter he does not consider genuine, and he agrees with many other Lutheran writers in refusing to recognise its canonicity, though its ethical teaching is briefly considered in connexion with the Epistle of Jude. On questions of detail—such, for example, as the genuineness of Christ's words on Baptism in Matt. xxviii. 19, and the accounts of the institution of the Lord's Supper—Jacoby's position is, on the whole, conservative. But he is conservative on critical grounds and does not hesitate to abandon tradition on what he considers good cause shown. His criticism is sane and moderate. He does not detect irreconcilable discrepancies in accounts of the same event written from varying points of view, nor does he discover later 'hands' wherever a writer may appear to modern eyes to be slightly inconsistent with himself. Yet Jacoby is no "apologist." The present writer cannot agree with him in the critical positions taken up as regards James or Ephesians or the Pastoral Epistles, or on several other points of detail. But every reader may feel assured that he is in the hands of an honest and independent guide, one who may be trusted and read with interest even when his actual conclusions do not commend themselves to the judgment.

The leading ethical ideas of the New Testament are developed mainly in chronological order. But we could have wished that the ethical relation of Christ to the Old Testament had been brought into clearer relief and set in the foreground, and that the relation of the various types of Apostolic doctrine to our Lord's teaching had been made more plain. This requires to be done from an ethical, as well as from a dogmatic point of view. Answers to the questions which the student is likely to put on these heads

may be gained to some extent from the book, but not easily, and they have to be extracted, instead of readily presenting themselves. The leading ethical ideas of St Paul, for example, are well described, but the reader is not made to see how the branches spring from a central stem and what relation the trunk bears to the underlying roots. The chapters upon Faith in Christ's teaching and in Paul's and the connexion of faith with duty as brought out both by our Lord and His Apostles, leave much to be desired. It would not be fair to the learned and able author to leave the impression that his work is marked by "disconnection dull and spiritless," but the articulation of the whole appears to us to be mechanical rather than vital.

To turn to details. The teaching of Jesus is described in twenty-one chapters, eight of which deal with its fundamental ideas, twelve with its fuller development, while the last summarises the whole. Christ's teaching concerning righteousness, repentance and the law is appropriately dealt with first. Then follow such headings as these: Life, Forgiveness of Sins, Sonship, The Kingdom of God, Reward, Faith, Prayer, Sacrifice, Love and its Attendant Virtues; our Lord's teaching on these and other topics being displayed in detail. But, as already remarked, we fail to trace here an organic or genetic treatment such as would bring these details into due relation to one another and to the whole, while some of the sections belong at least as much to theology as to ethics. Both these facts are to some extent due to the nature of the task the author has undertaken. A critic who sets himself to exhibit our Lord's ethical teaching apart from His doctrine will soon discover two things—first, that the task is, strictly speaking, impossible; and secondly, in so far as it may be partially carried out, that the pure pearls of precept have lost their proper connecting links and must be admired apart, instead of in their appropriate setting.

The author's skill is best displayed in detailed exegesis. We had marked a number of passages to illustrate this which we cannot even enumerate. The exposition of the parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard is excellent in its own way, as is the brief but convincing explanation of a passage often misunderstood—our Lord's treatment of the "woman who was a sinner" in Luke vii. 37-50. Characteristically good also is the treatment of the Lord's Prayer on pp. 68-72. It may be questioned whether this subject properly comes under the head of 'Ethics,' but the author keeps fairly within his own province, and both prayer generally and the details of the petitions in the Lord's Prayer possess important ethical, as well as doctrinal aspects. The same may be said of the author's examination of our Lord's words to Peter concerning His Church, as given in Matt. xvi. 13-19. Professor Jacoby vindi-

cates the authenticity of this narrative, partly on external and partly on internal grounds, and discusses briefly but ably the various interpretations of the words, "On this rock I will build my church." The stress of the exposition, however, is laid upon the practical side of our Lord's teaching concerning His Church and the power of binding and loosing committed to the community acting in His name. Excellent judgment is displayed in the exegesis of this and other difficult passages.

We regret that we cannot describe in detail Professor Jacoby's handling of the Epistle of James. Here the ethical teacher is on ground that none can dispute with him. St James is ethical or nothing. He finds an apt interpreter in our author, who is here even more minute than usual, and we can hardly wish a paragraph of his elaborate exposition away. He admits no real discrepancy of doctrine between Paul and James (p. 184). The difference between 'faith,' 'works' and 'justification' in the usage of the two writers is clearly brought out, though "idealism" hardly describes the attitude of Paul towards justification, or "realism" that of James. In this and other parts of the exposition of St James' Epistle, the author is travelling over very familiar ground, but in no part of it is his treatment conventional or commonplace. He has worked out his subject for himself, and even the student who is weary of multiplied handbooks on New Testament theology will read this chapter—as well as many others—with interest and profit. It is not everyone who can impart freshness of treatment to topics so frequently handled, whilst himself not a novelty-hunter, but one who keeps for the most part to old and well-trodden paths.

About one-third of the whole volume is devoted to St Paul. Here again we find it easier to praise the details of exposition than the general arrangement of the whole. The author does not consistently pursue a topical division of his theme, nor does he confine himself to an examination of the several Epistles chronologically. He begins with the fundamental Christian ideas as found in the earliest Epistles, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, and then deals with general subjects, such as the Law, the Flesh and Sin; Conversion and the New Life; after which the Epistles are considered separately as regards some of their salient ethical features, while three concluding chapters aim at gathering up the general drift of the whole. The effect upon the reader is somewhat bewildering. He cannot see the wood for the trees. Whilst almost every page contains some just and illumining remark on some point of Paul's teaching, and no part of his Epistles remains unexamined, the general impression of Paul as an ethical teacher which is left on the reader's mind lacks unity, clearness and precision of outline, while the 'summary' and

'retrospect' at the end help very little to remove the indistinctness caused by the multiplicity of details. The best chapter on the whole is that on the New Life; whilst the detailed exposition of such passages as St Paul's answers to casuistical questions in 1 Cor. vii., the hymn to love in 1 Cor. xiii., and the more discursive ethical teaching of "Philippians," with its strongly personal tone, displays the ability of an experienced and accomplished interpreter of the New Testament.

We cannot stay to describe the rest of the book. The author finds himself in some difficulty when he sets about explaining the ethical position of the Synoptists and St John apart from the teaching of Christ which the Gospels contain. His treatment of St John as a whole is somewhat disappointing, though the points of agreement and contrast with St Paul are well brought out.

The author has not left himself space to discuss several questions which should surely find some place in a treatise on New Testament ethics. How much is presupposed, whether of Jewish or ethnic morality, in the ethical teaching of the New Testament? What is its relation to other systems of morals? How far is its moral code complete? How far is the Biblical treatment of the subject to be considered final, and how is it related to the "Christian ethics" of later generations and the progressive development of that science? Any lengthened discussion of these questions is hardly to be expected, and some light is cast on some of them incidentally in the course of exposition and in a concluding chapter, which, however, is tantalising in its brevity and general sketchiness. But we could well have spared many pages of excellent detailed exposition to make way for a treatment of present-day problems inevitably raised by a scientific and elaborate treatise on the ethics of the New Testament.

It is futile, however, to press such objections. The author has chosen his own theme, and treated it, for better or for worse, in his own way. It is our part to commend the excellence of his achievement within his chosen limits. Professor Jacoby has occupied ground not precisely covered before, so far as we are aware. He refers in his preface to a prize-essay of A. Thoma, published in 1879, with which we are not acquainted. The author's method brings him more into comparison with Harless than with Martensen, Dorner, Luthardt or Gass. But his treatise occupies an independent position, and has an independent value of its own. It is one which all New Testament students may consult with profit, and which no writer on Christian ethics should fail to take account of and appreciate.

W. T. DAVISON.

### **Die biblische Lehre vom heiligen Geiste.**

*Von D. Th. et. Ph. Karl v. Lechler. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. 307. Geb. 7s. 3d.*

### **Geschichte der Lehre von heiligen Geiste.**

*Von Dr K. F. Noesgen. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. 376. Geb. 7s. 3d.*

THE appearance simultaneously of two works on the doctrine of the Spirit is surely a notable fact. The two works are, to a certain extent, mutually complementary, one dealing with the Biblical teaching, the other with the history of the Doctrine in the Church. The writer of the first commands a singularly lucid and precise style; the subject has been with him matter of life-long reading and reflection, of which his work gives the mature fruit. If there is much in his exposition that does not at once secure assent, he is always interesting and suggestive. Both writers call attention to the slight amount of attention which the doctrine of the Spirit has received from the beginning in the Church; the creeds bear ample testimony to this fact. It would almost seem as if the neglect were now to be repaired.

Dr Lechler's work is arranged in three sections: the Spirit of God as Nature-Spirit, Holy Spirit, and in Relation to the Triune Godhead. In the first section, the Spirit is considered in his relation to primeval matter—water, air, fire, to the vegetable and animal world, to man's physical life and mental life. The second section treats of the Spirit in the individual Christian and in the Church. The third section discusses the still more mysterious relations of the Spirit in the Triune Godhead. It will be at once seen that the plan is a comprehensive one and covers the entire ground of Biblical teaching. Water, air, and fire are the three scriptural figures of speech illustrating the Spirit's gracious operation, and these are subtly connected with the Spirit's creative work in the physical sphere. Here as elsewhere there is a theosophic strain, and the frequent reference to Oetinger's name shows where the author has obtained inspiration and help; but the strain is kept within exceedingly moderate limits. In the exposition of the Spirit brooding over the waters there is a faint prelude of the incarnation. The second section affords most scope for Scripture exposition, and this part of the work is especially rich in suggestiveness. The reader will not be surprised to find the Lutheran Doctrine of Baptism strongly advocated. We

do not profess to understand all that is said in the last section on the Spirit being at once personal and impersonal. What in general is intimated is that 'personality' has been too sharply defined in its application to the divine life. The exposition of the Scripture evidence for the personality of the Spirit is finely done. It would be hard to add to its completeness and cogency. The argument from the Spirit's capacity of suffering is beautifully put. Isaiah and Paul are shown equally to share this idea. "What can the N.T. show greater than this gospel of the suffering Spirit of God? Paul has simply taken over into his treasury of truth this precious pearl of O.T. revelation, and repeated Isaiah's word of admonition to his Ephesians—in a somewhat milder tone, one will perhaps say, but with the same background of severe recompense at the Day of Judgment in case the grieving does not cease." On the very last pages the author has an ingenious and almost daring argument to show that the mutual subordination of the persons in the divine Trinity—even of Father to Son and Spirit—is involved in the very nature of love. "Love can never be anything else than full self-surrender to another. Only where it quite forgets itself and only finds itself again in the beloved object, does it reach an essential fulfilment of its idea. In this the divine love stands under no other law than the human. . . . God would not be love, unless unconditional self-surrender could be affirmed of him. . . . Self-surrender is subordination to another. The two ideas cannot be separated from each other." Certainly an ingenious and courageous application of an idea of Origen's.

While the praise of lucidity cannot be given to Dr Noesgen's style, the matter is exceedingly valuable. The review is comprehensive. The period down to the Reformation occupies about one-third of the volume. The remainder deals with the Reformation and subsequent writers. Copious extracts are given. The work is a first attempt in this field and must have cost a great amount of research and patient toil. The materials thus collected and arranged others will usefully apply.

J. S. BANKS.

### **Les origines de la Compagnie de Jésus, Ignace et Lainez.**

*Par Hermann Müller. Paris : Fischbacher ; London and Edinburgh : Williams and Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. 329.*

THE writer of this interesting volume sets himself a perfectly hopeless task, and succeeds in something else than what he aims at. He is very careful to explain and delimit his purpose, which is to

investigate and, if possible, ascertain the reason why from the year of its birth the Society of Jesus or the Jesuits should have excited such violent and such contradictory feelings and opinions in the minds of their contemporaries. That there is a problem here he has no difficulty in showing. Neither the Benedictines nor the Dominicans, nor even the Franciscans themselves, ever roused such controversy or stimulated such furious hostility. A Church within the Church, now identified with the Church itself by both friend and foe, now detested by the Popes as cordially as by the Protestants, distrusted, hated, but never despised, *odium generis humani*, and yet unslain by the hate of prince and people, the Society of Jesus presents indeed one of the strangest problems of history. M. Müller desires and intends to approach this problem with perfect impartiality. He recognises that all has been said for and against the Jesuits, "except, perhaps, the truth without passion and without disguise." "It seems," as was said by Lacordaire, "as if these people have the power of sending mad both those who attack and those who defend them." And while we would be very far from seeing in M. Müller another illustration of this saying—for he is throughout sober and judicial—his work does show again the impossibility of dealing with the problem without forming and revealing at least a sub-conscious judgment on the character and methods of the Society.

He does all he can to guard himself and to secure an absolutely dry light for his investigation by confining his study to the very earliest stage of the Society and to documents of first hand. And if even here it is impossible for either the writer or his readers to resist a sense of moral repulsion, the fact is one which must have an important bearing on our judgment of the later stages also.

M. Müller insists on the singularity of the Society; neither last of the "Monastic Orders" nor first of the "Congregations," but an "Institute"; its members neither monks nor priests; ostensibly subject to, but really independent of, even the principles of canon law and the Pope himself; vaunting itself as unchanging and unchanged since the day of its foundation, but actually most flexible, even fluid in its forms, because dependent at all times on the absolute rule of one man—its General. The first half of the book, therefore, is devoted to a new study of the founder and first general, Ignatius Loyola. This is most remarkable for the way in which the author works out the suggestion that Ignatius borrowed the *idée mère*, the guiding lines and many of the forms of his Society from Mahommedan sources and Mahommedan institutions. He turns inside out the Jesuit legend of Ignatius receiving the principles and constitution of his Society in a series of divine revelations at Manresa; and finds a hint of the true origin of the founder's



idea in the well-known story of his prolonged interview and argument with a Mussulman cavalier as he rode to Manresa. The spirit which breathes in the famous *Spiritual Exercises* derived in part from Cisneros, but the organisation and method there inculcated are too closely parallel to those of the Mussulman monastic orders, such as *Chadelya*, to leave any doubt of their infidel source. M. Müller traces this parallelism in detail with regard to the very points which the Jesuits call the fundamental and essential characteristics of their Institute, viz., in the following:— (1) The form of government and the nature of the obedience which the Society exacts from its members; (2) the method of initiation and training to which it submits its followers; (3) the various degrees of membership which it establishes and the "occultism" it practises; and (4) the object it pursues and the confusion it induces between the spiritual and the temporal orders. The parallels are very striking as the following extracts from the Mussulman "rule" will show. "Thou shalt be in the hands of thy Sheikh (= General) as a dead body in the hands *du laveur des morts* (cf. 'perinde ac cadaver'). Obey thy Sheikh in all that he commands for it is God himself who commands by his voice." This doctrine was absolutely new to Catholicism, and in its logical issue is indeed subversive of the Papacy. For the General, who is thus *in loco Dei*, is only nominally subservient to the Pope.

In the second part of the volume we pass from Ignatius to Lainez, the second General of the Society, and here we observe a certain want of coherence or at least of clearness in showing the continuity of development. If Lainez in his struggle with Paul IV. contributed so much to give the constitution of the Society its final form, do not Loyola and the source of his inspiration lose at least some of the importance the author ascribes to them? Doubtless the reply is that Lainez was acting consistently with the spirit and purpose of his master. But then the parallel drawn with the relations of Brother Elias and S. Francis loses its force and even its justification. This does not help the Jesuit case. They do all they can to ignore Lainez. By Ignatius they stand or fall. And the tracing of his vaunted "inspiration" to a human and infidel source lays the axe at the root of their tree. If, however, they were to claim on Lainez then they have to meet the contemporary testimony of Paul IV. and of S. Charles Borromeo that he aimed at "governing both Kings and Pontiffs, ruling the temporal and the spiritual," that he introduced "a foreign spirit" into the institution of Ignatius.

The book is a valuable one, and particularly as showing how in its very origin and its conception this Society of Jesus rests upon that subordination of morality to a falsely opposed ideal

of the "greater glory of God," which explains and justifies the profound distrust with which it has been regarded by Protestant and Catholic alike. It defies, often with success, the judgment of history, but it cannot ultimately defy the moral sense of the world.

In conclusion, we would draw the attention of those who are interested in the subject, to Stachelin's valuable article on *die Entstehung des Jesuitenordens* in the *Theologische Zeitschrift aus der Schweiz*, part ii., of last year. C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

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**Passions des Saints Ecaterine et Pierre d'Alexandrie,  
Barbara et Anysia.**

*Par M. l'Abbé Joseph Viteau. Paris: Bouillon; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. Pp. 123. Price, F.7.*

M. VITEAU offers this volume as a contribution to the study of Greek hagiography, and has been at considerable pains to verify the texts and provide them with a Latin translation. As the legends are already accessible in the form given to them by the Metaphrast, and are not of any great value in themselves, it may be doubted whether his labour has been wisely expended. In fact, he seems to be conscious of some such doubt himself, and admits in his preface that the literary value of these documents is "sufficiently slight." For some purposes it might be convenient to have an authoritative text of these martyrdoms, but this M. Viteau has not attempted to construct, contenting himself with printing, for example, four consecutive versions of the Passio S. Ecaterinae, though three of them must be of demonstrably inferior value. Probably the work is to be followed by some study in hagiography, for which it provides the basis. At the end will be found an interesting note on the reading in Acts xxv. 13.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

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**Die messianischen Weissagungen des israelitisch-jüdischen  
Volkes bis zu den Targumim.**

*Historisch-kritisch untersucht und erläutert von Dr. Phil. Eugen Hühn, Pfarrer in Heilingen bei Orlamünde. Mit einem Vorwort von Professor D. Paul W. Schmiedel in Zürich. Freiburg i. B., Leipzig und Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1899; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xiv. 165. Price, M.3.60.*

THIS is an attempt to discuss the Messianic prophecies of the Israelitish-Jewish people in an historico-critical manner. It is neither a treatise on Messianic Prophecy, nor an outline of the

Jewish religion. The author aims at setting forth the various Messianic passages of the Old Testament, etc., in what is generally supposed to be their historical order; the most important of these passages he provides with notes, which form a kind of commentary; and he also cites all the New Testament passages in which the Old Testament passages in question are in any way noticed.

The author has performed his task in an altogether admirable manner. He is thoroughly acquainted with the literature of his subject; he is possessed of great sobriety of judgment; and he is able to express a great deal in comparatively few words. Those, whose knowledge of the literature is already large, will probably find little that is new in his book, but they will doubtless be the foremost to acknowledge its value; while to those of us, who have little leisure and are yet interested in the Old Testament, he has rendered a very great service. Dr Hühn is a Swiss pastor; and his brethren in the ministry of the Word, whether they agree with his critical and exegetical positions or no, will find in his pages what, so far as I know, they could not find elsewhere in so convenient a form.

An introductory chapter treats of a number of general questions. Messianic prophecies are of two classes. In those strictly so-called, reference is made to the Messiah and the circumstances of His time, *i.e.* to the great personality who in the end-time is to stand in the centre of the most perfect theocracy conceivable. There is another class, in which there are promises of a perfect condition, but in the picture of that future the person of the Messiah is wanting. As a rule this Messianic condition is expected in a comparatively short time; and the filling up of the picture is almost always limited to the earthly consummation of the national theocracy. Still, even in the earliest prophecies reference is made, not only to Israel, but also to the neighbouring nations; and finally, to all nations, the whole world, heaven and earth.

The external cause giving rise to Messianic prophecies was the glaring contrast between reality and ideal. Israel held itself to be the chosen people of an omnipotent God; it was full of faith in the victory of its God and in its own great destiny; there must therefore dawn for it a blessed final time, in which this glaring contrast should be done away with, and ideal and actuality should coincide. But while the content of the predictions was always the picture of a future in which that contrast was abolished, in the course of the history of the people now this and now that moment was most prominent. This was due partly to the individuality of the prophet, and more especially to the circumstances of the time in which he lived. Hence some, in their picture of the future, give special prominence to the reunion of Ephraim and Judah, others to the

deliverance and return of those carried away into a strange land ; some make the Messiah, others Jehovah, the central figure in the new condition ; in some we find a full-fledged universalism, while in others particularism is not yet done away with even in the end-time. The Messianic idea did not, as is often supposed, develop in a straight line and with steadily growing clearness.

These Messianic prophecies were of great influence in the ethical and religious training of the Jews. In days of external prosperity, they warned against pride : Jehovah will chastise even His chosen people, purify them, and send them into captivity. In times of sore visitation they were full of good cheer : Jehovah will not forget His own, but will give them a glorious future. By proclaiming that in the future other nations, as well as Israel, should worship Jehovah, they also prepared the soil for a wide-hearted universalism, though it was only in Christianity that this was fully developed.

The Christians of the early Church found in these prophecies a main support of their faith in Christ. For us, however, they do not have this significance. Faith in the Messiahship of Jesus does not have for us its firmest foundation in the comparison of prophecy with fulfilment ; Jesus' person and work are their own best evidence, and God's Spirit bears witness thereof to our spirit. It was not the main function of the prophets to be foretellers of coming events. Moreover, predictions of individual details in the life of Jesus, even if they have been fulfilled, are of very little religious value. The prophets did not see Jesus, as He actually appeared in history. In the first place, they were unable to rise to the purely religious-ethical standpoint which He took ; and, secondly, when pointing to the blessedness of the latter days, they for the most part found it in the great abundance of external blessings. None of them has risen to the thought that His kingdom is not of this world. The historical Christ far surpassed their expectations.

The Gospels show us that Jesus laid no stress on the sensuous side of the prophetic pictures of the future. It was passages like Jer. xxxi. 31 ff. that specially appealed to Him. He laid no stress on the words of the Old Testament, that might be regarded as predictions of individual events in His life ; nor did He make entrance into the Kingdom of God dependent upon faith in such predictions. He certainly, in common with His time, referred Ps. cx. to the Messiah ; towards the end of His life the Book of Daniel had considerable influence on His expectation of His Parousia ; but the Old Testament ideas that really influenced Him were those of God as Father, of love to God and to one's neighbour, of mercy and compassion as superior to fasting and sacrifice ; ideas that have nothing whatever to do with Messianic hope.

In the second and larger part of the volume Dr Hühn treats

of the Messianic prophecies of the several prophets, etc. He groups them in four divisions: 1, the Assyrian period; 2, the Chaldean period; 3, the Persian period; and 4, the Graeco-Roman period. In the case of each of the prophets he gives, first, an account of the moral and spiritual condition of the people and of the threatening of judgment that he pronounced upon them; and then exhibits in considerable detail their picture of the Messianic future. Though he writes from the critical standpoint, he is by no means extreme in his positions. In regard to the alleged interpolations, he is conservative; while admitting the possibility of such interpolations, he insists that we must admit them, only when the arguments against their originality are absolutely convincing. He occasionally finds it difficult to set forth a prophet's conception of the future, which varied according to the varying circumstances of the prophet's own time; and in the case of Isa. xl.-lxvi., while admitting that there is more than one author, he finds it advisable to proceed on the assumption that these chapters form on the whole a unity and belong to the exilic period.

The author's treatment is very full, when he comes to consider the fourth or Graeco-Roman period. To this period belong Zech. ix.-xiv., Isa. xxiv.-xxvii., Daniel, the Psalter (most of the Psalms being exilic or post-exilic, some of them even Maccabæan), the Apocrypha, the Psalms of Solomon, the Book of Enoch, the Apocalypses of Baruch and of Ezra, Philo, the Targums, etc. After exhibiting the Messianic contents of the various books separately, he gathers up the results, in a long section, under the following heads: *events immediately preceding the end-time* (the return of Elias; the appearing of the prophet like Moses; sore tribulations); *the judgment* (in the earlier books of this period it is God that is judge; in the Similitudes of the Book of Enoch the Messiah is associated with God as judge, but nowhere else does he appear in a judicial capacity; several books speak of a twofold judgment, the first introducing the time of the Messiah, and the second the real end-time); *resurrection and retribution* (several books mention neither resurrection nor immortality; others mention only a resurrection of the just; a few teach the resurrection both of just and unjust and the immortality of all men, but no Jewish Apocalypse teaches, like Rev. xx. 4-6, 12-15, the resurrection of the just before that of the unjust; several teach that immediately after death, the pious are translated to Paradise, which is of unspeakable beauty, or to some other special abode of bliss in the neighbourhood of God, while the godless are removed to a special place of torture, where, according to some, their misery is intensified by their beholding God's glory and the blessedness of the just; after the judgment the abode of the righteous is, according to

most, the same earth upon which they had previously lived ; according to others, it is heaven, or the heights of the previously invisible, but now visible world, or an absolutely new world, which has pre-existed in heaven, and now makes its appearance ; the godless are thrust down into Hades, whither their sins pursue them, or into Gehenna ; as a rule their damnation is thought of as eternal ; in the Similitudes of the Book of Enoch it is said that in the hour of judgment it is still possible for them to repent, so as to be exempted from damnation, but there is nowhere any hint of the ultimate blessedness of any who have been cast into Gehenna or Hades) ; *the blessings of the end-time* (these consist mostly in peace, freedom from sorrow and pain, and in abundance of external goods ; Jerusalem is more glorious than ever ; the new Jerusalem is, according to Baruch and Ezra, already existent in heaven ; pious Israelites living in a foreign land are to return to Palestine before the dawn of the glorious day ; "to inherit the land" is synonymous with "to share in the Messianic salvation") ; *the Messiah* (comparatively few of the books of this period contain no allusion to a Messiah or ideal king ; a few mean by the Messiah a series of kings rather than a single person, the Targums speak both of a series of kings and of an individual Messiah ; but nevertheless the hope of one ideal king was predominant ; this ideal king is known by several names : Messiah, Son of God, Son of Man, the Elect One, the Righteous One, etc. ; he is descended from David ; his pre-existence in heaven is taught in the Similitudes of the Book of Enoch and in the Apocalypse of Ezra ; he is free from sin, and wise ; his rule is therefore just and peaceful ; he is the perfect king ; he is occasionally represented as having to fight for his dominion, but as a rule, at the setting up of his kingdom there are either no foes to be overthrown, or they are destroyed by him without a stroke of the sword ; his kingdom is a world-kingdom, of which, however, Jerusalem and Palestine remain the centre ; while as a rule it seems to be assumed that his reign is eternal, Pseudo-Baruch, Pseudo-Ezra and the earlier Sibylline books make it of temporary duration, the prelude, as it were, of the real end-time ; there is nowhere any allusion to a suffering and dying of the ideal king in behalf of others ; Pseudo-Ezra speaks expressly of his death, but his death is not substitutionary ; in the Targums there is occasional mention made of two Messiahs : the Messiah out of Judah and a Messiah who is a son of Ephraim ; of the former it is never said that he must suffer ; his name has been named from eternity, and he lives for ever ; the latter has to fight against the enemies of the Messianic kingdom, and dies).

In two Appendices Dr Hühn treats of the unfulfilled prophecies of the Old Testament, and of a number of passages that have been, according to him, erroneously interpreted in a Messianic sense.

These are, Gen. iii. 14 f., iv. 1, ix. 26, 27, xlix. 8-10; Num. xxiv. 17-19; Deut. xviii. 15-18; Isa. iv. 2, vii. 14, lii. 13—liii. 12; the Song of Solomon, Job xix. 25-27, and a number of passages in the Psalter. It is for purely exegetical reasons that he rejects the Messianic reference of these passages; but his reasoning is certainly not always convincing. There is also a full index of the passages referred to in the course of the work.

DAVID EATON.

### Aus Schrift und Geschichte.

*Theologische Abhandlungen und Skizzen Herrn Prof. Dr Conrad von Orelli zur Feier seiner 25-jährigen Lehrthätigkeit in Basel von Freunden und Schülern gewidmet. Basel: R. Reich; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. 458. Price, M.6.50.*

By the publication of this volume of biblical and historical studies the friends and pupils of Dr Conrad von Orelli celebrate his semi-jubilee as Professor of Theology in the University of Basle. With a few exceptions, the writers are not so well-known as were the essayists who gave distinction to similar volumes dedicated in recent years to Weizsäcker, Cremer and B. Weiss. Nevertheless, these studies have considerable interest and value; the subjects dealt with cover a wide field of thought, and are discussed frankly and fairly from the point of view of a liberal orthodoxy; moreover, as will appear, some of the essays are able and independent enquiries into vexed questions of Biblical interpretation, and assign good reasons for rejecting the more extreme conclusions of critics of the Ritschlian school.

I. Dr Adolf Schlatter of Berlin contributes a detailed and forceful exposition of John v. and vi., his object being to show that in the Johannine portrait of Jesus these two chapters are of great significance, and were intended to explain the reasons for our Lord's definite breach with the Jews, both of Jerusalem and of Galilee. In John i. to iv. the attractive power of the ministry of Jesus is described, and the only conflict recorded is that with the temple authorities; but at the close of chapter vi. He is forsaken, and appeals to the twelve: "Would ye also go away?" The rupture with the Jews of Jerusalem (John v.) was caused by our Lord's attitude towards the Sabbath law—the disagreement was in regard to the *Halacha*; the rupture with the Galileans (John vi.) was caused by our Lord's refusal to be made a king—the disagreement was in regard to the *Haggada*. On the one hand, His spiritual interpretation of the Law and His superiority to Jewish tradition offended

the legalists ; and on the other hand, His declining to accept the rôle of the legendary Messiah and His startling words about His death were an offence to the Galileans. For the Jews of Jerusalem His claims were too lofty, for the Jews of Galilee His conception of His career was too lowly. The difference in tone between the discourses in chapters v. and vi. is well brought out, and the significance of their teaching in present-day controversies is insisted upon with great vigour ; for these chapters are no mere " historical reminiscences," their value for us is that they define Christ's attitude to His Church, and in studying them Christians may learn in what relation they stand to Him.

II. " Preachers and Hearers in the time of Origen " is the title of an interesting historical study by Professor Barth of Berne, who makes use not only of the twenty sermons of Origen which are extant in Greek, but also of those translated into Latin by Rufinus and Jerome. The purpose of the essay is to show that in all ages the Church has need of preachers like Origen—exact scholars and trained theologians, who have also the ability lucidly to expound and earnestly to apply the truth. Origen's style is simple, his sermons are not models of graceful rhetoric, but they are fine examples of incisive reasoning and pungent appeal ; he is a noble specimen of the preacher, who, being an accomplished exegete, uses his stores of learning and his powerful imagination with deep humility, in order that he may effectively preach the Gospel to the people.

III. The authorship of the Pastoral Epistles is discussed at length by Pfarrer Rüegg, who holds that the problem has been rendered more difficult to solve by the uncritical habit of treating the three letters as a single literary production. A more thorough exegetical study of the special characteristics of each epistle will result, he thinks, in the confirmation of belief in their Pauline authorship. Rüegg's method is to summarise all that is known of the occasion of each epistle, to point out how they differ one from another, and then by means of a careful analysis of the contents of each, to show that it exactly suits the peculiarities of the historical situation. His argument is cumulative in force, and goes far to prove the credibility of the Pauline authorship of these epistles, and to render unnecessary the hypothesis that they are literary compilations, not genuine letters. [As an evidence of the difficulties which beset the varied forms of this hypothesis, it is worthy of notice that in the second edition of Strack & Zöckler's *Kurzgefasster Commentar* Riggenbach rejects the theory advocated in the first edition by Kübel—that the Pastoral Epistles are Pauline letters edited by Luke, and falls back on the theory of Grau—that they are Pauline letters edited by Timothy.]

IV. A difficult theme is skilfully handled by Lic. E. Riggenbach



of Basle : "The Sources of the Resurrection narratives with especial reference to the localities of our Lord's appearances." New interest has been imparted to the discussion of this old problem by the discovery of the fragment of the 'Gospel according to Peter,' which Harnack exalts into an authority of the first rank, with the result that he gives preference to the tradition of Matthew and Mark who, when so-called interpolations are excluded, refer only to appearances of the Risen Saviour in Galilee. This view is opposed with great ability by Loofs, who, in No. 33 of the *Hefte zur Christlichen Welt*, vindicates the originality of the tradition preserved in Luke and John xx., and recording appearances in Jerusalem. Loofs, however, regards the appearances in Galilee as doubtful, whilst Riggensbach in this essay contends that the two traditions, though seemingly opposed, are not irreconcilable.

A summary of the conclusions arrived at as the result of a lengthy investigation is all that can be attempted here. (1) The original ending of the Gospel according to Mark is lost, and cannot be reconstructed from John xxi., nor from the Petrine fragment, but it is improbable that Mark intended to close his narrative at xvi. 8. (2) In John xxi. 1-14 the 'third' appearance of the Risen Saviour to his disciples is recorded—not the first as both Harnack and Loofs maintained; this appearance was in Galilee and the account of it cannot be explained as an inexact reminiscence of Luke v. 1-11; the fourth Gospel comes to its fitting and formal close immediately after it has reached its climax in the confession of Thomas (xx. 28), but the "Appendix" makes it plain that although the Gospel proper mentions only appearances in Jerusalem, yet its author was aware both that Christ had appeared to his disciples in Galilee, and that the manifestation in Galilee was preceded by two appearances to them in Jerusalem. (3) There is no tradition which necessarily confines our Lord's appearances to Galilee; Matt. xxviii. 9, 10, which records an appearance to women in Jerusalem, is not an interpolation, and although Mark xvi. 7 may imply that the Evangelist intended to narrate an important appearance in Galilee, it does not follow that he intended to narrate that only, nor that he knew nothing of any appearance in Jerusalem. (4) The omission of any appearances in Galilee from Luke's narratives both in the Gospel and in the Acts is most simply explained by supposing that he had no exact information about them; it is not a fair inference from his silence that no place can be found for them in either of his narratives, for the events of Luke xxiv. cannot be crowded into a single day and there is room enough for the appearances in Galilee during the forty days mentioned in Acts. (6) Perhaps the most convincing part of Loofs' able pamphlet is the section in which he deals with the testimony of St Paul in

1 Cor. xv. 3-8, and Riggenbach is in essential agreement with Loofs' results. For one or two of the appearances mentioned by Paul there is no other tradition, and on the other hand, he does not record four or five that are narrated in the Gospels; but these latter are not to be treated as unhistorical because of Paul's silence, although this hasty assumption is too often made. Paul was dependent on others for his information and he may have remained in ignorance of many things which were well known to the members of the Church in Jerusalem. Besides, most of the appearances not mentioned by Paul are of a more or less private character; such emphatically are the appearance to the two travellers to Emmaus and the second appearance to the twelve when Thomas was present; Paul may, however, have intentionally omitted the appearance to Mary Magdalene and preferred to begin his list with the appearance to Peter, because he was one of the chosen witnesses of the Resurrection; the omission of any reference to the narrative in John xxi. is more difficult to explain, but the probable reason is that Christ's manifestation of Himself to seven disciples was thrown into the background by His appearance to "above five hundred brethren at once."

This thoughtful and well-reasoned essay deserves the attention of all students of the Gospel; it does not claim to leave no questions still open but to have vindicated the right of our New Testament Sources to be regarded as, in the main, a consistent and thoroughly trustworthy account of the course of events.

V. A short paper on "Protestant Church Discipline" by Lic. Lauterburg shows that the Lutheran and Reformed Churches hold different theories on this subject, the latter regarding Church discipline positively, as a training of church members in the Christian life, the latter regarding it negatively, as a guarding of the treasures of the Church from those who are unworthy to partake of them. The following subjects amongst others, are dealt with: the exclusion of unworthy communicants from the table of the Lord; the relation between Church discipline and civil law; the abuses of Church discipline, as when an ecclesiastical ban has been assumed to imply the condemnation of the Lord, or an ecclesiastical penalty has involved an unchristian respecting of persons—for example, the visiting of breaches of the seventh commandment on the guilty woman alone.

VI. Pfarrer Wilhelm Schlatter's essay on "The Biblical Conception of Grace" is a suggestive word-study, in which he carefully discriminates between the ideas expressed by חֶסֶד in the Old Testament, and by χάρις in the New. The two words have the same centre, but their circumferences do not coincide; חֶסֶד is the wider

of two concentric circles, for whilst *χάρις* under Christian influences is exalted in the New Testament to express an almost exclusively religious conception, *רַחֲמִים* in the Old Testament is used to describe human conduct and character. New light is cast upon many passages of Scripture as the shades of meaning expressed by these two words are classified; two particularly valuable sections deal respectively with the Old Testament combination of 'grace' and 'righteousness,' and with the New Testament combination of 'grace' and 'faith.' "Grace is not pity which is aroused by the sight of misery, nor love which chooses the objects to which it is attracted; such pity and such love are emotions of the human heart, but grace is an attribute of God alone—it is the distinguishing characteristic of the Divine Love."

VII. In the longest article in the volume, Dr Boehmer studies the prophecies of Isaiah in their chronological order, and has no difficulty in proving that modern criticism has brought out more clearly the great truths which were the main themes of the prophet's preaching. When each discourse is placed in its true historical setting a development of ideas may be traced, and it becomes evident that there is an underlying unity in Isaiah's various conceptions of the glorious salvation it is his mission to proclaim. In great detail Dr Boehmer expounds Isaiah's descriptions of the Messiah's personality and the blessings of His rule, and there is both force and freshness in his treatment of a subject upon which much has been said, and said well, in recent years.

VIII. The old problem of 'The Purpose of the Acts of the Apostles,' as distinguished from the modern problem of its 'Sources,' is raised by Lic. Hadorn in an essay which reveals extensive reading and independent thought, but which makes no reference to English authors, not even to Lightfoot and Ramsay. Wendt and Weiss are right when, in opposition to the 'tendency theories' advocated by writers of the Tübingen school, they emphasise the practical purpose of the book; they are wrong in representing the author's gaze as continually turned on the geographical details of the spread of Christianity—his eye is ever fixed on Christ. The purpose of the Acts is neither political nor ecclesiastical, neither purely historical nor merely edificatory, it is specifically Christological—the design of Luke is to describe the work of the exalted Saviour. On this point there is absolute agreement in narratives which are supposed by many critics to be traceable to very different sources. Apart from his opinions on matters of detail—as for example, that the simple (?) solution of the problem of the speaking with Tongues is, that on the day of Pentecost the Apostles spoke Greek—there are many helpful suggestions in

Hadorn's exposition of a theory which is not unfamiliar to those whose reading includes English as well as German commentaries.

IX. Pfarrer Kuhn contributes an "Exposition of Isaiah xxiv.-xxvii.," which is regarded as a description of the judgment of the world, and not of any single land. The genuineness of the prophecy is taken for granted, the arguments of von Orelli and W. E. Barnes being held to be conclusive.

X. "Preparation for the Ministry in the Scottish Churches" is the title of a well-informed, sympathetic, and eulogistic article by Pfarrer Martin Locher of Lucerne. The Churches to which reference is made are the Established Church of Scotland, the Free Church, and the United Presbyterian Church. The career of a student for the ministry is traced from his three or four years' course at the university to his ordination. In his account of the Divinity Halls the writer shows that he is familiar with the details of a student's life in and out of college, as well as with the characteristics of the teaching of many of the professors. In a section which deals with other 'Educational influences,' the Foreign Theological Library, the Cunningham Lectures, the *Critical Review*, and the *Expositor*, are mentioned with high praise, as proofs of the interest with which the tendencies of theological thought in Germany are followed; Dr Alexander Whyte's Sunday evening services are also graphically sketched, he himself being described as a type of the *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum*. One extract will suffice to show the spirit which breathes throughout this interesting article: "In opposition to the Episcopalians the Presbyterians attach great importance to a due representation of the laity in the Church, and in their conception of the ministry all priestly assumption is emphatically repudiated; but does this imply that they undervalue the office of a minister or think lightly of the conditions which are essential to a successful ministry? By no means. On the contrary, the reason why they attach so high a value to the careful and thorough education of students for the ministry is that they believe intellectual and spiritual gifts alone can qualify a man for the sacred office and that they hold no Romish or High Anglican views as to the magic effect of Ordination by the Bishop."

XI. Pfarrer Linder investigates one aspect of the many-sided problem of "The Theology of the Book of Job." Recognising that the book deals primarily with problems of life and especially with the problem of suffering, the essayist confines his study to its doctrine of God. In the controversy between Job and his friends, the error common to both parties in the dispute—the *πρῶτον ψεύδος*—is the assumption that suffering such as Job's must be a sign of the Divine displeasure. As this doctrine is not learnt in the school of experience, the fact that it was common ground in this

argument is one of many proofs that the universal conscience of man bears witness to the righteousness of God. At first Job takes a lower view of God than his accusers, contending that if his suffering be punishment, then God punishes the innocent and cannot be righteous; but in his later speeches he maintains that belief in a righteous and loving God does not rest upon what we now see of the punishment of vice and the reward of virtue. The limitations of the teaching of this book are the limitations of the Old Testament; if it is silent on some questions, it is silent because the only answer to them is in Christ.

J. G. TASKER.

### **Truth and Error : or the Science of Intellection.**

*By J. W. Powell. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co.; London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1898. Pp. vii. 428. Price, 7s. 6d.*

ALTHOUGH his name may be unfamiliar in Great Britain, save to a few specialists, the author of this work has occupied, and still holds, important scientific positions under the Government of the United States. At one time Director of the United States Geological Survey, Major J. W. Powell is now Director of the United States Bureau of American Ethnology. Were Sir Archibald Geikie, the Librarian of the India Office or other civil servant suddenly to break into the field of metaphysics with a book based largely on his scientific experience or ethnological lore, we would have a parallel to this volume.

But, apart altogether from the official position of its author, or from his standing as a geologist or anthropologist, "Truth and Error" must be viewed as a noteworthy performance. No doubt, it is open to obvious, and most serious, objection on several grounds. One might easily make game of its serried phalanxes of new, and often uncouth, terms, as of its lavish use of well-worn words in unfamiliar senses. Without carping, and without unfair selection, one could point to an abounding ignorance (possibly it is misapprehension) of the history of Philosophy, as well as to a curious unconsciousness on the author's part of the true reasons for the faith that is in him. Similarly a certain naïve dogmatism—"I hold," "I deny," "I cannot," "I can," "I do," "I think," and so on—offers an enticing mark to the critic, while it would be a simple matter to adopt an attitude of lofty contempt towards some references to a vaguely outlined ideal of "a purified science of God, immortality, and freedom." These defects, like several others, lie so open, so invitingly open, on the surface, that they are sure to catch the critical

eye, and mayhap, to elicit a lop-sided estimate of the book. It may be well, therefore, to pass them over with mere mention, and to come to an understanding with ourselves, why, in spite of them, the work is distinctly noteworthy.

In the first place, then, Mr Powell represents a most interesting, and possibly fruitful movement; one too which has gone further in the United States than in Great Britain so far as I am capable of judging. Scientific men here seem to be turning their attention to philosophy rapidly, or, if not to technical philosophy, then to the metaphysical problems that lie embedded in the presuppositions, language and results of the positive sciences. One or two British exponents of this tendency might be mentioned, but in the United States it has crystallised to some extent, thanks in a measure to the sedulous cultivation of experimental psychology, which has now passed the stages of fashion and fanaticism, and is beginning to find its real bearings. While Mr Powell does not say so, there can be little doubt that this awakened consciousness of unsolved, even unsuspected problems, implies a metaphysical renaissance, and this at no very distant date. To some such revivification "Truth and Error" bears clear witness.

In the second place, and complementary to what has just been said, the work indicates an altered attitude on the part of philosophers towards their material. In the Cartesian period, closed by Hume, one can trace everywhere the potent influence of the mathematico-physical sciences, and of the attendant dualism consequent upon continual statement in terms of the spatial analogy. Analysis, separation, molar bodies conceived to be merely standing alongside each other, dominate the directions and conclusions of systematic thinking. And even in the Kantian *interregnum* something more than a remnant of these subtly persuasive categories maintains the spell so often exercised by the dead hand. With the great post-Kantians the scene suddenly changes. The human sciences—religion, history, jurisprudence, anthropology, æsthetics, ethics—furnish the philosophers with the indispensable springboard; and this fresh departure accounts, not only for the intense vitality and attractiveness of Fichte, Schelling and Hegel, but also for their chief limitations, as some now begin to perceive. For, seeing that man is still dealt with as if he were exceptional, or the object of God's peculiar favour, these sciences cannot be called truly scientific as yet—they had hardly even entered upon their natural history stage. During the last two generations the rise, spread, and organisation of the biological sciences have mediated all this; nay, for a little, thinkers happen to have been swept off their feet by that mockery, a *mechanical biology*, just as Schelling was submerged by a *spiritual natural* philosophy. At present this is

daily becoming more plain, and we are in the midst, not of a reaction, as some bemuddled obscurantists fondly suppose, but of a reconstruction of biological *data* under the influence of the humanities so-called, as of the humanities in the light of biological conclusions. I do not think that Mr Powell is fully conscious of this ; nevertheless his book everywhere indicates the presence, pressure and power of the newer outlook.

Lastly, the consequences and embodiment of the shaking of dry bones reviewed above are to be seen in Mr Powell's thoroughly modern point of view. He does not fill his belly with the husks that the swine did eat, as so many of his fellows appear to be doing, and this in the midst of unexampled plenty. But he formulates, if not a system, then a series of suggestive proposals which, if present indications count for aught, will have to be reckoned with during the next twenty years. "Causations are processes, and one abstract process cannot exist without the concomitant processes—that is, there can be no processes of causation without processes of force, form and kind, together with processes of mind. . . . The study of incorporation and reincorporation is evolution from the standpoint of causation, which in turn is the study of time. . . . Directed changes in position lead to incorporation, then incorporation is succeeded by reincorporation, and the totality of these changes is the totality of evolution" (187). Some foolish or feeble persons call this Materialism, and take to flight incontinently. A few partizans, who ought to know better, dub it Monism and, with upturned eyes, pass by on the other side. While Mr Powell himself in one place (95) seems to acquiesce in the label Hylozoism, although elsewhere (415) he so interprets this name as to render it meaningless. Hylopsychism it may be, I prefer to call it Panentheism, if we must indulge in baptism. Be this as it may, the theory implies a reinterpretation of Relationism, one as positive as Mr F. H. Bradley's was evasive, and yet, at the time, necessary.

For these reasons, therefore, "Truth and Error" cannot but be regarded as a noteworthy contribution, despite its abounding limitations. Possibly, too, it were the better wisdom not to insist overmuch upon these limitations, seeing that this is a pioneer work, and represents the reflections of a man who suddenly finds himself in a strange land, but the land of the future—of a kind. For these reasons also, I for one await with quickened interest Mr Powell's two promised volumes on the Theory of Cognition and on Psychology.

As has been hinted, the work ought to be regarded as a series of suggestions. Consequently, it is difficult to present a conspectus of it, even although chapters iii.-vii., ix.-xiii., and xx.-xxiv., constitute well-defined groups ; and this I shall not attempt meantime, prefer-

ring rather to leave the readers of the *Critical Review* to pass their several judgments upon it; and with the warning that such system as the book presents is impossible, as anybody who will compare its analyses with those in Professor Ward's masterly "Naturalism and Agnosticism" will readily infer.

But, seeing that we are at the task of criticism as well as enjoying the pleasures of appreciation, it may be apposite to conclude with some notice of a few lapses. The entire conception of Metaphysics (curiously the book is a metaphysic) is crude and philistine (*e.g.*, 127, 150, 184). When Mr Powell employs the term he stands in his own light by restricting its meaning to that "metaphysicising" popular in the middle ages, of which Mr Spencer is the contemporary protagonist, and to which orthodox theologians still lean—so do extremes meet in various ways. On p. 101 "properties" are called "secondary qualities," while on the next page they are classed as "primary," both in the Lockian sense. Epistemology is misspelt epistomology all through—if intentionally, a most misleading usage. The idea that the universe as a "pentalogic system" accounts for the wide use of decimal ciphering (112) seems to be quite fantastic. The criticism of Hegel (107) must be called unfortunate, seeing that on p. 115 (second paragraph from the foot) Mr Powell sets forth with entire approval precisely what Hegel did. The inference from the hallucination "census" of the Society of Psychical Research (315)—"it is probable there is no person who has not experienced them"—appears a very random shot in view of the facts. Finally, many will want to know what a "turkis egg" (289) is, and the same persons will doubtless be glad if, in future books, Mr Powell will purge his pages of some analogous orthographic vagaries. Being pure provincialisms, they are unworthy of an educated man. It ought to be said also that the index is worse than useless; and that there are very few footnotes, whereas in some places they seem all too necessary.

R. M. WENLEY.

### **Morality as a Religion, an Exposition of Some First Principles.**

*By W. R. Washington Sullivan. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co. 1898. Pp. vii. 296. Price, 6s.*

DESPITE the explanatory clause attached to the title, this cannot be called a treatise on systematic ethics. Without injustice, one might characterise it as a collection of lay-sermons; and add, this time with some injustice, that the same old "cockshies" receive the unmerciful battering, and that the same vague "immensities" are wretched



in clouds of "sentimentising" incense. With some injustice, I say, because, although the book lapses into not a few inconsequences, and even contradictions, it contains numerous pronouncements with which every good man must be in heartiest accord.

It may be inferred that these discourses were delivered before the Ethical Religion Society, which meets weekly on Sundays at Steinway Hall, London. The author summarises their purpose with sufficient distinctness in the preface. "The present volume is a plea for a reconsideration of the Religious question, and an inquiry as to the possibility of reconstructing Religion by shifting its basis from inscrutable dogmas to the unquestionable facts of man's moral nature. . . . The volume is altogether of an introductory character, and merely aims at conveying the central truth of Ethical Religion expressed by Immanuel Kant in the well-known words—Religion is Morality recognised as a Divine command. Morality is the foundation. Religion only adds the new and commanding point of view" (iii. vi.). All this is familiar enough, and it ought to be said at once that the peculiar interest of the book centres in the naïve manner in which it delineates the maze so characteristic of contemporary ethical theory, and in the unconscious blundering into many an open pitfall. This may be illustrated by a few extracts. "I affix my two humble propositions to the postern of the ethical church, namely, first, that, 'In the beginning was Mind;' and next, that the moral law is the highest expression of that Mind. . . . This is essential Kantism. . . . Not ethics, then, from theism, but theism from ethics. Not morality from God, but God is known from and through morality" (38, 39); yet, "the *instinct* of humanity is with us, that instinct which commands a man to live for the right, and instinct does not err" (44). Is there no difference between Mind and instinct? Again, "I think it advisable to remark that Kant's title to philosophical immortality rests upon his constructive work as an ethicist, and not on his critical work as a speculative thinker" (64, 65); and yet "consciousness is a psychological expression, while conscience is ethical. Nevertheless, it must be most carefully remembered that the two functions are performed by one and the same reason;" (91); and yet "there is no irreconcilable opposition between the ethical religion of Kant and the Religion of Humanity of Comte" (195). How are such pronouncements to be unified? Once more, "I suppose it is needless to point out the dogma of the resurrection of the body, insisted upon by all the Christian Churches, is a blank impossibility" (73, 74); nevertheless, "the one changeless thing, beyond the doom of sun-stars and swarms of worlds, is the will of man nobly submissive to the Great Obedience of the Supreme Law—the Law of Justice and Truth" (144, 145); and "He hath made

earth's peoples to be healed; they shall redeem *themselves* one day" (156). Finally, "Kant and Comte will be found to be, after Christ, the master builders of the second temple" (207); yet, "the only true commentator on Jesus and his religion is Immanuel Kant" (282). Despite the random sayings, of which these give one an idea, Mr Sullivan's heart is in the right place. He has excellent chapters on Priests and Prophets, the Ethical Aspect of War, the Ethics of Marriage, and on "Helbeck of Bannisdale." Others are very far from being so good, and one encounters a deal of vague stuff of the kind that seems to be the special property of the ethical culturists when they attempt construction. "The Good in man, that is God; that alone is worthy of our adoration and our love" (286; cf. 94, 139, 191, 276). Of course, all this looks and sounds very fine; but then it cannot be called war. And we are forced to conclude that its author, though full of the poetising instinct, can scarcely be classed as a systematic thinker.

This is the more unfortunate that ethical theory happens to be in a sadly tangled condition at the moment. "Morality as a Religion" serves a purpose, however, for it reflects certain conspicuous difficulties very plainly. As a matter of sober fact we cannot point to any marked ethical stream just now, but eddies swirl around in plenty. Supranaturalism, rationalism, naturalism, idealism and the rest, are all causing commotions after their kind. The task of the hour would seem to be that of giving each its place in a fresh synthesis. On the whole, even our prominent specialists tend to emphasize one element at the expense of the others. And Mr Sullivan need not be treated too harshly because he has followed the lead of some who are held for masters, although he does not press the argument from authority (40). He rules out supranaturalism altogether; in other words, cancels the influence of religion. In this connection he might do well to repose on authority a little more, and ponder what Paulsen says in his *Ethik* and Pfeleiderer in the *American Journal of Theology* (April 1899). Mr Sullivan poses as a rationalist, but the pressure of the age forces him to make peace with naturalism, even in moments when his rationalism, thanks to admiration of Emerson, has transformed itself into mysticism. On the whole, it is a thousand pities that aspiration so admirable should bear its burden only to find itself baulked at the last in *cul-de-sac*. The work ends thus because of the attempt to found on so-called facts of an abstract moral life which has no existence. To tell us that morality provides the only foundation for religion, and then to declare substantially that morality is to be summed in the maxim, "You are told to do what you are told to do," were surely the height of ineffectual calling.

R. M. WENLEY.

**The Trial of Jesus Christ : A Legal Monograph.**

*By A. Taylor Innes, Advocate. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 1899.  
Cr. 8vo, pp. 123. Price, 2s. 6d.*

THIS deeply interesting study supplies a "felt want" in English literature. The central event of history is reckoned by all Christians and by the majority of civilised men to be the death of that comparatively young Jew, by name Jesus, whose serene and blameless life was closed after a double trial and a double condemnation in circumstances which have ever since riveted the attention of mankind. Yet around that event the emotions of men and women have so gathered, and the energies of scholars have been expended in commentaries—doctrinal, theological and historical—to such a vast extent, that the realism of a juridical study of

"The deep damnation of His taking off"

must give us pause and make us grateful. Nor are we sure that a more competent investigator could have been named for this task than the painstaking and powerful historical student whose work on Church and State, still too little known, is the best on its subject in our language.

With the major part of Mr Innes' treatment of his theme we agree : on several minor parts we with much diffidence differ. We think, for instance, that on the point of why there was a double trial—the question, viz., of the conflict or apparent conflict of the Jewish and Roman jurisdictions—he is unnecessarily complex in his statement. The truth of the matter seems simply to be this. The politics of Rome with regard to kingdoms like Carthage and Judea were as different as night from day. In the one case a strong, half savage, military and rival power had to be torn up by the roots amid circumstances that destroyed the patriotic memories of the inhabitants or swept the inhabitants themselves from the face of the earth. In the other case, a weak, intelligent, peaceably-disposed and industrious people were annexed with comparative immunity from slaughter, and with only so much pressure of the Imperial heel as would make the mark of Empire among a nation whose self-government and local institutions might continue consistently with central authority and indeed might themselves become a useful annexe to the administration of Rome.

How far, in the sphere of criminal law, local jurisdiction and executive power should extend—that lay with Rome. In the case of a proud and ancient people, still wholly theocratic in political sentiment, it would be idle to expect that they would deny themselves the forms of judicial trial ; but it is proved that the Jewish

authorities themselves acknowledged the limits of their power at the line of life or death. While accordingly they had the offer of Pilate, "take Him yourselves and judge Him according to your law," and while they might grumble that "by our law He ought to die," they had yet to invoke the awful sanction of the Cross from the hated dominant power. "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death."

The real infamy of the Hebrew trial lay in this that, in its course, the prisoner Jesus—notably at one conspicuous point—should have stood acquitted; and that nevertheless, in its culmination, the whole Hebrew people from its High Priest downwards were made to stand petitioners for death.

From beginning to end the Hebrew proceeding reeks of illegality. It was a trial by night: that was unlawful. It was a trial continued into Passover morning: that was unlawful. But these were Jewish rules. All civilised jurisprudence, however, knows the result when witnesses "agree not together": and if the Jews had any specialty to plead, it was the strength of their legal scruples on that head: justice, Hebrew, world-wide, legal, simple justice demanded the liberation of the accused. He was not liberated: that was unlawful. Then suddenly on a charge of blasphemy, never previously formulated distinctly, he was examined and made a statement; garments were rent with the accustomed forms of horror, and on his own statement he was condemned. To condemn on the statement of the accused: that also was by Hebrew law, it seems, unlawful. All this we have stated in bold and blank and set disregard of every syllable which Christ uttered during the trial being true, so as to examine with rigour the purely judicial problem. So viewed, this trial of Jesus Christ surpasses all other recorded trials as an assize of outrage. Napoleon's masterpiece of crime, the judicial murder of the Duc d'Enghien, approaches it most nearly: suddenly, by night, and by a tribunal set on death. The excesses of the Revolutionary tribunal and the Committee of Safety, ten years earlier were not strictly comparable; they were of a different type; their violence was brutality, without finesse.

What, now, of the Roman trial? The need of the book under review is manifest in this, that the literature of England does contain one great and notable deliverance by a well-known jurist, and that deliverance is a masterly perversion of sound opinion on the facts as they stand recorded. We refer to Sir James Fitzjames Stephen's treatment of the topic in his "*Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.*" Sir James' view is that the case was one of social order, and that in that cause this sacrifice of life was justified: *ergo*, Pontius Pilate was a just judge. It is wholly wrong. The case was not one of social order. It was one in which the accusers

who had condemned the prisoner for blasphemy against God, transmuted the charge to sedition against Caesar, in that the accused had called himself a king. So far with Sir James. But what followed? Pilate had his examination of the man, and there ensued that extraordinary revelation of kingship indeed, but over a kingdom not of this world—a kingdom therefore not in earthly rivalry nor armed with earthly weapons—which so impressed Pilate that he found the charge not only unproved but disproved: Jesus is a “just man”: “I find no fault in Him.” By what travesty of truth can it be made to appear that that judge was just, who, after announcing a verdict of acquittal, handed over the innocent man for execution to those who had delivered him “for envy” and were clamouring for his blood? On this issue, as we have said, Mr Innes has rendered real and sound service.

It is not to the point to urge that Pilate was a coward, a shuffler, a shifty hypocrite who practised openly the make-believe of washing his hands of the innocent blood. So he was, no doubt. But he was a coward, armed with the power of Rome—a power against which all the wrath of Judea was but as the ripple on the Great Sea. And so it is that, not to a coward merely, but to this unjust judge, Rome owes its share in that eternal infamy; and so it was that under the sanction of the Procurator of Tiberias the blessed hands and feet were nailed to the accursed tree by the soldiers of Rome, and the broken heart of the Saviour of mankind was pierced by a Roman spear.

These are but examples of the problems handled in this book—a book which we earnestly commend, for its carefulness and power and for its commanding interest.

THOS. SHAW.

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### **Reconciliation by Incarnation: The Reconciliation of God and Man by the Incarnation of the Divine Word.**

*By D. W. Simon, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898.*

*Pp. xxiii. 387. Price, 7s. 6d.*

MUCH interest attaches to this mature and elaborate discussion by the able and learned Principal of the United College, Bradford, of a subject to which he has devoted the study and enthusiasm of a specialist. His earlier work, *The Redemption of Man: Discussions bearing on the Atonement*, did not profess to be a complete treatise on the doctrine, which in it was “rather approached from various points of view, than rigidly and systematically expounded.” It consisted of a series of essays bound together by their common reference, and brought into line by means of a historical introduction. There is, in fact, more of *history* in the former volume, *e.g.*

chap. iv. : "Hebrew Sin-offerings, with Ethic Parallels," and chap. x. : "The Historical Influence of the Death of Christ," than in the present one. So far it may be regarded, therefore, as not only preparing the way for the present work, but as supplying, to some extent, the materials on which the latter is based. The scarcity of footnotes and references in this as compared with the former volume is an indication of the difference. Yet it must be said that Dr Simon is at pains to give his argument a base at once broadly and deeply laid. The strength of the book as a monograph, in which it compares favourably with many other doctrinal monographs which might be named, is that an attempt is made to begin at the beginning, to avoid building in the air, the author's view being founded upon a carefully constructed and no less carefully expounded cosmology. He explains what he takes to be the fundamental principles of existence, and the relations of matter, energy, and idea within the universe. Starting from such considerations of universal import, his object is to show the nature of reconciliation between God and man, and how, in promoting it, the incarnation is both indispensable and effectual. This, we have said, is the strength of the book; it is perhaps, also its weakness; for it is obvious that, in so far as the cosmology expounded fails to commend itself to anyone, the argument based upon it becomes less convincing.

The author begins by distinguishing three phases or stages of redemption,—first, reconciliation of God and man; second, liberation from sin and restoration to righteousness; and, third, deliverance from evil and entrance into good. The first of these is the subject of the work before us, and if followed up by equally elaborate treatises on the other two, the result will be a work both of magnitude and value on its important theme.

The elements of the discussion are found first in the distinction between the two natural or normal relations of God to man,—that He stands at once in a personal relation, that of Spirit to spirit, of individuality to individuality, and in a vital or bio-dynamic relation, as the sustainer of man's life in all its manifestations, the environment in which, spiritually as well as bodily, he lives and moves and has his being: and, further, that the relations between God and man are complicated by being no longer normal, by having become abnormal. It is, of course, the abnormality which sin has introduced that gives rise to the necessity for reconciliation. It is the personal relation which this chiefly affects, but it produces a curious inconsistency, an apparent incompatibility, between the personal and the cosmical relations of God to man. The latter has an independence of the former which seems to bar the way to reconciliation. By what means can God bridge the gulf which,

though the result of sin, is maintained and, as it were, guaranteed by the Divinely instituted laws of the universe itself? The various methods which God has pursued in order to win back humanity without violating these laws are described, and the reasons indicated of their insufficiency and relative failure. The problem thus raised is one the solution of which is to be found in the incarnation. What could not be effected from without, is thereby effected from within. The relation of the Logos to the world as well as to God, the relation of Christ to humanity, enables the Son of God to bring together the Divine and human, to fulfil what have been found to be the necessary conditions of reconciliation, and especially to be a fountain of life, of renewed moral energy, to humanity in its alienation and corruption.

In the course of this exposition many points interesting in themselves, as well as from their place in the argument, are passed under review. On these opinions will differ widely, but Dr Simon's presentation of them will repay careful consideration even on the part of those who reject the conclusions to which he comes. It is frequently marked by eloquence, and illustrated by appropriate quotations. We may refer to such remarks as those on the results of the Fall,—as to which a *caveat* is entered against current misconceptions,—on the "evil results for God" of the abnormal personal relation of man to God, and on the Divine self-limitation. The last is an important subject, to the far-reaching significance of which due attention has perhaps not yet been given. Many suggestive definitions also are to be found in these pages: for example, "Self-condemnation from God's point of view, and grief for the grief of God, constitute what Scripture understands by repentance" (p. 193).

The unity of this book, due to the way in which it reflects the individuality of the writer's thinking,—for every page bears evidence of that wrestling with a problem, as of one determined to reach its secret, which is the highest merit of work of this kind,—makes it not always easy reading. The student must, indeed, first think himself into the author's point of view, and appreciate, as it were, his special method, before the force of the argument can be fully grasped. In this respect, the book bears a resemblance to that on the same subject by M'Leod Campbell, with many of whose positions Dr Simon is in sympathy, and from whom he has obviously learned much. But whatever stimulus Dr Simon has received from any quarter, he is a follower, in an exclusive sense, of no man, but by this fresh example of patient and vigorous thinking, has approved himself a master in this department, and given us a volume which must be pronounced an important contribution to British Theology.

ALEXANDER STEWART.

Notices.

In his *Instructions on the Revelation of St John the Divine*<sup>1</sup> Canon Strange's object is to make the Apocalypse "more intelligible to the ordinary reader and so to encourage the study of it." His idea is that the book may be regarded as an extended account of our Lord's discourses on the four last things, and that it is a book "for all time," its contents not being satisfied by "any theory which limited it to mere history, to the dynasties of the world, or to the delineations of the papacy." There is much truth of course in this, but the statement is neither sufficiently precise nor adequate of itself to meet the whole case. The writer, indeed, sees that the book must be adjusted to the times in which it was produced, and must be read in the light of current Jewish ideas as reflected in the copious Apocalyptic literature of Judaism. He prefaces his exposition by an Introduction adapted from Eberhard Vischer's *Die Offenbarung Johannis*. He appears to favour Vischer and Harnack's theory, that the book is the work of a Christian writer who used to a considerable extent previously existing Jewish matter. But while he seems to admit that the book had the way prepared for it by the Jewish Apocalypses and even owed its origin to them, he does not make the use that we should expect of the contents of these books in explaining the visions of John, nor does he follow the historical method consistently and throughout. This is most felt in what is said of the most difficult passages. In ch. xiii., e.g. the problem of the number 666 is scarcely approached. So far as any preference is indicated it would seem to be for Godet's explanation; the cypher  $\chi\zeta\sigma$ , as it is given in the Greek text, being taken to show in its first and third letters "the abbreviation of the name of Christ," while the middle letter is thought to be the "emblem of the serpent, the enemy of Christ." The paragraph on the thousand years' reign in ch. xx. is dealt with in a very peculiar way. The passage is understood to teach that in the millennium there will be "a regeneration of nations with another loss of Satanic influence such as took place, in measure, when paganism gave way to Christianity"; and that afterwards there will be a "yet further regeneration with the complete destruction of evil in the new heavens and the new earth."

But if the scientific student may not get much to help him in these *Instructions*, the preacher will fare better. And it is but just to say that the author makes no claim to "deep scholarship," and does not profess to give a scientific exposition. He has written

<sup>1</sup> By Rev. Cresswell Strange, M.A., Late Scholar of Pembroke College, Oxford, Vicar of Edgbaston, and Honorary Canon of Worcester. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xix. 331. Price, 6s.



with a view to the practical needs of his people, and he has done that well. His book contains much that may give a large class of readers a new interest in the Revelation of St John. It abounds in ideas, tersely and suggestively expressed, which should quicken devout thought and help the religious life.

In the year 1891 the Royal Prussian Academy of the Sciences undertook the preparation of a new critical edition of early Greek Christian literature. For this purpose it appointed a Commission, consisting of Messrs Diels, Dillmann, von Gebhardt, Harnack, Loofs, and Mommsen; of whom alas! the great Dillmann is no longer with us. The work is to be carried out by help of the Wentzel-Stiftung, and it is to be of a very comprehensive order. It is to embrace all Greek writings and documents of every kind which have any relation to primitive Christianity and the rising Catholic Church in Constantine's time. It is to give these in critical editions. It is to occupy some fifty large volumes, and will be completed, it is hoped, in about twenty years. The New Testament books are not to be included. But everything else that bears in any way upon the object of the series is to be embraced. So large is the plan that not only do all the Apocryphal Gospels and Apostolic writings of the first three centuries fall within its compass, but all those late Jewish books (Apocalypses, Sibylline writings, etc.) which were received and in part used or worked up by the oldest Christian writers. And translations are to be taken where the Greek originals are wanting. Historical Introductions, Indices, and a full apparatus are to be furnished.

It is a vast undertaking, and one of great importance. It should do much both for historical studies and for the textual criticism of the New Testament. And it has already made some progress. Three volumes are now before us, one of *Hippolytus*,<sup>1</sup> and two of *Origen*.<sup>2</sup> The first volume of this edition of *Hippolytus* has been prepared by Dr G. Nath. Bonwetsch, Professor of Theology in the University of Göttingen, and Dr Hans Achelis, Privatdocent in the same University. It is occupied with the Exegetical and Homiletical writings of the schismatical Bishop of Rome, and is divided into two parts. The first half contains the commentaries on *Daniel* and the *Song of Songs*, which are edited by Professor Bonwetsch. In the second half the smaller exegetical and homi-

<sup>1</sup> Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte. Herausgegeben von der Kirchenväter—Commission der Königl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Hippolytus, Erster Band. Leipzig: Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1897, Lex., 8vo, pp. xxviii. 374 and pp. x. 309. Price M.18.

<sup>2</sup> Origenes, Leipzig: Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899, Lex., 8vo. Erster Band, pp. xcii. 374. Zweiter Band, pp. 545. Price M.28.

letical writings are collected, not omitting the most fragmentary. Dr Achelis is responsible for this peculiarly difficult section. Both editors have very special qualifications for their tasks, having worked long and carefully on *Hippolytus*. German translations are provided; variations in the texts are noted with all needful fulness and precision; references to passages of Scripture and quotations of such are indicated; and all the information which studious research has been able to gather on the questions connected with the several writings, their manuscripts, their history, etc., is placed at our service in the ample Introductions. The work is executed with characteristic German thoroughness and patience. The text of the Commentary on *Daniel* is constructed on the basis of all the extant Greek MSS. (all incomplete), an Old Slavic version, some Syriac fragments gathered from different quarters, and passages in the Catenae and other ancient writings. Much of the Commentary on the *Song of Songs* is pronounced spurious. What remains, even with the help of a few Syriac fragments, is very little. The section from ch. i. 5 to ch. v. 1 is given also in Armenian, but its genuineness is doubted. In his particular division Dr Achelis gives first his edition of the treatise *De Antichristo*, for the text of which only two manuscripts have been available hitherto, those of Evreux and Rheims, both very late, and the one so near akin to the other that they are rather one authority than two. For the new edition the older and superior text of the Jerusalem manuscript and the Slavic translation are also used. This is followed by a long series of fragments of writings ascribed to Hippolytus—on Genesis, Ruth, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Isaiah, Ezekiel, etc.; as also on the Resurrection and Immortality, the Theophany, the End of the World, etc. These are gathered from many sources,—Leontius, Jerome, Theodoret, Anastasius Sinaita, manuscripts from Mount Athos, the Vatican, etc. Much of this matter, however, is pronounced to be spurious. About a third of what professes to be the Commentary of Hippolytus on Genesis is rejected; nearly a fifth of the Commentary on the Psalms; one half of that on Proverbs; and almost the whole of the fifty passages on Ezekiel. The works on Daniel and Antichrist are the most interesting parts of the volume. Among other things we understand better by this edition to what extent Hippolytus was an allegorist.

The two volumes of *Origen* are edited by Professor Paul Koetschau of Jena. They embrace the *Martyrium*, the *Contra Celsum*, and the treatise on *Prayer*. They are furnished with copious indices of quotations, words, and matters, which will be of much use. The contents of these two volumes are of great value. The *εἰς μαρτύριον προτρεπτικός* is very carefully dealt with.

The evidence is given which warrants us in speaking with certainty of Caesarea Palestina as the place where the *Exhortation* was written. With Neumann Dr Koetschau takes the year 235 to be the date of its composition, and shows how the work itself indicates that it was written at the *beginning* of the short persecution which took place at the commencement of Maximin's reign. The treatise on *Prayer* is referred to the year 233-234. It is admitted, however, that on all that relates to the origin of this writing we can speak at the best only of probabilities. The interest of scholars will turn most of all to the *Eight Books against Celsus*, and we owe much to Dr Koetschau for this splendid edition of a work of the greatest importance in several distinct points of view. The services of K. J. Neumann in the investigation of the historical questions are handsomely recognised. The year 248 A.D. is accepted as the date of composition, Origen being then over sixty years of age. Caesarea Palestina is held consequently to be the place of writing. The importance of the work—both as the best of the Apologies, and as the ripest fruit of Origen's genius, is ably affirmed, and instructive chapters are given on the great Alexandrian's acquaintance with Greek literature, both classical and Christian, his attitude to Greek philosophy, his knowledge and use of the Bible, etc. There is a valuable statement, too, of his theological system—his idea of theology, his doctrines of God, the *Logos*, the relation of Christ the Son to God the Father, creation, evil, the Resurrection, and the things of the end. Students now possess an edition of this notable Apology which is *critical* in the best sense of the word. The whole undertaking is an honour to German enterprise and scholarship.

In this connexion we notice also the publication of a reply by Professor Koetschau, under the title of *Kritische Bemerkungen zu meiner Ausgabe von Origenes' Exhortatio, Contra Celsum, De Oratione*,<sup>1</sup> to certain criticisms by Dr Paul Wendland.

*The Culture of Christian Manhood*<sup>2</sup> is the title given to a collection of sixteen sermons preached in Battell Chapel, Yale University, by a number of select preachers. They are admirable discourses, some of them particularly so. Attention may be directed to those by Dr C. Cuthbert Hall on *Selected Lives*, Dr Amory H. Bradford on *Personality*, Dr George A. Gordon on the *Evolution of a Thinker*, Dr George Harris on *Christ seeking the Lost*, Dr Henry van Dyke on the *Meaning of Manhood*, Dr George T. Purves on the *Sinless One*. And there are others that read well, and must have been effective when delivered from the pulpit.

<sup>1</sup> Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1899. 8vo, pp. 82.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by William H. Sallmon. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 309. Price, 3s. 6d.

We owe to Professor James I. Good, D.D., a *History of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1725-1792*.<sup>1</sup> It supplies a want, and it supplies it well. Dr Good has already written some excellent volumes on the history of the Reformed Church of Germany, which have taken a good place among American contributions to ecclesiastical history. He has had it long in mind to write the history of the German Reformed Church in the United States, and he has been collecting materials for many years from many quarters. Switzerland, Germany, and England, have furnished much that has not been used before, and the archives of the Hague have yielded up the missing Coetus' Minutes together with a large correspondence. Most of the early history of the German Reformed Church in America is thus, the author believes, made clear.

His book is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of ecclesiastical life and movements in the United States. It will be read with interest by many outside the limits of the writer's own church. It is written in a business-like, unpretentious style, and follows a simple and natural plan. Beginning with some well-drawn sketches of the forerunners of the German Reformed Church in Brazil, Florida, New Amsterdam, New York, and Carolina, it deals in succession with the period before congregational organisation (1710-1725); the Church under such organisation (1725-1747); the Church under Synodical government (1747-1755); the Coetus up to the Revolution (1755-1775), during the Revolution (1776-1783), and after it (1783-1793). Some appendices (on the first Reformed congregation in America, etc.) are added, and the book is brightened by occasional illustrations. Professor Good is to be congratulated on the successful completion of these studies.

The first half of the second volume of Professor Ferdinand Kattenbusch's elaborate study of the *Apostolic Symbol*<sup>2</sup> is to hand. It is projected on as large a scale as the former volume, and goes with extraordinary detail into the questions of the circulation and importance of the formulary. It deals first with the legends relating to the Symbol, and then prosecutes an exhaustive inquiry into all that bears upon it in the writings of Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen. It follows this up by discussions, no less elaborate and detailed, of the position the Symbol had in the East, and the traces which are formed of its origin and earliest history. All this is supplemented by special appendices on particular points. It is a book for the expert, showing an almost overwhelming industry and familiarity with details.

<sup>1</sup> Reading, P.A. : Daniel Miller, 1899. 8vo, pp. viii. 701.

<sup>2</sup> Das Apostolische Symbol, etc. Ein Beitrag zur Symbolik und Dogmengeschichte. Zweiter Band. Verbreitung und Bedeutung des Symbols. Erste Hälfte. Leipzig: Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 352. Price, M.11.

We are glad to see Hahn's *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregel der alten Kirche*<sup>1</sup> in another edition. This third edition has been considerably improved and enlarged, and is brought thoroughly up to date. It is furnished with a useful Index. An Appendix is also contributed by Professor Harnack, giving a collection of materials for the history and explanation of the old Roman Symbol drawn from the Christian literature of the first two centuries. The painstaking work of the late Professor August Hahn, thus re-edited by Professor G. Ludwig Hahn, becomes even more useful than before to the student of Christian Doctrine in its Confessional forms.

The latest additions to the *Famous Scots Series* are each in its own way worthy to rank with the best of those that have preceded them. The sketch of *Professor Ferrier*<sup>2</sup> is done with much good sense as well as with the sincerest appreciation. It brings back to us the memory of a most attractive personality and a strong intellectual influence. It gives a remarkably good view of Ferrier's philosophical system. It helps those of a later generation to understand what many of an earlier time owed to his teaching, and why he deserves to be remembered among those who have left their mark on Scottish thought. It has a short Introduction by Mr R. B. Haldane, in which some just words are said in praise of Mrs Ferrier, "Christopher North's" gifted daughter. Where the book is most open to criticism is in what it says of Ferrier's candidatures. The authoress is quite at sea there. She gives an incorrect statement of the institution of certain Chairs in the New College, and she represents other people as objecting to Professor Macdougall as a man who would indoctrinate students of the Established Church in *Voluntary* principles. Her brother, too, snatches space enough in his three pages to have his fling at certain Scottish churches. The only churches he thus singles out are those which did most no doubt for him in his own candidature for a place in Parliament. Mr A. F. Murison, in his *King Robert the Bruce*,<sup>3</sup> gives us an excellent companion volume to the one on Sir William Wallace. He has dipped deep into the original sources, and writes in a different strain from Barbour and Fordun. But while he applies a cool, critical mind to his subject and presents the great King now and again in another light than the traditional, he does not fail to bring out the grandeur of his figure and

<sup>1</sup> Herausgegeben von Dr August Hahn. Dritte vielfach veränderte und vermehrte Auflage von Dr G. Ludwig Hahn, ord. Professor der Theologie an der Universität Breslau: Breslau: Morgenstern; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. xvi. 412.

<sup>2</sup> James Frederick Ferrier. By E. S. Haldane. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 158. Price, 1s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 159. Price, 1s. 6d.

the greatness of his work. The book is one of marked ability, and helps us to see many things in Scotland's heroic age in better proportion. The volume on *Andrew Melville*<sup>1</sup> by Mr William Morison is also a very satisfactory performance. Mr Morison thoroughly understands the importance of the struggle in which Scotland was engaged between 1574 and 1688. He holds that history has amply justified Melville and his comrades in their conviction that the controversy they were engaged in was one of vital moment, and that its issue would decide whether the Scottish people should be "left in a position in which they would be able to develop their religious life with freedom and effect, or in one which would incalculably cripple it." He interprets Melville's career, therefore, in this spirit, and exhibits very powerfully the claims he has upon the honour of his countrymen in virtue of the ecclesiastic system he secured for them. The whole picture which he gives of the man, his gifts and his contentings, his services to education and to the Church, his experiences at home and abroad, at Glasgow, St Andrews, Hampton Court, and Sedan, is as full as it is vivid. "It is to men like Melville," as his closing words fitly express it, "who have a higher patriotism than that which is bounded by any earthly territory, whose country is the realm of Truth, whose loyalty transcends submission to any human sovereign, that every people owes its noblest heritage. Such are the men who have been the makers of Scotland. *'Sic fortis Etruria crevit.'*"

In the July number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* Dr James Lindsay of Kilmarnock has an interesting paper on *Religious Thought in Scotland in the Victorian Era*. The other articles include a good character sketch of Professor *Alvah Hovey*, a criticism of Kant's theory of the "Forms of Thought" by James B. Peterson, and suggestive statements on the *Catechumenate*, the *Mission Sunday School*, &c.

In the second number of the *Schweizerische Zeitschrift* for 1899, Dr Hadorn concludes his study on the subject of the *Historical Christ*, and G. Schönholzer his on the *Resurrection*. Among the other contributions we may refer to Pfarrer Hess's interesting selection, now completed, from the correspondence between Joh. Jakob Hess and Ignaz Romer.

In the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, among a number of papers suitable for the season of travel and holiday-making, Dr Dallinger's *Popular Notes on Science*, and two admirable and sympathetic articles by Dr Rigg on the late *Principal Henry Robert Reynolds* (in the July and August numbers), are of special interest and value. The *Guild Magazine*, the organ of the "Wesley Guild," also pro-

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh and London : Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 156. Price, 1s. 6d.

vides much seasonable reading from month to month, under the discerning hand of Mr W. B. Fitzgerald, the editor.

In the *Revue de Theologie et des Questions religieuses* for July M. E. Arnaud continues his informing paper on the *Character of New Testament Greek*. There are also two papers of a doctrinal interest, one by M. J. de Visme on *What Jesus Thought of His Death*, and another by P.-F. Jalaguier on the *Mystical Union*.

The *New World* for June contains two instructive articles on the Jewish question, one by Miss Josephine Lazarus on *Zionism*, and another by Mr Gotthard Deutsch on the *National Movement among the Jews*. Professor James H. Hyslop of Columbia University balances the *pros* and *cons* in a paper on *Immortality and Psychical Research*, and Professor G. M. Stratton of the University of California writes an able paper on the *Psychological Evidence for Theism*. This latter paper takes up the argument of Professor James that the view of the world which the intellect furnishes must answer to our *volitional needs*, and that the only view of the world which offers an adequate object for these needs is the Theistic—the view that “the deepest power in the world is a personal mind who holds all good and righteous things dear, and whose personality is distinct from mine.” It professes to restate the case with the help of what Professor James has given, and that in the direction of laying special stress on our moral and religious interests. Theism, then, is presented as the reasonable view of the “world, not because our bodily actions are reflex, nor because we must have some object which will call out the full activities of our will, but because we must look at the world religiously. Worship and communion dominate our being and declare what the world is, in exactly the same way that the law of cause and effect does.” The *New Evangelical Catechism* is also subjected to a criticism that will surprise its framers at some points.

The July number of *Mind* opens with a translation by Mrs B. Bosanquet of a very able article by Dr Ferdinand Tönnies of Hamburg on *Philosophical Terminology*, to which was awarded the Welby prize of £50. The paper deals with the question of *signs*, natural and artificial, with language, social will, and signs through will; with science and language; with the classification of the forms of the social will, and with science as form of the social will. Dr Robert Latta writes of Spinoza and Leibnitz, touching on the agreements and differences between the two in scientific standpoint, the difference between their theories of knowledge, the influence of their views of mathematics on their philosophical attitude, &c. Mr Hastings Rashdall writes on the question, *Can there be a Sum of Pleasures?* He contests the doctrine that “pleasures cannot be summed, that there is no meaning in the idea of a sum of pleasures,

and that consequently the 'hedonistic calculus' is impossible and unintelligible." He takes the question as it is put in terms by Professor Mackenzie in his *Manual of Ethics* and his *Introduction to Social Philosophy*, and controverts the contentions of Professor T. H. Green and Mr Bradley. He takes first the case of pleasures of the same kind or quality, and then that of pleasures which differ in kind. By an acute train of reasoning, very clearly expressed, he seeks to disprove these three positions, viz. (1) that a sum of pleasures is not a possible object of desire; (2) that while the proposition *this pleasure is greater or more pleasant than that* has a meaning, the judgment is not quantitative; and (3) that even if one pleasure or sum of pleasures can be said to be greater in amount than another, numerical values cannot with any meaning be assigned to two pleasures or sums of pleasure; so that there can never be any meaning in the assertion, "this pleasure is twice as great as that."

The July number of the *International Journal of Ethics* is largely taken up with questions of education and training—*Good Citizenship* and *Athletics*, *Affection in Education*, &c. The opening paper, however, by Professor Watson of Queen's College, Kingston, is of a different kind. It deals with the *New "Ethical" Philosophy* particularly the Ethical idealism which is expounded by Professor A. Seth. This he takes to be a revival of an old theory, "the fundamental contradiction of which," he says, "has been repeatedly exposed"—the theory, for one thing, that knowledge is not ultimate, being only of "objects" or "phenomena." On this new philosophy he heaps a number of charges—that it unwarrantably mutilates the character of "experience"; that it confuses between the uncritical belief of civilised man in the rationality of the world and an explicit theory of life, &c. There is also a very readable paper by S. A. Barnett, of Toynbee Hall, on the *Mission of Music*, in which some good, though quite obvious, reasons are given, for the natural fitness of music to become the expression of the inner life.

The July number of the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* opens with a paper by the Rev. Dr Meade C. Williams on the *Crisis in the Church of England*—a well-informed paper by one who has been closely following the recent developments. Dr Meade understands the very advanced party to be a minority, but thinks that the extremists plus those whose manifest trend is in their direction and those of the more moderate High Churchmen who, while disliking ritualistic extravagance, dislike still more any "interference under popular clamour with the dignity and development of the Church" make a majority as regards Clergy and Bishops, while the whole Low Church party and the mass of the laity are opposed to them. His closing words refer to the



bishops and the laity : "The bishops, goaded by popular sentiment, may be forced," he says, "into a more pronounced attitude of disapproval of the Romanising section. But I fear it will only be such as heals slightly the hurt of the daughter of Zion. The laity are not clothed with any authority in the affairs of their dioceses. They are represented, in respect to ecclesiastical authority in the National Church, only in the National Parliament. And it begins to look as if it is from that body that redress and correction of evils must finally come." Dr Daniel S. Gregory continues his critical examination of Herbert Spencer's philosophy, contending that the synthetical philosophy falls short of the requirements of the tests of completeness, or totality of sphere, structural or organic idea, and capacity to match the reality. This is followed by a paper by the Rev. John Oman on the *Text of the Minor Prophets*. It is a protest against the corrections which are made with so liberal a hand. "The vice of the specialist," says the writer, "has always been an excessive love for the lancet and the cautery, in forgetfulness of the general constitution of human nature." After reviewing four particular tests, viz., those of the Greek version, simplicity of meaning, sequence of ideas, and style, tone and temper of the prophet and his age, and showing what becomes of certain typical passages when these tests are applied, he brings the matter to an issue by exhibiting what would result if the critical methods which make such changes on the text of prophets were employed in the case of the conclusion of *Samson Agonistes*. The most elaborate article, however, is one by Professor Warfield on the terms, "*It says*," "*Scripture says*," "*God says*." It is a very exact and learned study of the terms used by the New Testament writers in dealing with the Old Testament. The passages are first noticed in which "Scripture" is identified with the speaking God. Those are next examined in which the subjectless λέγει or φησί is used, and the question of the *subauditum* in such cases is considered at length. The opinions of the leading grammarians and interpreters are fully stated and subjected to a very thorough criticism. The conclusion is that there is no warrant in Greek usage for taking λέγει, and but very little, if any, for taking φησί indefinitely in such connexions; that there may be room for difference of opinion as between ὁ θεός and ἡ γραφή as the subject to be understood; but that it makes no real difference, the two terms being practically the same, both being used under the force of "the conception of the Scriptures as an oracular book." The paper is one of great interest and wide research.

In recent issues of the *Expository Times* the controversy between Professors Jensen and Hommel on the Hittite Inscriptions proceeds,

and has some lively passages. In the August number Professor König begins his examination of Professor Margoliouth's very positive assertions on the subject of the "Original Hebrew" of Ecclesiasticus. The same number has a very clear and generally correct account of the present state of the problems of New Testament Criticism by Ada Bryson, M.A.

*The American Journal of Theology* has reached the third number of its third volume. It contains some very good critical and historical Notes. One of these is on the double text of Tobit, in which Professor Rendel Harris stands for the superiority of the Sinaitic Tobit, for the existence in it of elements derived from the Aramaic and for a "close literary parallelism between the two stories of Ahikar and Tobit." Professor Marvin R. Vincent of the Union Theological Seminary writes shortly on "Some Aspects of Paul's Theology in the Philippian Epistle." With M. Ménégos he regards Phil. iii. 8-10 as the "most precise statement of the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith," and interprets it as meaning that the righteousness of faith is a *real* righteousness in the believer. There are three longer articles. The first, which is by Professor Loofs of Halle, deals with the question *Has the Gospel of the Reformation become antiquated?* The answer given is that an "out-and-out fight for the gospel of the Reformation, and an equally determined fight against all obsolete tradition and dogma . . . would carry success with it in the modern world, such as no other watchword, whether traditionalistic or liberal, could hope for." President Genung of Richmond writes well on the subject of *Personality from the Monistic Point of View*. The longest paper is by Professor Karl Budde on the So-called "*Ebed Yahweh Songs*," and the meaning of the term "*Servant of Yahweh*" in *Isaiah, Chaps. 40-55*. The arguments urged in support of the view that the Ebed of the "Songs" cannot be the same servant that we find in Deutero-Isaiah, are particularly considered, and it is held that "everything becomes clear when we admit that the prophet has adhered throughout to his purpose of representing the people by the servant of Yahweh."

In the *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* for July-October 1899 we notice specially papers of much interest by L. Maisonneuve on the Ideas of Frederick Nietzsche and V. Delau on *Palestinian Monasteries of the fifth century*.

Among other good papers in the *Biblical World* for July we have one (admirably illustrated) by R. F. Harper on *Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon*, another by Shailer Mathews on *Antiochus Epiphanes and the Jewish State*, and a third by Ira M. Price on *The Book of Daniel*, summarising opinion as it stands at present.

The Hulsean Lectures for 1891 are published now. Though late

in its appearance, the book is well worth having. The Lecturer is the Hon. A. T. Lyttelton, D.D., now Bishop of Southampton, and the subject is *The Place of Miracles in Religion*.<sup>1</sup> The first three chapters are given to a discussion of Miracles in the Old Testament, in the New Testament, and in the Early Church. The last chapter deals with miracles in relation to Modern Thought. 'Miracles' are defined in general terms as "occasional visible acts of power, beyond human experience to account for or human faculties to accomplish, though sometimes wrought through human agency; and these acts are impressed with the character of righteousness, and are therefore in accordance with the general lines of God's moral government of the world." With this idea of *miracle*, Dr Lyttelton proceeds with his inquiry, which is mainly historical. He distinguishes at the same time between miraculous events as he defines them and the supernatural generally. He points out also that the distinction which we naturally draw between "what we should call *miracles* and events in which we discern only the normal working of natural forces" was strange to Hebrew historians and prophets, and that our modern ideas of uniformity and law make it difficult for us to understand the treatment of miracles by men who saw in them only "the emergence into sensible experience of the Divine force which was all along controlling the course of nature." The Old Testament is declared to contain, in spite of all that criticism may do, a considerable number of properly miraculous events, and these are ably dealt with according to their several groups and characters. The statements on the subject of our Lord's miracles and the testimony to the existence of miracle in the Early Church are sensible and discriminating. The leading modern theories of miracle and its purpose are acutely examined. The insufficiency of the views of Butler, Paley, and Mozley is brought out modestly, yet distinctly, and it is made plain that the facts themselves lead us to a different conception of miracles, which is itself connected with a different conception of what the Christian Revelation is. Christianity is rightly conceived to be the revelation of a Person, not simply, as Paley construed it, of certain doctrines. And *miracles* are not merely the attestations of certain doctrines, but integral parts of the Christian revelation, and things, consequently, which have to be "considered first and foremost in relation to the whole historical series of events, and not to the doctrines based on them, or to the process of belief in them." The book contains many good observations, and gives a lucid and persuasive representation of the view of miracles which is characteristic of the best Apologetics of the present time.

<sup>1</sup> London: John Murray, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 150.

Mr Tyler's *Ecclesiastes*<sup>1</sup> attracted considerable attention and also much criticism when it was published a quarter of a century ago. We are glad to see it now in a new edition. Its distinctive feature was its argument in support of the position that Koheleth was influenced by Greek philosophy. The influence of Aristotle was detected in ch. ii. 3, vii. 27, xii. 13; the influence of the Stoics, especially in the paragraphs on the Times and Seasons, and in such passages as ch. i. 5-7, 9-10, 11, vii. 14, etc., viii. 2-5, etc.; that of the Epicurean conception of life in ch. v. 18-20, etc. This is re-asserted in the present issue. It will be felt now, as it was felt then, probably to be overdriven. But it will be less criticised. And apart from that, the book, especially in this re-written form, has much valuable matter relating not only to the authorship, date, and integrity of the book, but to its ideas, its reception into the Canon, its relations to Job, Psalms, and the Prophets; its connexion with Jewish history, etc. This carefully revised edition, therefore, is very welcome.

We are indebted to the Master of St John's College, Cambridge, for a very useful volume on *The Oxyrhynchus Logia and the Apocryphal Gospels*.<sup>2</sup> It is a timely, reliable and remarkably lucid digest of the literature which has arisen on the subject of these interesting *Logia*. It is made the more valuable by the appended section which points us to some suggestive parallels in the Egyptian Gospel and other Apocryphal Gospels. With regard to the reading which has been called in question in Logion II., Dr Taylor seems inclined to accept Mr Bartlett's suggestion of 'Kingdom of *Jesus*' instead of 'Kingdom of *God*' or 'Kingdom of *heaven*.' There is much to be said for this. The contraction indeed would be an unusual one, and there would be a certain awkwardness in having a Logion on 'the Kingdom of *Jesus*' introduced by the formula '*Jesus* saith.' But the form as it appears in the Photograph seems to us to favour the suggestion. On the *Sources* of the *Logia* Dr Taylor expresses himself in very measured terms. "What remains of Logion I. may be an extract," he says, "from one of the Synoptic Gospels, and others of the *Logia* may be developments from one or more of the Four Gospels; or the *Logia* may all be extracts from some other writing or writings, which agreed more or less nearly in places with the Canonical Gospels." On the relation in which these Logions stand to the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*, Dr Taylor does not venture beyond the statement of two possibilities—either that the Oxyrhynchus *Logia* were all contained in that

<sup>1</sup> *Ecclesiastes*. An Introduction to the Book; an exegetical analysis; and a translation with Notes. By Thomas Tyler, M.A. A new edition. London: D. Nutt, 1899. 8vo, pp. x. 167. Price, 6s. net.

<sup>2</sup> By Walter Charles Taylor, D.D. Oxford Clarendon Press, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. 104. Price, 2s. 6d. net.

Gospel, or that they "were severally extracted or evolved from the canonical and other writings."

*The Book of Job, with Introductions and Notes*,<sup>1</sup> by Edgar C. S. Gibson, D.D., Vicar of Leeds and Prebendary of Wells, belongs to the new series of Oxford Commentaries of which Professor Walter Lock is editor. This series is intended to occupy a place between the *Cambridge Bible for Schools* and the *International Critical Commentary*. It is to be less elementary than the former, less didactic than the latter. It takes the English text in the Revised Version as its basis, and aims at combining a "heartly acceptance of critical principles with loyalty to the Catholic Faith." It is to have the stamp in short of the scholarly, liberal wing of Dogmatic Anglicanism, and is to "interpret the meaning of each book of the Bible in the light of modern knowledge to English readers."

A series of commentaries projected on this basis cannot fail to show the marks of its mint when certain questions of Church and dogma come up. But in the present case these have little opportunity to thrust themselves in, and Dr Gibson's volume satisfies the conditions of the series in a way that should secure for it a good reception beyond the Anglican limits. It is indeed very well done. The Introduction is concise and to the point. The considerations which point to a relatively late date (the later years of the Kingdom or the Babylonish Captivity, as Dr Gibson thinks) are carefully and forcibly stated. The notes and the paraphrases of the text show a good exegetical faculty and a competent acquaintance with the literature of the subject. The exposition of chapters xiv.-xix., and particularly the summary of the great paragraph, xix. 23-27, are excellent specimens of scholarly interpretation expressed in terms suited to all classes of readers. He takes the sense to be that Job's Vindicator, *as one coming after him*, shall stand upon the dust in which the sufferer shall soon be laid, and establish his innocence after he has passed away. He regards the passage, therefore, as showing that "Job has fought his way to a new belief, and has reached the conviction that after death he shall be granted a vision of God," and meets the objections to this view of it which have been drawn from a supposed inconsistency between this and the sufferer's former utterances, and from the difficulty of supposing that, if such an assurance had been reached, there should be no allusion to it in what remains of the drama. As to the speeches of Elihu, Dr Gibson thinks it "more than doubtful" whether the section containing them comes from the same hand as the rest of the poem. He finds probable motives for the introduction of these speeches

<sup>1</sup> London: Methuen & Co., 1899. 8vo, pp. xxx. 236. Price, 6s.

in the desire to rebuke the lack of reverence which Job had manifested, and to give fuller expression to the disciplinary purpose of suffering. As this latter view of suffering is but faintly indicated in the poem itself, he deems it probable that some later writer introduced these chapters in order to give it a more prominent place. On this supposition the section is a witness of the writer's skill in making the addition without breaking the unity of the book. "He has linked on the speeches," says Dr Gibson, "to the earlier part by frequent quotations from Job's speeches, and has thus made it appear that Elihu has been a silent listener to the whole argument, and he has connected it with what follows by making the last speech of Elihu appear to be influenced by the gathering storm, out of which the Lord answers Job immediately afterwards." These are fair examples of the way in which the problems of the book are handled in this very useful commentary.

Mr Askwith's book on *The Epistle to the Galatians*,<sup>1</sup> an expansion of the Norrisian Prize Essay on "The Locality of the Churches of Galatia," is seen at once to be the work of a genuine scholar and a clear thinker. It is a contribution of more than usual worth to the interpretation of the Epistle. It is independent and discriminating, fair and without bias, careful and cogent in its reasoning. Mr Askwith knows how to distinguish where distinction is of moment. He points out very well, for instance, how three things which are apt to be dealt with together, are really separate subjects that are best treated separately. These are the South Galatian theory, the Antiochene dating of the Galatian Epistle, and the identification of the visit of Gal. ii. with the earlier of the two visits in the Acts. He directs his own attention first to the question of the destination of the Epistle and then to that of its date. He agrees with Professor Ramsay as to the former, but with Bishop Lightfoot as to the latter. The detailed examination of the use of the term *Γαλατικός* in Acts xvi. 6, xviii. 23, and of the force of the participial clause in the former passage, is of special value. The conclusion is that, whether we read *διελθόντες* or *διῆλθον* in xvi. 6, *Γαλατικός* is used in a political sense in the phrase *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν*, and that the *κωλυθέντες* is not retrospective but predicative. Admitting that the arguments used here in support of the latter position have their force, we do not feel that the difficulty of so dealing with the first aorist participle is quite removed. On the question of the date, which is shown to be independent of the

<sup>1</sup> An Essay upon its destination and date. With an Appendix on the Visit to Jerusalem recorded in Chapter ii. By E. H. Askwith, M.A., Chaplain, and formerly Scholar, of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Macmillan, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx. 153. Price, 3s. 6d. net.

question of the destination, Mr Askwith rejects Professor Ramsay's view of the sense of the οὕτως τάχως and others of his positions, and prefers Bishop Lightfoot's reasoning on the relative dates of the four Epistles of the third missionary journey, arranging them so—1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Romans. In an Appendix Mr Askwith presents an able argument on behalf of the identification of the visit to Jerusalem recorded in Gal. ii. with that of Acts xv. This identification he holds at the same time to be no impediment in the way of the South Galatian theory.

Erwin Rohde's *Psyche*<sup>1</sup> was published in 1890-94. It was at once recognised as a work of marked ability and a weighty contribution to the history of Greek thought and custom. It is a satisfaction to see it now in a second edition. It has been thoroughly revised and brought up to date by its careful and laborious author. It is full of learning, but also rich in thought. Herr Rohde is much more than a collector of facts. He uses his facts with scientific precision and philosophical insight. His book is of great value for its ideas as well as for its matter. Students who turn to it will not be disappointed. On many of the questions which it handles we have nothing better than Herr Rohde's work, and not much to equal it.

It has much curious and carefully sifted material relating to ritual, purifications, forms of incantation, soothsaying, witchcraft, prophesying, conditions of ecstasy, funeral customs, modes of honour and worship rendered to the dead, the various beliefs in demons, deities of the under worlds, and the like. This is all made contributory to its main purpose, which is the history of the ideas which prevailed among the Greek people on the subject of the soul. It takes us into important and interesting inquiries into the conceptions which were current on the questions of the origin, nature, powers, and destiny of the soul, the forms of the *cultus* of souls or spirits, the idea of Islands of the Blessed, and the varied course which Hellenic opinion and faith ran on the problem of a future existence from Homer and the Heroic age down to the later philosophers. This is the primary interest of the book, and the author has laid us under great obligations by the scientific account he has given us.

His statements on the Mysteries, the Cult of the Thracian Dionysus, the Orphic Circles, the speculations of Plato and his successors, and other subjects, are of great value. But the most interesting sections of his book are those which deal with Homer, the Tragic Poets, and Pindar. In his exposition of the ideas found

<sup>1</sup> Zweite verbesserte Auflage. Freiburg i. B., Leipzig u. Tübingen : J. C. B. Mohr ; London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo. Erster Band, pp. vii. 329 ; Zweiter Band, pp. iii. 436. Price, M. 20.

in the Homeric poems he points out that we have to distinguish between those that represent the mind or minds that produced the poetry and the ruder popular beliefs which come to the surface now and again in the poems. He is of opinion that Hesiod's conception of the souls of the men of the gold and silver ages continuing to live and act after death in the form of *δαίμονες* attaches itself to the popular beliefs and is an outgrowth of it; that the same explanation is to be given of the worship of the Heroes; and that the honours paid to the souls of the dead generally which come on after the Homeric period were a natural development of the veneration of select departed ones which is seen in the Hesiodic poetry—a development in which pre-Homeric ideas revived, but which had not its point of issue in the Homeric thought proper. He indicates very clearly, too, the resemblances and the differences between the Eleusinian Mysteries and the Orphic Circles in their relation to the faith in a future existence. Dramatic representation, not any secret doctrine, was the distinctive theory in the former. In the latter again, the characteristic theory was a theosophic doctrine, which held the soul to be a divine element in man, destined to achieve its deliverance from the body in the way of ascetic discipline and transmigration. With regard to the general question of the attitude of the Greek mind to the faith in a future life Herr Rohde's conclusion is that anything like a proper faith in the immortality of the soul had at its best a limited and insecure hold on the popular mind; that the original Greek ideas on the subject did not go beyond the general conception of some kind of continuance for the soul after death; and that the belief in *immortality* in the proper sense of the word, so far as the Greeks had it, came to them from without through the ideas connected with the Cultus of the Thracian Dionysus.

The ninth volume of the fifth series of *The Expositor*,<sup>1</sup> so efficiently conducted by Dr W. Robertson Nicoll, contains, as usual, many articles of importance and of various interest—some smaller exegetical studies, such as Mr Barnard's Notes on Acts ix. 19 ff., Dr Barnes's Study of Psalm cxxxvii., and Professor Cheyne's on the Amminadab of Canticles, the criticism of certain Psalms, and the Priesthood of David's Sons; a number of papers of a more popular cast, such as Dr Monro Gibson's Apocalyptic Sketches, and Dr John Watson's expositions of Grace, Repentance, Forgiveness, and Regeneration; and a paper by Professor Jannaris on Errors of Interpretation in the New Testament, which deserves notice. Principal Robertson has a very good series of Studies in the Epistle to the Romans. Professor Robinson examines current theories of the genesis of the book of Deuteronomy. And, not to mention others, we have a further instalment of Professor W. M.

<sup>1</sup> London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 476. Price, 7s. 6d.



Ramsay's very suggestive "Historical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians"; and a paper by the same hand on the Date and Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, leading up to the view that the Epistle was written in April or May, A.D. 59, and that it was "the epistle of the Church in Caesarea to the Jewish party of the Church in Jerusalem," this implying that "the writer, practically speaking, was Philip the Deacon (Acts xxi. 8)."

The first two volumes of the *Bibliothèque de l'enseignement de l'Histoire ecclésiastique* give the promise of a very valuable series. M. Paul Allard writes on *Le Christianisme et l'empire Romain de Néron à Théodose*,<sup>1</sup> and M. Pierre Batiffol on *Anciennes Littératures Chrétiennes—la Littérature Grecque*.<sup>2</sup> They are both exceedingly well done, giving reliable, useful, and even brilliant digests of their subjects. M. Batiffol follows so far the method of Gustav Krüger, but improves upon it. He has also the advantage of a much better style. His book shows much independence of judgment, though he has always before him the conclusions of Harnack, Duchesne and other authorities. Among the most interesting sections are those on Lucian of Antioch, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Hippolytus. He holds for Caius as the author of the *Philosophoumena*. He is not satisfied with any of the explanations given by Lightfoot, Harnack and others of the ὁδοὶ εἰς πᾶσας τὰς γραφάς (mentioned on the back of the chair of the marble statue of Hippolytus), and offers a suggestion of his own. It is to read not ὁδοὶ but σπουδαί, in which case the words would refer to the commentaries of Hippolytus as the Scriptures. He thinks Aberkios was a Christian. He rejects the books against Apollinaris attributed to Athanasius, and is of opinion that Methodius was bishop not of Tyre, but probably of Olympus. This important and well planned series could not be better introduced than by these two volumes.

Mr Thomas Bailey Saunders gives us a volume on *The Quest of Faith, being Notes on the current philosophy of religion*.<sup>3</sup> The writers who are reviewed are those who, whatever judgment may be ultimately formed of the intrinsic value of their writings, have been, or are sufficiently prominent in the public eye to "exercise a large influence on the formation of public opinion." They include such men as Huxley, Mr A. J. Balfour, Professor A. Campbell Fraser, the Duke of Argyll, Professor Henry Drummond, Mr Gladstone, Mr W. S. Lilly, Mr Wilfrid Ward, and Mr Beattie Crozer. It is doubtful whether all these writers exercise the kind of influence which Mr Saunders has in view. But they are all

<sup>1</sup> Paris: Lecoffre. Small crown 8vo, pp. 303.

<sup>2</sup> Paris: Lecoffre. Small crown 8vo, pp. xvi. 347.

<sup>3</sup> London: Adam & Charles Black, 1899. 8vo, pp. 191. Price, 7s. 6d.

worth notice, and on each of these Mr Saunders has something to say that is worth considering, however limited one's sympathy may be with a good many things in his book. The general effect of the book is to make too much of the unsettlement of religious opinion, and too little of the return to faith which is a happy and unmistakable fact of the present. Mr Saunders sees, however, that things now are by no means what they were when Huxley began to write; that "the demands of science have been modified by the objections of philosophy," if the "claims of traditional religion have been modified by the demands of science;" and that "the attitude of blank denial" in regard to religion is "not so familiar a possibility now as used to be the case when the Darwinian hypothesis, in the vigour of its youth, was sweeping all before it." The criticism of Mr Balfour's *Foundations of Belief* turns somewhat on the doubtful use of terms, "naturalism," "authority," and others. It is directed also against an exaggeration of the non-rational elements which is involved in Mr Balfour's account of things and against the legitimacy of drawing from the general argument a special conclusion in favour of ordinary Christian orthodoxy. With regard to the Theistic argument, Mr Saunders takes the criteria of truth to be furnished by human nature, *man* being in "a sense profounder than was dreamt of by the old Greek sceptic *the measure all things*." A Theism founding on man's moral nature, therefore, cannot but come to some such conception of God as that of a Personal Being, whatever the difficulties may be to pure reason. And on the whole question, Mr Saunders's position appears to be that the Theistic view of the universe may involve insoluble problems, but, that it nevertheless finds its "final sanction" in the fact that without it we are reduced to a condition of unreason and despair.

The sixth volume of the English translation of Harnack's *History of Dogma*<sup>1</sup> is by the hand of the Rev. William M'Gilchrist, B.D. The translation is from the third German edition, and is on the whole fairly well done. It reads stiffly in the longer sentences, the explanation of which lies in part at least in the attempt to give a literal rendering of all the German particles. Professor Harnack's style, it must be said however, is not very easy to turn into flowing English. The volume corresponds to chapters vii., viii. of Part II., Book II. of the original. It deals with two important subjects on which Harnack has much to say, viz., the "Expansion and Remodelling of Dogma into a Doctrine of Sin, Grace, and Means of Grace on the Basis of the Church," and the "History of Dogma in the Period of the Mendicant Monks on till the Beginning of the

<sup>1</sup> London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. xiv. 317. Price, 10s. 6d.

Sixteenth Century." It contains some of Harnack's best and most characteristic work.

We have his views here of such movements and institutions as the Crusades, the Mendicant Orders, Scholasticism, Mysticism, &c., and such men as Anselm, Abelard, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, Peter Lombard, &c. The book is certainly full of interest, and has much to suggest even when it does not constrain our agreement. The best thing in it seems to us to be the history and estimate of the Doctrine of the Sacraments. The whole Scholastic conception is admirably handled. With an erudition and an acumen that never fail, Professor Harnack shows at length how the Schoolmen's doctrine had its roots in Augustin's; in what way it went beyond that doctrine formally and materially; how the number *seven* was developed; how the idea of the Sacraments was revised by Hugo of St Victor, so that they became vehicles and "causes" of sanctification; how many questions of detail were raised and how different the answers were that were given by the Thomists on the one hand and the Scotists on the other. The doctrine of transubstantiation is reviewed with particular care in the light of its origin, its history, and its consequences. Among its results, which are pronounced to have been both "manifold and of radical importance," these are mentioned — the discontinuance of child-communion; the increase of the dignity of the priest, by whom "daily Christ was magically produced and offered up"; the withholding of the cup; and the adoration of the elevated host.

Another part of the book to which one turns with expectation is the one that deals with Anselm and his doctrine of Satisfaction. Here, too, we have a somewhat elaborate statement, supported by abundant references and incisive in its criticism. The point at which Anselm's doctrine came in, the ideas which it set aside as erroneous, and its own novelty and importance, are very clearly explained. Its excellences and its defects are given at some length, the balance being heavily on the latter side. Nevertheless, we miss much. Though Professor Harnack has something to say, for example, on Anselm's view of sin as *guilt*, he does not seem to give that the place it ought to have in any complete estimate of Anselm's view of the Atonement. His statement on the relation of Anselm's doctrine to the idea of *penalty* leaves something to be desired. And he drives matters much too hard when he speaks of Anselm's theory as involving a "mythological conception of God," and a "quite Gnostic antagonism between justice and goodness." The historical importance of Anselm's doctrine, however, is abundantly acknowledged. What he did was to construct first of all a *theory* both of the necessity of the incarnation and of the necessity of Christ's death. This he did, according to Professor Harnack, by "making

principle of penance the fundamental scheme of religion in the general."

Dr William Newton Clarke gives us a small, but very readable volume on the question, *What shall we think of Christianity?*<sup>1</sup> It consists of a series of three popular lectures on the "Christian People," the "Christian Doctrine," and the "Christian Power." They are written with all the ease and perspicuity which have made his *Outline of Christian Theology* so favourably known. They are broad and generous in their views of men and things. The character, unity, and mission of the Christian people are eloquently expounded. The three things which the Christian people are required to do by the nature of their Christianity are these—to "hold their faith, to open their minds, and to expand their hearts." The Christian doctrine is a doctrine with a high ethical demand. And that demand is beginning to be fulfilled because there is the "power" in Christianity that makes moral victory attainable. These addresses make delightful reading, and are worthy of the lectureship founded by Mr Eugene Levering.

Professor Kautzsch proceeds apace with his edition of the *Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic Books of the Old Testament*.<sup>2</sup> We have in our hands now two further instalments, including part seventh to part fourteenth. About half of the undertaking, therefore, is already completed. These two parts take us over the additions to Esther, the Epistle of Jeremiah, the Book of Baruch, Ben-Sira, the Letter of Aristaeas, the Book of Jubilees, the Martyrdom of the Prophet Isaiah, and part of the Introduction to the Psalms of Solomon. The translations are made as literal as possible. They read well, nevertheless. The Introductions are models of concise, comprehensive statement. The brief account which is given of the various views of the *Book of Jubilees* is one of the best examples of that. One turns naturally with peculiar interest at present to what is said of *Ben-Sira*. Here we find the case of the text brought down not only to the publications of Cowley and Neubauer's *The Original Hebrew of a portion of Ecclesiasticus*, but to the more recent utterances of Messrs Taylor, Schechter, and others, in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* last year, and the appearance of

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1899. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 157. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments, in Verbindung mit Lic. Beer, Professor Blass, &c., übersetzt und herausgegeben von E. Kautzsch, Professor der Theologie in Halle. Siebente bis zehnte Lieferung, pp. 193-320; elfte bis vierzehnte Lieferung, pp. 1-128. Freiburg i. B.: Leipzig u. Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1899. Price, M.2 each.

J. Lévi's Commentary (Paris, 1898). Professor Margoliouth's theory of the metrical form of the book is not overlooked. The objections urged against it by such scholars as Driver, Cheyne, and Nöldeke are referred to; as is also the fact that it is not borne out by the newly discovered fragments, the value of which Professor Margoliouth is naturally so anxious to disprove. The student will find most that he wants in this most scholarly edition.

A translation of König's treatise on *Isaiah XL.-LXVI.*<sup>1</sup> is very welcome. The book is a valuable one, both for the view which it gives of opinion on these chapters and for the contribution which the author himself makes to their interpretation. It contains a great deal of matter, compactly and clearly stated, so that the reader is put in possession of the things which it concerns him most to know on the long drawn out discussion on the unity, date and place of composition. The fourth chapter, which deals with the *ideas* of the book, will naturally be of greatest interest to most. It expounds in a very lucid way the various grounds of consolation offered in these chapters to Israel pining in captivity, and finds in the connexion and natural succession of ideas in these great words of comfort an argument for the substantial unity of the book. The volume closes with an acute and detailed criticism of the arguments used by Ley, Duhm, Gressmann and Cheyne in favour of much or all being of post-exilic date. The statements on the 'Servant' sections, and especially those on chapter liii., will repay careful consideration. The great want of the volume is a summary view. We are apt to lose ourselves in details. Something of this is due to the fact that the larger part of the book appeared originally in the form of articles in the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*. All has been carefully revised, however, and the best that can be said for the more conservative view of *Deutero-Isaiah* is said here briefly and pointedly. The translation is admirably done, as we might reckon on from Mr Selbie.

We have also to notice a *Sermon* by Dr George William Douglas, delivered on the occasion of the ordination of Dr Briggs and Mr Snedeker in the Pro-Cathedral, New York, and dealing with the question of what 'authority' means and is;<sup>2</sup> the second part of the eighteenth volume of the *Analecta Bollandiana*, in which the most important thing is the *Traité des Miracles de S. François d'Assise*

<sup>1</sup> The Exiles' Book of Consolation contained in Isaiah XL.-LXVI. A Critical and Exegetical Study, by Ed. König, M.A., D.D., Professor at the University of Rostock. Translated from the German, by Rev. J. A. Selbie, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 218. Price, 8s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> London: Macmillan & Co.; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1899. Small crown 8vo, pp. 32. Price, 1s.

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<sup>1</sup> Bruxelles : 14 Via Dicta des Ursuline, 1899. 8vo, pp. 113-256.

<sup>2</sup> New York : The Macmillan Company ; London : Macmillan & Co., 1899. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 130. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> By the Rev. R. A. Byrde, M.A. London : Elliot Stock, 1899. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 134. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>4</sup> The Heavenly Bridegroom. London : Elliot Stock, 1899. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 98.

<sup>5</sup> London : Charles H. Kelly, 1899. Small crown 8vo, pp. xiv. 256. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>6</sup> Achtzehnter Band. Enthaltend die Literatur des Jahres, 1898. Erste Abtheilung : Exegese, Bearbeitet von Siegfried und Holtzmann. Berlin : Schwetschke und Sohn. London : Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. 190. Price, M.9

<sup>7</sup> London : James Parker & Co., 1899. Crown 8vo, pp. viii. 176.

<sup>8</sup> Die Anschauung vom heiligen Geist bei Luther. Eine historisch-dogmatische Untersuchung von Lic. Rudolf Otto. Göttingen : Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht ; Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. 106. Price M.2.80.

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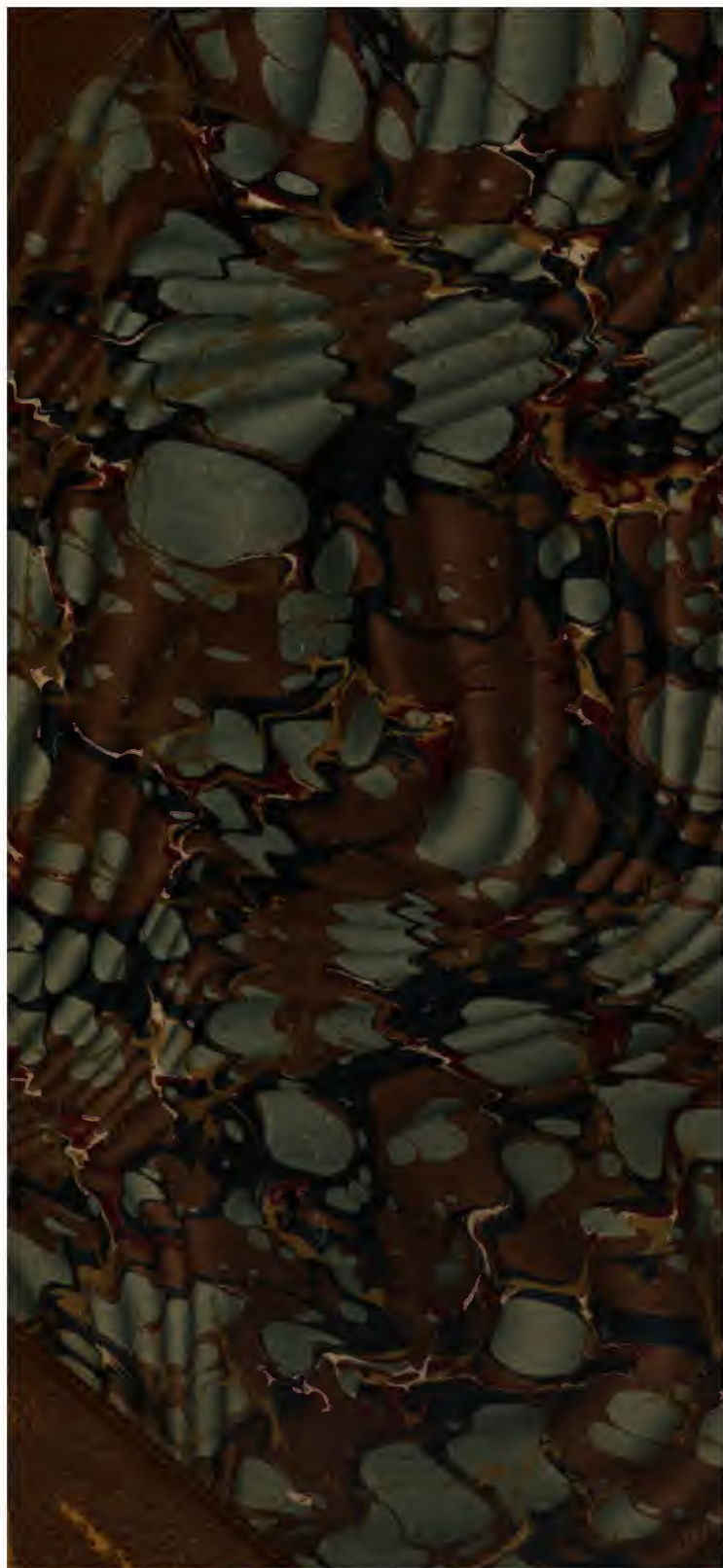














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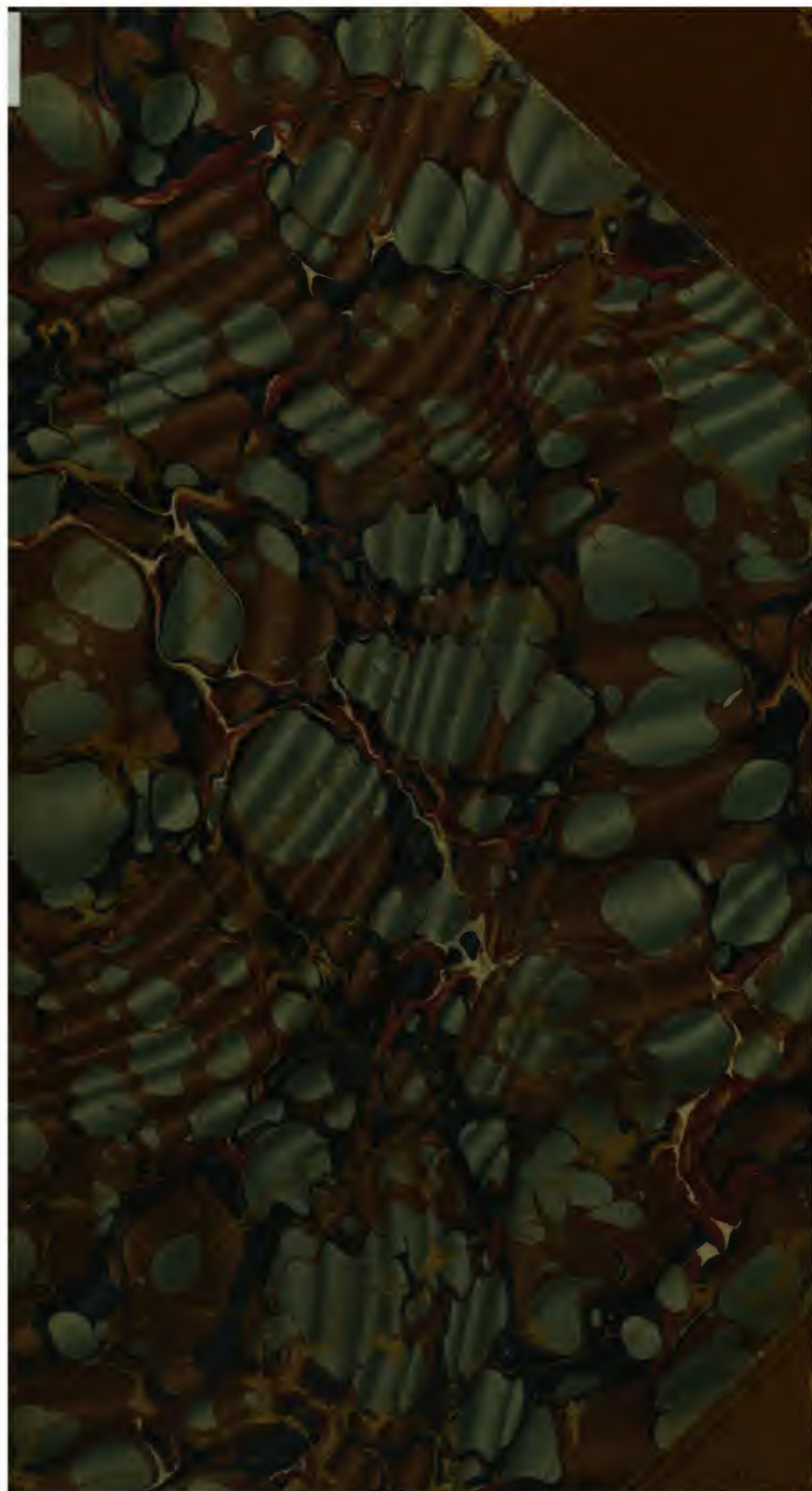
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OF  
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LITERATURE

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PRINCIPAL S. D. F. SALMOND, D.D., F.E.I.S.

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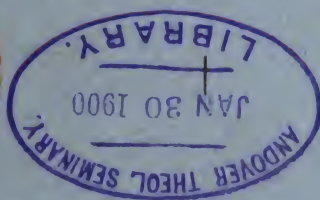
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OF

THEOLOGICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL  
LITERATURE

EDITED BY

PRINCIPAL S. D. F. SALMOND, D.D., F.E.I.S.



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## The Moral Order of the World in Ancient and Modern Thought.

*By Alexander Balmain Bruce, D.D. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 440. Price 7s. 6d.*

THERE is a certain melancholy interest attaching to all posthumous works, and to none more than to the volume whose title is above. It is the last public utterance of one who, both as teacher and theologian, occupied a most distinguished position as a leader of thought, and whose recent death is lamented by a wide circle both in this and other lands. Those who were privileged to enjoy acquaintanceship with the late Professor Bruce, knew him as one who combined in a rare degree the most fearless and uncompromising love of truth with a simple-hearted evangelical piety. By those who only knew him through his writings he must ever be justly considered as one in whom an exceptionally great endowment with the critical faculty was tempered by practical wisdom and sound judgment, one who was never carried away by imagination or by the love of novelty and who realised better than most contemporāry writers of his school the true relations which exist between scientific theology and religion. Although the church to which he belonged is peculiarly rich in prominent men of a similar stamp, yet even in it Professor Bruce's death has made a gap which 'it will be difficult, if not impossible, adequately to fill.

The contents of this volume formed the substance of the Glasgow Gifford Lectures for 1898, and in one respect they mark an epoch in the series of volumes of theological discourses which the Gifford bequest has called into being. By the terms of the will, lecturers are bound to disregard (in the sense of not attaching any special weight to them), any writings

which profess to be parts of an authoritative revelation. This has led many, if not the majority, of the lecturers to ignore the specific teachings of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, or at least to refer to them only incidentally. Professor Bruce, in carrying out the strictly logical order of his programme, has not followed this leading, but has taken as his central thought the clear demonstration that the one ethical system which fits in with all the phenomena of the moral world is that founded on the teaching of Jesus of Nazareth.

The general scheme of the lectures is a survey of the views held by typical leaders of thought belonging to different ages and nations concerning the moral order of the Universe. The types are well chosen, and are sufficiently diverse to be representative of the whole range of human thought—ancient and modern. Among the former he has taken—of Orientals: Buddha, Zoroaster, Job and the Hebrew Prophets; and of Occidentals: the Greek tragedians, the Stoic philosophers, and those who professed to declare the purposes of God by divination and oracles. Among modern authors he has taken a wide selection: Browning, Benjamin Kidd, Huxley, Sheldon, Mill, Arnold, etc., types of the different schools of ethical and social philosophy. In his comprehensive sketch of the various conceptions of the moral order of nature, as set forth by this cloud of witnesses, it is not hard to see that in the judgment of the lecturer the central place is occupied by the teachings of Our Lord; in Him we find the synthesis of the ethical instincts, desires and expectations of East and West, of Old and New.

With Buddha the moral order is an impersonal conception which ignores rather than denies the existence of a moral governor. The nature of the individual sentient being is causative alike of the physical and the moral order of things. In human life pain and sorrow are the greatest of evils, and are inseparable from the conditions of life—being the fruits of desires. They can therefore be annihilated only by the annihilation of desires; therefore, the highest good, which is the absence of evil, is attained by self-repression carried to the point of the absolute extinction of all personal desires.

Man has, so far, the control of destiny: that it rests with him to carry out this programme.

The philosophy of Buddhism is complicated by its agnosticism; that which the Egyptians called the *bá* or the Platonist the immortal soul, is unknown to the Buddhist, with whom the soul is a sequence of mental states without any substratum. But the system requires that the evil consequences of desires must work themselves out in a way which experience, if limited to the individual life, shows that they are not so worked out; therefore the belief in transmigration is an ethical necessity for the coherence of the system, it being always understood that what is transmitted is not the soul in the Pythagorean sense (as far as that can be apprehended) but the *Karma* or character resulting from the reaction of the moral conditions of the life of the individual. The idea of this transmigration may have arisen from the observance of hereditary resemblances, and the inference that these must be due to the transmission of some common factor. However impersonally *Karma* may be defined, it is in some sort a personal entity which demands another life in which to bear its fruit.

Buddha's reform sprang from a conviction of the ethical failure of the pantheistic Brahmanic system coupled with a pessimistic interpretation of human life. It is a gospel of despair, teaching that birth is the penalty of sin and that every one must be, by self-repression, not his own saviour but the saviour of those infinitely remote, potential descendants who will never come into being, because he who might have begotten them has at last obtained absolute victory over all emotion. Such a system is by necessity atheistic, for it would be impossible to conceive its coexistence with a personal moral governor, and especially with one whose power makes for righteousness, such as the ethical character of the system would require.

The dualistic system associated with the name of Zoroaster was the fruit of a still earlier reformation movement arising on the outskirts of the old Brahmanism. According to the older pantheism, everything both good and evil emanates

from Brahma, but as the ascription of the origin of evil to a being mainly beneficent was repugnant to the intuitive moral sense, the conception of a double system of rulers was a simple method of dealing with this radical problem of the origin of evil. But Professor Bruce is right in saying that dualism is far older than Zoroaster, and probably had its origin at an early period as the outcome of a nature-worship. The contemplation of such contrasted conditions as light and darkness was probably its source, certainly we find the Gods of light and darkness in Egypt, Set and Horus, in conflict a thousand years before the era of Zoroaster.

In the form in which dualism appears in the Avesta there is apparently a tendency to monotheism, Ahura Mazda being the Divine Sovereign, to whom the evil influence of Angro Mainyush is certainly subordinate. Yet it is true, as Professor Bruce indicates, that the failure of Zoroastrianism to establish itself as a world-religion was largely due to the fact that it degenerated into a polytheism in which the ethical element became extinguished under a load of ceremonials. This was only indirectly the result of its dualism, for we have had dualistic theories recurring from time to time, such for example as Manichæism and Satanism. It is probable that a subsidiary form of dualism has arisen from a henotheistic antagonism on the part of one nation to the gods of another, whom they considered to be the originators of evil. Thus Baalzebub and Moloch became with the Jews merged into the general idea of Satan.

The classical conceptions of the moral order of nature are expressed in ancient times most fully by the poets; in later days by the philosophers. It has been pointed out that, while the former used the mythical elements of their religion as part of the machinery of their plays, they for the most part discriminated the purer and more rational ethical element for the non-moral fable. In this analysis of the works of the playwrights of successive ages a progression has been noted. Thus Æschylus treats the myth reverentially as being in itself productive of serious religious emotion. His ethical system is also simple; with him retributive justice follows evil

doing. By Sophocles the myths are treated poetically: the artist has a high estimate of the power of his art, and recognises in his ethical system the mystery that sometimes the innocent suffer and the guilty escape. He is less of a theologian than his predecessor, and makes artistic use of this inexplicable factor in the moral order of things. Euripides treats the mythic element critically, even sceptically. He recognises more fully than his predecessors the power of his art to evoke lofty emotions, such as the influence of love as a factor prompting to self-sacrifice for the sake of the one beloved. No longer is moral evil hereditary, as it was with Æschylus, or suffering necessarily either punitive or disciplinary; it might be voluntarily incurred from altruistic motives. Professor Bruce gives a qualified approval to the hypothesis of Lightfoot that in the idea of Providence, which we find in the writing of the Stoics, there are traces of Semitic influence affecting a Hellenic stock. The Stoic idea of moral order is, like the Buddhistic, ethical and individualistic, but differs in being optimistic in tendency. Both have the same essential features of inwardness. To the good nothing is really evil, for the evil there is no real good. Events are external to the individual mind, which may rise by training to enjoy an atmosphere of peace. With some of the Stoics, there was also an agnosticism comparable with that of the Buddhist. The wise man does not need a God, but God heeds not the fool. With others, such as Epictetus, the general fatherhood of God over evil and good was an article of faith.

Stoicism is independent of revelation, but the common instinct of humanity demands some voice from God for guidance; hence arose the most primitive form of revelation, that of auguries and omens, man demanding that God should so order conditions that were fortuitous that they might be taken as guides for conduct. But the God of the diviners does not work by orderly method or by universal law; consequently, as belief in an all-wise Providence ruling by equal and universal laws grows, faith in divination dies.

In the section on the Hebrew prophets, Professor Bruce

lays stress on those elements which were distinctive of their message—the high ethical standard—righteousness being the keynote. This when strongly emphasised became the weakness of the system, as they thereby exalted justice at the expense of mercy, and in their interpretation of the ways of Providence attached too much value to outward good and evil.

Professor Bruce devotes an interesting chapter to the ethical system underlying the story of Job. This is one of the most suggestive and important sections of the book, travelling over and in some points expanding the features of the book which have been so forcibly expounded by Davidson. The three lines taken by Job's friends indicate three aspects of the moral problem. Eliphaz tests this by experience, Bildad by the voice and testimony of antiquity, and Zophar by dogmatic assertion. The first Job treats argumentatively, the second sceptically, the third contemptuously. The message of Elihu, that suffering may be purificatory as well as punitive, Professor Bruce treats as of the essence of the book, not as an accidental accretion.

The last voice from the ancient world is that of Christ. He teaches that good and evil may come to men irrespective of character; some of the best may suffer, but the suffering is in itself overruled and becomes the cause of joy. God is our Father and is magnanimous in a way that we in our littleness and ignorance cannot understand. God's Providence is reasonable and benignant, and gives us reason for an optimistic belief that there will ultimately be a strictly just retributive justice.

With the mazes of modern thought, and the multiplicity of shades of modern opinion, Professor Bruce deals in an equally suggestive manner. He takes Browning as a typical optimist among modern poet philosophers. His message to the age being that God is love; that pain elevates by eliciting sympathy; that morality is the highest good, to the perfection of which progress by conflict is a necessity. Evil is the foe man must fight, and is a necessity, in order that there should be the struggle out of which man rises purified; there being



a moral ideal as an ultimate goal after which all ought to strive.

In certain modern schools a form of dualism has been revived, not that between personal good and evil powers, but between the impersonal forces of the tendency to evolution and the intuitive striving after an ethical ideal. This is the antinomy between evolution and ethics expounded by Huxley, which becomes a kind of Manichæism with the author of "Evil and Evolution".

The conflict between human reason and religious instinct, between reason and the will of God as set forth in documents professing to be revelations, or between reason and the tendency to social evolution, has been very variously formulated, each author who has touched on the subject having his own specific form of heresy. With most of these writers the statement of the case on the part of reason is usually unfair and far less adequate than was the treatment of reason by the later Greek dramatists. With these various forms of dualism Professor Bruce deals in a strong, simple and conclusive fashion, pointing out among other things that in almost every instance the case for Christianity is misstated and that, however mediævalism and sacerdotalism may be opposed to reason, the Christianity of the Gospels when fairly set forth is not so.

It is strange how closely the two modern dualisms approach each other—the agnostic conflict of reason and evolution, and the Judæo-Christian Satanism, which when carried out to its fullest extent relieves man of responsibility and convicts God of impotence. In both cases the freedom of the human being as a moral agent, and the capacity of the human reason to rise above mere selfish and individualistic considerations are demonstrable facts which are usually ignored in the controversy. In the Christianity of the New Testament the change in heart and motive which accompanies the acceptance of Christ's salvation is a factor of which none of these modern philosophical systems take note.

The book is worthy of the man. Its lecture form has necessarily caused the author to treat his subjects as broad

and strong outline sketches rather than as detailed and finished studies, but it is probably the more interesting to the general reader on this account. Here and there we imagine that we can detect traces that the complete review was interfered with by the painful and distressing malady which so sorely tried his later days and was so nobly borne. It will be studied with affection and reverence by all those, and they are very many, who hold his memory sacred.

ALEX. MACALISTER.

## Naturalism and Agnosticism.

(*The Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of  
Aberdeen in the years 1896-1898.*)

By James Ward, Sc.D., LL.D., Professor of Mental Philosophy  
and Logic in the University of Cambridge. London: A.  
& C. Black, 1899. 2 vols. 8vo., pp. xviii + 302 ; xiii +  
297. Price 18s. net.

"I TAKE it for granted," says the author, "that till an idealistic (*i.e.*, spiritualistic) view of the world can be sustained, any exposition of theism is but wasted labour." He has accordingly set himself "to discuss in a popular way certain assumptions of 'modern science' which have led to a wide-spread, but more or less tacit, rejection of idealistic views of the world". With only a slight qualification of the "popular" (for the book will be popular with the people who are interested in the subject) this is exactly what the author has done. It is altogether to misjudge his argument to ask whether he has proved the existence of God. He has dealt only with certain philosophical preliminaries: but these he has treated in the most comprehensive and luminous manner. Probably no more powerful argument has appeared for an idealistic view of the world—for the primacy of mind—since the time of Lotze. With Lotze, indeed, Professor Ward has many points of resemblance. Like him he made his mark first as a psychologist, and like him he shares the interests of the man of science without confusing the scientific point of view with that of philosophy. It is needless to say, therefore, that not only is there no quarrel with 'science,' *i.e.*, with knowledge, but also there is no quarrel with 'the sciences,' *i.e.*, the systematised bodies of knowledge regarding special departments: though there is much to be said concerning the scope and significance of scientific principles. The "assumptions" hostile to idealism are "no part of the general body of the natural sciences, but rather preposses-

sions that, after gradually taking shape in the minds of many absorbed in scientific studies, have entered into the current thought of our time," and are now represented by a combination of the theory of Naturalism with the theory of Agnosticism. The older Naturalism was materialistic; its modern form refrains from all dogmatic pronouncements about ultimate reality, and draws a sharp line between the knowable and the unknowable: science being, of course, restricted to the knowable, which is the region of appearances or "phenomena". This change is due to the influence of Agnosticism. But the theory maintains its earlier character by the contention that scientific laws are "ultimately and most clearly to be formulated in terms of matter". This last statement might perhaps be taken to represent the position of the modern form of Naturalism—agnostic Naturalism, as it might be called. But every careful reader of the acknowledged exponents of the theory—of Huxley, Tyndall, or Mr. H. Spencer—must have felt that his authors seem to find this a position of unstable equilibrium, and that their standpoint oscillates between the naturalistic and the agnostic. "We may know where we are," says Dr. Ward, "when matter is spoken of throughout as an objective fact, or throughout as a mental symbol, but it is bewildering to find it posing in both characters at once." In several places in these volumes Dr. Ward calls attention to this peculiarity, and rakes the favourite positions of his antagonists with a fire of well-directed criticism. In these lively interludes the author has done a real service to the cause of clear thinking. They serve too to relieve the strain of a somewhat severe argument and to put the reader in charity even with the confusers of standpoints.

Does science then lead to Naturalism, agnostic or otherwise? This may be said to be the question which Dr. Ward proceeds to examine: first, dealing with the *real* principles of science to which the "unity and completeness" of the naturalistic scheme are ascribed; and secondly, dealing with it "*formally*, as knowledge, in respect, that is to say, of its postulates, categories and methods".

The former inquiry, which occupies more than half the book, deals with the "three fundamental theories which are held to be primarily concerned in the unity of nature: *the mechanical theory*, this comes first, and 'determines all that succeed'; *the theory of evolution*, which essays in terms homogeneous with this to 'formulate' the development of the world, society and man; last, *the theory of psychological parallelism*, dealing with the relation of body and mind".

We must distinguish between mechanics, or dynamics, and the mechanical theory of the universe. The latter has however grown out of the former, and the successive steps by which an abstract mathematical theory has come to lay claim to the explanation of the totality of the real may be read in the first and most elaborate part into which these lectures are divided. It is difficult to sum up in a few words the argument by which Dr. Ward at once elucidates and refutes this claim; and no summary could do justice to the powerful impression which the argument is fitted to produce, whether it be judged as a sustained effort of reasoning or as a masterpiece of literary exposition. The leading points in the argument may, perhaps, be stated as follows: In the first place, Analytical Mechanics, or Abstract Dynamics, is professedly an abstract science: it does not deal with perceptive realities, but with conceptions formed by intellectual abstraction, which have no more exact correspondence with reality than the absolute space or perfect straight lines or circles of geometry have with our experience. The progress of dynamics has resulted in a gradual modification of these conceptions to adapt them best to mathematical treatment. In this way even the conceptions of Substance and Cause have been supplanted. Mass is defined as quantity of inertia, while Force drops its old causative meaning on being defined as the direction in which and the rate at which the motion of a body changes. Objection, indeed, has been made to this extrusion of Causation from dynamical science, as if it meant the banishment of cause from Nature; but the objection is invalid. The question is one of method; if Causation is lost an equation is gained: its mathematical character allows the

symbols of the science to give a simpler and more comprehensive description of phenomena. But from first to last it is symbolic, an elaboration of conceptions, not an account of reality.

This is only made clearer when Mechanical principles are applied to actual phenomena—in what Dr. Ward calls Molar Mechanics. There it is clear that the application of mechanical conceptions to fact is only approximate : there are no uniform masses, no perfectly rigid levers, no constancy of temperature or gravitation, no perfectly accurate measures of any kind to be had. It is clear, therefore, that Molar Mechanics is “throughout hypothetical, and absolute or unconditional mechanical statements concerning the real world are therefore unwarrantable”. Further, the various qualitative differences of material phenomena—chemical, thermal, magnetic, etc.—are disregarded by Mechanics and handed over to Experimental Physics. At this point, however, Molecular Mechanics makes its striking contribution to the completion of the mechanical theory of Nature, by its interpretation of all these qualitative differences among phenomena in terms of molecular motion. The interpretation is, of course, as yet incomplete. But even as a working hypothesis it is significant. “A science which at the outset is simply formal and quantitative seems in the end to yield the ideal of concrete physical existence, what Kant might have called the *omnitudo realitatis* of the physical world ; and this becomes, for those to whom the physical world is primary and fundamental, the supreme and only *omnitudo realitatis* that science can ever know.” But conceptions cannot thus shake off the traces of their origin : abstractions do not cease to be abstractions by being expressed on an infinitesimal scale. On this point a few sentences may be quoted to summarise the author’s argument :—

“The process of analysis up to the stage of the chemical or physical molecule, though hypothetical and indirect, may be regarded as *real* analysis ; and had the hypothesis of extended molecules proved adequate the mechanical theory might, so far as science goes, have held its ground. Extended, solid,

indestructible atoms have always been the stronghold of materialistic views of the universe. But, unhappily for such views, the hard, extended atom was not equal to the demands which increasing knowledge laid upon it. Then, as we have seen, encouraged by Newton's essentially descriptive conception of distance-action, the old atom shrank up gradually, surrendering all its extension, rigidity and elasticity till it became identical with the entirely formal conception of analytical mechanics, that, *viz.*, of a mass-point as a centre of force. But this later analysis, though still hypothetical, had no longer any conceivable physical counterpart. . . . There was no rest for the old atom till it took this ghostly form of a mass-point, and thenceforward it was a mechanical fiction pure and simple. Lord Kelvin's brilliant hypothesis of vortex-atoms, if regarded as an endeavour to resuscitate indestructible and extended atoms as realities, and to provide a medium for their interaction, must be pronounced a failure too. Boscovich resolved the palpable atom into an idea ; Lord Kelvin seems to attempt the converse and far harder feat of calling back this atom from a 'vasty deep' so dangerously like pure being as to be, phenomenally, pure nothing. . . .

" The mechanical theory of the universe, then, begins with abstractions, and in the end has only abstractions left ; it begins with phenomenal movement and ends by resolving all phenomena into motion. It begins with real bodies in empty space, and ends with ideal motions in an imperceptible plenum. It begins with the dynamics of ordinary masses, and ends with a medium that needs no dynamics or has dynamics of its own. But between beginning and end there are stages innumerable ; in other words the end is an unattainable ideal. . . . The story of the progress so far is, then, briefly this: Divergence between theory and fact one part of the way, the wreckage of abandoned fictions for the rest, with an unattainable goal of phenomenal nihilism and ultra-physical mechanism beyond. Nevertheless, there are many who hold that the world must be such a mechanism, because they imagine themselves unable to conceive it otherwise."

From first to last, so far as I can judge, there is no flaw

in the argument, which appears to me to be the most striking contribution to the theory of science which has appeared for many years. And it determines much that follows in the discussion of cosmic evolution and of psychophysical parallelism. On the former, space will not permit me to dwell. It seems evident that if the mechanical theory cannot claim to be an explanation of the existing universe it will be unable to trace its genesis. But those who are interested in Mr. Spencer's heroic attempt at a complete philosophy in terms of matter and motion will find in these pages a criticism of it which leaves nothing to be desired and nothing more to be said. Perhaps it would have been well if more than a lecture could have been spared for *Biological Evolution*. For here, at last, we are face to face with concrete facts ; and here too the conceptions employed by the specialists are still in need of elucidation. 'Adaptation,' for instance, and 'Selection' are obviously conceptions borrowed from human methods, and the epistemologist has to scrutinise every line of the biologist's reasoning to discover whether and in what way these terms imply that idea of purpose or guidance which always accompanies them when used concerning the handiwork of man. His work is not rendered easier by the fundamental disagreement among biologists regarding the scope of Natural Selection, and the complex array of hypotheses with which Dr. Weismann supports his view of its "all-sufficiency". Dr. Ward contends that teleological metaphors lurk everywhere in these speculative constructions. However this may be, it is clear that conscious purpose is present somewhere in the course of development, namely, in the higher animals—at least in man. The question is, where does it come in ? In this connection Dr. Ward re-affirms his well-known view of reflex action as secondarily automatic, that is, due to purposive action having become perfect through practice and thus automatic. The facts which may be cited in favour of this view are numerous and striking enough ; but it may surely be doubted whether they are sufficient to support a theory of the origin of all reflexes, including animal instincts, from purposive action.



Dr. Ward's argument leads him even further than this, to a position which, it must be admitted, has many attractions for a psychologist. He will not allow that life is a middle term between inorganic matter and mind. Wherever there is life there is mind. For this view I do not think there is any good reason except the difficulty of saying where else mind could come in ; and to this due weight must be given. He brings out in a convincing way the unique function of life in conserving itself and antagonising the disintegrating effect which the environment tends to exert upon the organism, and which it soon succeeds in producing when life is gone. Life invokes a self-conservative impulse. Without attempting to penetrate into 'minds' far different from our own in the organic scale Dr. Ward gives as the two distinguishing marks of mental action : (1) Self-conservation, and (2) Subjective (or, as he also calls it, hedonic) Selection—a principle to which he had previously drawn attention in his *Psychology*. That this latter is present in the animal world (or at any rate in large reaches of it) is apparent. Most Darwinians lay stress on the importance in development of Sexual Selection ; and Sexual Selection is simply one form of Subjective Selection. But is there any evidence that this second factor is present in plant life as well as in animal life ? Dr. Ward contends that there is. Thus he says, in one of those picturesque passages which abound in his writings, and which betray the born naturalist : " Take the passengers on a coach going through some glen here in Scotland : in one sense the glen is the same for them all, their common environment for the time being. But one, an artist, will single out subjects to sketch ; another, an angler, will see likely pools for fish ; the third, a geologist, will detect raised beaches, glacial striation, or perched blocks. Turn a miscellaneous lot of birds into a garden : a fly catcher will at once be intent on the gnats, a bullfinch on the peas, a thrush on the worms and snails. Scatter a mixture of seeds over a diversified piece of country ; heath and cistus will spring up in the dry, flags and rushes in the marshy ground ; violets and ferns in the shady hollows ;

gorse and broom on the hilltops." Man, birds, and flower seeds are all represented as displaying subjective selection. But surely only through oversight. The two former are certainly on a level. Angler and bullfinch equally pursue each his own interest ; but the violet seed scattered on dry ground does not seek the shady hollows, nor the gorse leave the marshes for the hilltops. The seeds remain where they fall, and if the ground does not give them the nourishment they need they die. Here it is natural selection which is at play, cutting off the unfit. I do not assert that natural selection accounts entirely for the growth of the seed into a plant : it is obvious that its operation is negative and not positive. But I see no ground for attributing subjective selection to the seed, in any sense in which subjective selection means more than self-conservation. Self-conservation does imply activity which tends towards an end. This means purpose, perhaps, but not necessarily a purpose of which the organism is conscious. I cannot agree with Dr. Ward that feeling, as well as activity, is always and necessarily involved in self-conservation. The point is, however, not essential to the main argument. In both plant and animal life there is purpose, activity directed towards an end ; and in both this teleology is internal, not external like the purpose of a machine. The difference is that in the plant there is no evidence for asserting that the purpose is conscious, that the activity is determined by feeling.

The theory of psychophysical parallelism is the next topic, and the different forms of the theory are reviewed : Clifford's doctrine of 'mind-stuff' ; the 'two-aspects' theory ; and the theory of 'conscious automatism'. The first is dismissed as a wild speculation, without inner coherence or intelligibility. The second, maintaining invariable correspondence along with absolute causal independence, is shown to be logically unstable. It tends everywhere to ascribe primacy to the material series rather than to the mental, and thus to pass into the third form—the theory of conscious automatism. That this last theory is a necessary pendant of the mechanical theory of the universe is obvious. If

reality is reducible to the movements of mass-points no room is left for mind as a factor in the world. Whether as thought or as volition, consciousness can be nothing but an "epi-phenomenal *aura*" of a material system organised in a particular way. The inadequacy of this view to account for the plain facts of experience is brought out by Dr. Ward in trenchant language. And its futility is seen when we remember that the mechanical theory is but a system of abstract conceptions whose purpose is to co-ordinate and describe the perceptions of conscious beings. "Man is not the impotent shadow of Nature as thus shaped forth, but this shaping is itself the work of mind."

It is in this section that Dr. Ward's own striking contribution to the solution of the philosophical problem begins to appear. But the way for it has still to be cleared by the examination of the formal principles on which "modern science" proceeds. This is done in the fourth section of the work entitled "Refutation of Dualism". In the dualism which divides the universe into two diverse reals called mind and matter he sees the original error from which the mechanical theory of reality with its attendant illusions has sprung. Descartes himself was the author of the mechanical theory as well as the originator of the dualistic hypothesis in modern philosophy. But, in his view, mechanism stopped short where consciousness began; and to explain their connection in perception and in conation he and his successors made many unsuccessful efforts. The theory of conscious automatism was put forward as a development of the Cartesian position, and it solves his problem by the easy method of pronouncing the facts which puzzled him to be illusions, and one half of his universe to be merely the shadow of the other. But the Dualism of science has its roots in the Dualism of common-sense. The "plain man" too speaks of Mind and Nature as two diverse sorts of existence; and it is this cherished distinction which Dr. Ward seeks to resolve into a monistic view by his doctrine of experience as a unity and experience as the real. Whatever our final philosophy may be, it must begin with, and be built upon, individual experience.

And in that experience there is no dualism, but the "duality in unity" of subject and object. These two factors of reality cannot be sundered. Nor, in this process of experience, can the objective factor claim to be the 'paramount power'. Just as in life we have found a self-conservative impulse antagonising the disintegrating forces of the environment, so in mind—which is life conscious of itself—we find a subjective selection of the interesting elements in the 'presentational continuum' determining the formation of perceptions and thoughts with a view to satisfy the interests of the conscious life. In this connection the author brings out the truth, now more and more generally recognised by psychologists, that knowledge is dependent upon practical needs and interests. But in the development of theoretical knowledge this subjective reference comes to be disregarded, and what is common truth for all intelligences is spoken about as independent of any. It is by means of the social factor that this result is brought about and dualism arises. Here the doctrine has points of resemblance to the theory of the external world as a construction of the social consciousness which has been set forth by Dr. Ward's successor in the Gifford Lectureship. But our author's aim is different from that of Professor Royce, and approached in a different way. It is through "inter-subjective intercourse" — through the individual's gradual assimilation of his own experience to the experience of others—that an universal experience, common to the race, is formulated and set over against the concrete experience of the individual subject. This belongs to psychology; with that the natural sciences are concerned. The two are contrasted as respectively subjective and objective; and, forgetting that universal as little as individual experience is intelligible without the subjective factor, our thought lapses readily into the dualism which regards mind and nature as two independent realities. The very important and original epistemological inquiry which elucidates this position must be passed over, however unwillingly. Any attempt at a summary would rob it of its interest. And a few sentences must be spared for the fifth and last part of the book, entitled

"Spiritualistic Monism," in which the author's own philosophy is set forth.

It is not enough to refute an incorrect theory by showing its inner contradictions and mistaken constructions. It can be finally supplanted only by putting forward a view which gets nearer the truth. And to do this is the aim of the three concluding lectures. In these Dr. Ward is occupied much more with Agnosticism than with Naturalism; but this is only the preliminary to his own construction. He has to show that the view of reality which has been already indicated is sufficient for the purposes of science as well as in the interests of idealism. It must be capable of supporting both a philosophy of nature and a spiritualistic interpretation of the world. To give a satisfactory account of natural law has been a fundamental difficulty of idealistic theories, at any rate since Descartes marked off from one another the realms of nature and spirit; and there is much to excuse the suspicion with which such theories are often regarded by men of science. Impressed with the fixity of natural law they are disappointed with the arbitrariness which Berkeley found there; while the *à priori* constructions of Schelling or Hegel seem presumptuous and even blasphemous to men who have spent their lives in patient investigation of facts. The presumption has long since disappeared from idealistic writers. The modern English Hegelians, at least, have been, if anything, too eager to accept the latest and least verified generalisations, not of science, but of scientific men, and to restrict their own energies to polishing what remains to them of the 'other side of the shield'. The characteristic of Dr. Ward's discussion in this connection is that his epistemology enables him not only to vindicate scientific principles—if these were in need of vindication—but also to show their scope and meaning. The Uniformity of Nature would be meaningless except to a continuous and uniform subject. The primacy of the subjective factor in the selection and purpose which build up science as well as individual experience is in no way inconsistent with uniform law; it is its explanation. In this sense teleology underlies mechanism, and at once justifies

and limits it. As Dr. Ward puts it: "The conception itself of this systematic unity and invariable conformity to law . . . is teleological, is a means to an end, knowledge itself. It is of the nature of a hypothesis or postulate, and differs from other hypotheses or postulates relating to objective reality only in the fact that it underlies them all. . . . The conception of Nature, then, as a system of laws, is, we must say, hypothetical; since it is not self-evident, but admits of question and awaits verification. But it is an indispensable hypothesis or postulate; for without it scientific experience is impossible."

Dr. Ward has amply and admirably fulfilled his purpose of clearing away the obstacles in "modern thought" which are hostile to idealistic views of the world. With regard to the method and principles of his own constructive effort, I am so much in agreement as to be a poor critic. But he would be the first to admit that much still remains to be done to consolidate and complete the structure. He no more than any other thinker can escape the secular problem of the One and the Many; and there are indications that he is fully aware of this, and that his last word on the question has not yet been said. Indeed, as it stands, and so far as definite argument goes, the concluding section of his work might almost be entitled "Spiritualistic Pluralism" instead of "Spiritualistic Monism". The actual title is significant because it gives point to suggestions which are not wanting that the final solution cannot rest with Pluralism. In tracing the origin of the Dualism of matter and mind, he has also brought out the way in which the individual assimilates his own experience with that of others, and rises to the universal experience of science. For the purposes of psychology and of epistemology there is no other discussion of the subject which seems to me to compare with this in value. But from the metaphysical point of view much remains to be done. These separate individual experiences with which he begins—rightly, as I think, as a question of method—are not scattered throughout existence like "stars shot madly from their spheres," but must form a system, a

unity. Their mutual intercourse, and the society and the science which result from that intercourse, are rendered possible only by an underlying identity or similarity of nature which betrays identity of origin. "The intellect," said Kant, in a famous sentence which Dr. Ward quotes with approval, "makes nature, but does not create it." Even the "universal" experience of science leaves much unexplained; but philosophy cannot rest short of the attempt to conceive an ultimately real experience which leaves nothing out of its account. "From a world of spirits to a Supreme Spirit is a possible step." The difficulty is not to take the step, but to describe and understand the way.

It is impossible to close this review without congratulating the author on the permanent contribution he has made to English philosophy. The work is full of suggestions of striking originality and insight, and of many brilliant incidental criticisms. These have been passed over in order to bring out the main argument. The work is much more than an examination of the Mechanical Theory of the world and its attendant theories of life and mind. But in that respect it is complete. Prof. Huxley has said that "the consciousness of this great truth," by which he means the doctrine of conscious automatism, "weighs like a nightmare upon many of the best minds of these days". If these "best minds" of our day will study Dr. Ward's pages they can be confidently promised a pleasant awakening from their troubled dreams.

W. R. SORLEY.

## **A Short History of Free-thought: Ancient and Modern**

*By John M. Robertson. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.,  
1899. 8vo, pp. 447 + xv. Price 7s. 6d. net.*

IT is no easy task that Mr. Robertson has set himself in this volume. He has interpreted his subject in a wide sense; and he has not attempted, in any way, to confine himself to the limits prescribed for the historian. Every chapter of his book is written with a view to modern controversies, and in the hope of dealing a blow *pro ara et focis*. The result is that his "Short History" is really an enlarged pamphlet putting the case for "Free-thought" from numerous points of view, and scoring every possible point, however trivial and "cheap," in a manner which suggests the platform debater rather than the impartial historian. We do not, of course, raise any objection to Mr. Robertson's book on this ground; but it is well, at the outset, to premise that we are dealing, not with a patient attempt to investigate into the place of "rationalism" in the history of thought, but with a vigorous controversial plea for Free-thought, written from a historical standpoint.

Mr. Robertson's early chapters are those to which, in all probability, the majority of his readers will take least exception. He has collected a number of facts and opinions from works on anthropology and on the religions of India, Persia, and China, from which he makes certain deductions. He makes no claim to first-hand acquaintance with the subjects, but the summary of recent investigation is painstaking and constitutes the most useful portion of the book. The inference derived from this survey is that "there is an inherent tendency in all systematised and instituted religion to degenerate intellectually and morally, save for the constant corrective activity of Free-thought"—a conclusion based upon a dogmatic statement that "the religious person is as such less intelligently alive to all problems of thought



and conduct than he otherwise might be," and upon the assumption that every form of change in religious life is a form of Free-thought. The fact is that Mr. Robertson is playing with words. If "Free-thought" is to be taken in its etymological sense, then it is simply equivalent to progress, and his argument is sheer tautology. 'Progress in religion comes from—progress.' If Free-thought means something like atheism (and in this sense Mr. Robertson constantly uses it), his argument rests, in the main, on an assertion by Professor Max Müller, that "the religion of Buddha was from the beginning purely atheistic". Mr. Robertson constantly uses the term "Free-thought" in two senses. He defines it on p. 5 as "a conscious reaction against some phase or phases of conventional or traditional doctrine in religion". Such a statement as this is so wide as to be practically meaningless. To-day it would include almost everybody, and Mr. Robertson abandons it entirely in speaking of current affairs, *e.g.*, when he tells us, on p. 413, that "almost all of the leading writers of the higher fiction are known to be rationalists" (a word which he has used almost interchangeably with free-thinkers in a narrower sense). Elsewhere, too, he modifies it, as when, on p. 250, he argues that the Reformation was a form of Free-thought "only in a very broad and general sense".

The Old Testament is dealt with on the basis of an unqualified acceptance of the suggestions put forward by the most advanced critics, leading to the conclusion, stated as unquestionable, that "the cult of Jahweh was . . . a finally successful tyranny of one local cult over another" (p. 72); and even the higher critics themselves are thrown overboard when need is:—"From the scientific point of view, finally, the element of historical prediction in the prophets is one of the strongest grounds for presuming that they are in reality late documents. In regard to similar predictions in the Gospels (Matt. xxiv. 15; Mark xiii. 2; Luke xxi. 20) rational criticism decides that they were written after the event. No other course can consistently be taken as to early Hebrew predictions of captivity and restoration; and the

adherence of many biblical scholars at this point to the traditional view is psychologically on a par with their former refusal to accept a rational estimate of the Pentateuchal narrative." On "argument" of this nature, comment is scarcely possible. The chapter on "Free-thought in Greece" states a number of recognized facts, but is chiefly remarkable for its estimate of Aristotle. Mr. Robertson admits that he was "in some aspects the greatest brain of the ancient world," but "unhappily his own science is too often a blundering reaction against the surmises of earlier thinkers with a greater gift of intuition than he, who was rather a methodiser than a discoverer" (p. 118). It is difficult to read sympathetically opinions on Greek and Roman philosophy which emanate from an attitude of mind that can patronize Aristotle.

In dealing with "Ancient Christianity and its Opponents," Mr. Robertson takes occasion to deal with "wide discrepancies" in the Gospels. We cannot better exemplify the fibre of Mr. Robertson's arguments than by stating some of these. Our Lord's companionship with publicans and sinners is incompatible with His retort to the Pharisees: "If ye love them that love you, what reward have ye? Do not even the publicans the same?"; the general insistence that the Messiah is of the Davidic line, with the question "If David then calleth Him Lord, how is He his son?"; and the proclamation of a Gospel for the poor and the enslaved with the absence of any attempt to overturn the whole foundations of existing society at once, by a campaign against slavery. (pp. 146-7.) "Such variously serious discrepancies count for more than even the chronological and other divergencies of the records concerning the Birth, the Supper, the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, as proofs of diversity of source." If this is so, the task of apologetics is considerably lightened. As in the case of the Old Testament, the whole argument is based upon an unquestioning acceptance of very doubtful points, without even a hint that any reply is possible (e.g., "the Judaic epistle of James" (p. 150), "the spurious epistles to Timothy" (p. 151), and the statement, on p. 146,

that "it is admitted by all open-minded students that the events in the [Gospel] narrative are in many cases fictitious even when they are not miraculous".)

We pass over Mr. Robertson's account of the Middle Ages, and proceed to deal with some points in his treatment of more modern times. His statements about the attitude of the Reformers to toleration are, in the main, impossible to question; but is it really worth while to elaborate such a universally admitted thesis, which, after all, is useful for his purpose only as permitting a display of personal bitterness? A stronger protest is, however, necessitated by such a sentence as this: "Scottish intellectual development had, in fact, been arrested by the Reformation, so that save for Napier's *Logarithms* (1614), and such a political treatise as Rutherford's *Lex Rex* (1644), the nation of Dunbar and Lyndsay produced for two centuries no secular literature of the least value, and not even a theology of any enduring interest" (p. 319). Yet the period between 1560 and 1760, selected by Mr. Robertson for this wild comment, is a period which in secular literature covers Drummond of Hawthornden, Arthur Johnston and the Latin poets, James Thomson, Robert Blair, John Arbuthnot, Lord Kames, Lord Monboddo, Tobias Smollett; the historians, Calderwood, Spottiswood, Baillie, and Bishop Burnet; and in science, Colin McLaurin, the Gregories, and the Monros. And will any "open-minded student" say that Scottish theology of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is "of no enduring interest," including, as it does, the letters of Samuel Rutherford; the controversial work of Alexander Henderson; the three Forbeses, whose books are still theological classics; the saintly Leighton; the younger Scougal, whose *Life of God in the Soul of Man* gave the first impulse to the English religious movement of the eighteenth century; and, in addition, later divines like the Erskines and Blair and John Brown of Haddington? We are sorry to have to print a list of names, but Mr. Robertson's statement is so precise, and it is so characteristic of the tone of the book, that we cannot forbear to notice it. Finally, the treatment of Free-

thought to-day necessitates some mild protest. We do not intend to quote names to place alongside those which Mr. Robertson claims, rightly or wrongly, for Free-thought. But is it true to say that "in England, as on the Continent, the bulk of philosophical activity is now dissociated from the Christian creed," or that "the few remaining Churchmen of high literary standing, as Bishop Stubbs and Bishop Creighton, rank as simple historians, not as thinkers?" Or is it just to mention, among recent literary workers in Scotland, only the late Professor Drummond? And could any recognised Christian apologist agree that "the works of Mr. Drummond, Mr. Benjamin Kidd and Mr. A. J. Balfour are the most prominent pleas for Christianity put forth in England in the last twenty years," and that the historian has done his duty by apologetics when he has mentioned these?

Mr. Robertson's book is careful; his references are accurate; and he has amassed a number of statements which, without throwing any original light whatsoever on their subject, are convenient for purposes of reference. To the itinerant lecturer, on either side, the book will be invaluable. But as a serious contribution to the history of thought, it stands condemned by its own bitterness and lack of any sense of proportion or of fairness, and by its unfounded generalisations. It is the work of a man whose ability and interest are so entirely controversial as to prevent his attaining even moderate success as an historian.

ROBERT S. RAIT.

**Authority and Archæology, Sacred and Profane ; Essays  
on the Relation of Monuments to Biblical and Clas-  
sical Literature.**

*By S. R. Driver, D.D. ; Ernest A. Gardner, M.A. ; F. Ll. Griffith, M.A. ; F. Haverfield, M.A. ; A. C. Headlam, B.D. ; D. G. Hogarth, M.A. ; with an Introductory Chapter by the Editor. Edited by David G. Hogarth, Fellow of Magdalene College, Oxford, Director of the British School at Athens. London : John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1899. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 440. Price 16s.*

**Recent Archæology and the Bible.**

*By the Rev. Thomas Nicol, D.D. (The Croal Lectures for 1898.) Edinburgh and London : William Blackwood & Sons, 1899. 8vo, pp. 346. Price 9s. net.*

THE intention of these two essays is to show to what degree the results of archæological research may legitimately affect the views of those who, without special archæological knowledge, concern themselves with the antiquity of civilisation ; and the archæological vestiges of civilisation referred to are those to be found in the geographical area from which the civilisation of Christian Europe has directly sprung — the debatable land of the near East.

The term archæology is used to denote the study of the Material as opposed to the Literary documents which have come down to us, and it is regarded as "*the science of the treatment of the material remains of the human past*". The definition, however, requires the explanation, which is not given, that among those "material remains" are included inscriptions, which indeed form the most important part. It seems to us that the essayists have not always kept this in view ; for some of the more trenchant remarks made on the insufficiency of archæology to reconstruct the past are based upon considerations which are not applicable to inscriptions.

This ambiguity runs through the whole book, and invalidates some of the conclusions arrived at. It makes the concluding sentence of the introduction by far too strong when it is said :—

“ If all the material documents of antiquity had vanished off the earth, we could still construct a living and just, though imperfect, picture of antiquity. But were it, on the other hand, literature that had utterly perished, while the material remains of all past civilisations survived everywhere in soils as fecund and preservative as the sands of Egypt, nothing of that picture could be drawn beyond the most nebulous outline. As things stand at this day, material monuments take a place, important or unimportant, in the historical reconstruction of the past according as they can be interpreted well or ill by comparison of the monuments of letters.”

One has only to glance at the essays of Canon Driver and Mr. Haverfield to see how important it is, in estimating the worth of archæological evidence, to know whether epigraphy is, or is not, included under the head of archæology.

The book is divided into three portions—the first of which discusses Hebrew, the second Classical, and the third Christian Authority. The first part, which occupies about one-third of the book, consists of one essay, written by Canon Driver; the second part contains four separate essays—on Egypt and Assyria by Mr. Griffith; on Pre-historic Greece by Mr. Hogarth, the editor; on Historic Greece by Mr. Gardner; and on the Roman World by Mr. Haverfield; the last portion contains one essay by Mr. Headlam.

Canon Driver's essay on Hebrew Authority is perhaps the most attractive for the general public, for it treats of matters which are of very wide-spread interest, and it may be taken as the general answer which the Higher Criticism, as represented by the eminent Oxford divine, has to make to the recent attacks of Professor Sayce and other archæologists. It is distinguished by wide knowledge, clear statement, and skilful marshalling of facts. It begins with a short *résumé* of the archæological and anthropological researches of the last half century, and draws the general conclusion that

these discoveries have had as their result to show that the Hebrews did not occupy a unique and isolated position in antiquity, but were related to and dependent on the kindred civilisations with which they were surrounded. The secular institutions of the nation, their social usages, their codes of civil and criminal law, even the material elements upon which their religious system itself was based, have such substantial analogies with the corresponding elements of civilisation among kindred nations that they cannot be looked upon as determined in every feature by a direct revelation from Heaven. What remains unique are the spiritual intuitions and experiences which are fused into all their traditions, laws and usages.

To illustrate this Canon Driver selects special instances bearing on the Pentateuch (ch. ii.) or on the period of the Kings and after (ch. iii.). Under the head of the Pentateuch he takes such things as the account of the creation, the institution of the Sabbath, Eden, the Deluge, and so on. One instance will suffice to show his method.

He takes the cosmogony in Genesis (i.-ii. 4) which he says "for sublimity alike of conception and of expression stands unique in the literature of the world," and he compares it with accounts of the creation which have been recovered from inscriptions long buried in Assyrian and Chaldean mounds. He shows that the theological differences between the Hebrew and the Assyrian or Chaldean narratives are very great; that the one shows us a severe and dignified monotheism while in the other we have an exuberant and a grotesque polytheism; but he declares that in spite of these immense differences in religious thought "there are material resemblances between the two which are too numerous and too marked to be regarded as mere coincidences". No archæologist can question, he says, that the Biblical cosmogony is, in its main outline, derived from the Babylonian.

Then he sets himself to ask—At what time did the Babylonian elements find their way into Hebrew literature? For answer Canon Driver has to say that we may assume it as certain that the monotheistic author of Genesis i., at what-

ever date he lived, could not have borrowed any detail however slight from the crassly polytheistic epic of the conflict of Marduk and Tiamat. He therefore holds it for certain that the Babylonian myth must have been for long years transplanted into Israel; it must have there been gradually divested of its polytheistic features, and gradually reduced more and more to a simple unadorned narrative of the origin of the world, until parts of it (we cannot say more positively, he adds, at present), were capable of adoption or adaptation by the author of Genesis i. as elements of his cosmogony. In short, Dr. Driver believes that the Biblical cosmogony is derived from the Babylonian, and "comes at the end of a long process of gradual elimination of heathen elements and of gradual assimilation to the purer teachings of Israelitish theology carried on under the spiritual influence of the religion of Israel". It is for criticism, then, to inquire at what time the Babylonian myth was transported into Israelite thought; and three different periods are suggested—when the ancestors of Israel lived side by side with the Babylonians in Ur of the Chaldeans, or when the Israelites entered Canaan and came into contact through the inhabitants with the Babylonian influences which have been proved to have existed there at that time, or at the time of Ahaz when there was a good deal of intercourse between Judah and Babylon. I give this as an example of the arguments of Dr. Driver; but I confess, that granting all his facts, his reasoning does not convince me. His certainties of inference all rest on a theory of the evolution of religious ideas which is certainly much in vogue, but which seems to me not only a mere theory, but one which is contradicted by the history of many a natural religion whose stages of growth we can at this moment trace; for we can still see them growing. When Dr. Driver tells us that on the points in dispute between the traditional and critical views of the Old Testament the verdict of archæology is either absolutely neutral or else entirely in harmony with the Higher Criticism, we can only say that it must be so when both writings and archæological material are treated from an implied certainty



regarding the law of the evolution of religious beliefs. The question is whether the law which is supposed to be axiomatic is to be trusted at all.

But while all this seems to me to be true, and to invalidate a great deal of what Dr. Driver and others say with regard to the Old Testament, it is impossible not to sympathise with him in some of his criticisms of Professor Sayce. He has laid down a good principle when he calls attention to the distinction between *direct* and *indirect* archæological testimony. He admits that direct archæological testimony is of the highest possible value, and as a rule determines a question decisively; that even indirect testimony, when it is sufficiently circumstantial and precise, makes a conclusion highly probable; he refuses to give much weight to testimony when it is neither direct nor circumstantial; and he shows how Professor Sayce and Mr. Tomkins have continually neglected these important distinctions. At the same time Canon Driver appears to lay down propositions a little too severe in his criticisms otherwise just. He says for example: "What Professor Sayce has done is firstly to draw from the monuments a picture of Palestine as it was in pre-Mosaic times, then to work the history of the patriarchs into it, and having done this to argue or imply that he had proved the historical character of the latter"; and he seems to say that what Professor Sayce ought to do to prove his point, is to deduce from direct or indirect but circumstantial archæological evidence, and evidence quite independent of the Pentateuch, that the patriarchs existed and that they were in Palestine. But surely the essence of the Higher Criticism is that a document ought to be instinct with the life of the time it depicts, and that if it can be shown to be so instinct it is to be accepted. To show that there was in Palestine a pre-Mosaic life such as is depicted in the accounts which the Pentateuch gives of the lives of the patriarchs is an independent ground for accepting the historical character of the narratives of Genesis. We do not say that this has been done either by Professor Sayce or by Mr. Tomkins. We only affirm that the test which Canon Driver insists upon is too baldly and severely stated.

The two essays of Mr. Hogarth and Mr. Gardner are well worth a very careful perusal. They illustrate the value of the three peculiarities of modern archæological research—great care in collecting *all* kinds of material, the examination of the material collected on systematic experimental methods instead of rushing to ingenious conjecture, and the classification of material on the principle of careful comparison. Mr. Hogarth shows how successfully these modern methods have been applied to unfold to our knowledge pre-historic Greece. He describes the three great periods into which modern archæology has divided the subject, the wide area over which this pre-historic civilisation spread, the evidence for believing that there was an Ægean civilisation scarcely inferior in antiquity to that of the valley of the Nile, and the impossibility of believing the traditional view that the Phœnicians were the sources of the civilisation of the countries on the northern shores of the Mediterranean. All this work belongs almost purely to the province of archæology and had its starting-point in the discoveries of Schliemann.

Mr. Haverfield's essay is not less interesting. He divides Roman history into the three periods of the pre-historic, the Republic, and the Empire. Archæology helps us with the first and the third, but gives us very little aid with the second. He shows how it has assisted us somewhat in our understanding of what Italy was before the spread of the power of the Republic; but he has failed to point out what treasures of information possibly await us if we could completely decipher the large number of Etruscan inscriptions which are still a sealed book. Perhaps no greater service could be done to our knowledge of pre-historic Italy than excavation on the southern borders of the ancient Etruria, with its almost certain result of finding one or more bilingual tablets. The pity is that excavations have hitherto for the most part been confined to those parts of Etruria which lay farthest from the Roman boundaries, and where the chance of finding bilingual tablets was smallest.

It is in connection with the Empire, however, that archæology, in the sense of epigraphy, has won its greatest

triumphs. It is scarcely too much to say that archæology has caused the history of the Empire to be re-written. The Roman Empire was only half understood by the men who lived under it. Even Tacitus gives his readers a petty picture of court intrigues and palace scandal; he says nothing about the splendid machinery of government, the ideals of its greatest statesmen, the fluctuations of its trade and commerce, and all that makes the life of a great people. Archæology has disinterred the Empire belittled by its own historians. Hundreds of thousands of inscriptions, coins of all dates and places, ruins of fortresses, towns and roads have been collected and classified; and these tell us of wide Imperial plans, of wonderful local self-government, of social, religious and commercial movements which the old historians scarcely condescended to notice, and which probably they did not understand. It is only when we study the results which archæology has brought to us that we can discern how false is that view of Roman History which centres our interest on the Republic and bids us call the Empire a time of degradation. It is then that we can understand that the Rome which held the mediæval mind fascinated in its grasp was not the Republic, but the great Empire which still awaits its modern historian.

The last portion of the book is occupied by an essay on Christian archæology by Mr. Headlam. This is the disappointing part of the book, and the author shows badly beside his fellow essayists. He starts well when he tells us that the background to Christianity from which we learn most is the history, organisation and provincial life of the early Empire due to archæology; but having said this he at once passes away from the subject. We venture to think that a great deal of the earliest history of the Church must be rewritten with the aid of that archæological material which he so abruptly dismisses. To take but one example, we take leave to say that the student who henceforth discusses the organisation of the Church in the third century without including in his researches the organisation of the Imperial cult, as that has been unearthed through inscriptions, will soon be held to have missed a large portion of his material.

Apart from this, however, Mr. Headlam does not give one the idea of having mastered his subject in such a way at least as his fellow essayists have mastered theirs. The observations he makes on the value of archæological study for the history of the Christian Church, and also on its limitations, are just although commonplace; but they lack the firm touch which reveals the master's hand. Nor is there any indication that Mr. Headlam is acquainted with the extent of the work which has been already accomplished in the field he undertakes to guide us over. There is nothing said, for example, of the knowledge which inscriptions have given us of the Church of southern Egypt; nothing of the great though incidental work which may be found buried in the memoirs of the Berlin Academy. All his illustrations are taken from books commonly accessible and very well known. Nor has Mr. Headlam indicated any special lines of investigation which Christian archæology might pursue in the future. The fact is that it is not very possible in the sphere of *investigation* to separate Christian from classical archæology; for as Mr. Headlam truly says, what archæology gives us is the traces of the commonplace life of Christian people; and that life was in the early centuries lived among the society of the great pagan empire. If the excavator follows the advice of Mr. Hogarth and the example of Mr. Flinders Petrie and throws away nothing, and the Christian archæologist examines the finds, there is every possibility that we may have interesting information about both the private and the public life of Christians which will help to fill out the picture we should like to have. Take for example the small yellow clay lamps which are got in abundance in almost all excavations on classical sites. Has any Christian archæologist thought it worth while to get permission to go over the collections which abound? I have seen lamps with such designs as the Good Shepherd, the dove, the fish, and with short sentences, such as are common in the Christian catacombs, in the museums at Athens, in Dalmatia, and in the collections from Pompeii at Naples. Such a book as Marriott's *Vestiarium Christianum* suggests another line

of research scarcely entered upon, but in which archæology, with its finds like the silver plaque in the museum at Florence, must give great help. The spread and standing of the different parties in the Early Church might also be discovered from archæological remains. The earliest inscription declaring that a building is a Christian church belongs to the followers of Marcion. In one thing we agree with Mr. Headlam that what we must seek in Christian archæology is the history and the life of the early Christians, and that we must not enter on the subject with doctrinal or controversial prejudices. But I fear, judging from some of his expressions, that when tried by this test Mr. Headlam himself will be found wanting.

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Dr. Nicol's learned and valuable work occupies the same ground as the essay of Canon Driver, and part of the essay of Mr. Headlam in the work reviewed above. The author begins by a *résumé* of the archæological work done in the field he intends to traverse. His plan of work is somewhat as follows. He takes the Babylonian archæology to illustrate the early chapters of Genesis and the history of the Patriarchs; the archæology of Egypt to illustrate the history of Abraham, of Joseph and the occupation of Goshen; the Tel El-Amarna Tablets and the various accounts of Hittite civilisation to illustrate the state of Canaan before, during and immediately after the conquest; the Assyrian Annals to illustrate the close of the Hebrew monarchy; and recent archæological discoveries tending to establish the authenticity of the New Testament records, especially St. Luke's Gospel.

Dr. Nicol has scarcely sufficiently attended to the fact that the general result of archæological discovery has been to draw the Hebrew people out of the condition of unique isolation which, on the traditional view, they have long been supposed to be in, and in consequence his comparisons lack the completeness which they would otherwise have had. He begins, as Dr. Driver has done, with a comparison between

the Babylonian account of the creation and that given in the Book of Genesis, but as he is not hampered by the idea that there must be a natural development of religious ideas, from a degrading polytheism through long periods up to a sublime monotheism, the marvellous differences between the two accounts does not necessarily suggest the idea to him that ages must elapse before the account in Genesis could have been elaborated from the Babylonian myth.

In his account of the patriarchal age he would certainly fall under Dr. Driver's censure, for he does what Dr. Driver accuses Mr. Tomkins and Professor Sayce of doing. Dr. Nicol does not pretend to find any mention of Abraham in the archæological records he discusses. His position is, and we think that it is a perfectly natural one, that the figure of Abraham as given in the narrative of Genesis is such a striking personality that he must have been a real man, and can never be resolved into a poetical representation of the ideal Israel in communion with Jehovah. Dr. Nicol is quite entitled to take this view. You cannot invent an Abraham; he is a real man; and critics will have no more lasting success in resolving him into a myth or a conglomeration of myths than had Strauss in attempting to do the same with the personality of our Lord. What Dr. Nicol has done then is to try to show that, given the real personality of Abraham, archæological discovery shows that the conditions amid which he is represented to have lived in the narrative of Genesis correspond with what were the social conditions of the time.

We need not follow Dr. Nicol through his arguments. The specimens we have given are sufficient to show his method. He does not pretend to have the knowledge of an expert about the various fields of archæological research which he surveys; but the book affords abundant evidence of careful scholarly weighing of facts, marshalling them in order and presenting them in a very interesting fashion. The book is one which will take its place in the department of Biblical Criticism, and we hope for more from the author.

T. M. LINDSAY.

### **The Ritschlian Theology, Critical and Constructive.**

*An Exposition and an Estimate, by Alfred E. Garvie, M.A. (Oxon.), B.D. (Glas.). Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street, 1899. Pp. viii.+400. Price 9s.*

THIS book bears the same title as a smaller volume published not long ago by Professor Orr, but the two need not collide. Students of Ritschlianism, doubtless, will still require to resort to the earlier work for a vast amount of detailed information drawn from a wider field of literature than the younger writer professes to cover. Let it be said at once, however, that Mr. Garvie has given us an admirable work, that his exposition of the Ritschlian theology will challenge comparison with the best published in Germany, and that his criticism, though here and there one may be tempted to think it mistaken or defective, is always that of a sympathetic expert. With wise self-restraint he has confined himself in this volume to an examination of the writings of Ritschl, Herrmann, and Kaftan, with occasional references to Harnack. And even within these limits he concentrates his attention on "the distinctive features and dominant factors" of the new theology. One noticeable characteristic of the book is Mr. Garvie's method of drawing upon the merits of Herrmann or Kaftan to compensate for Ritschl's defects, and *vice versa*; presumably upon the dubious principle, tacitly assumed, that on any given topic the conclusion most nearly coincident with the Christian experience normatively expressed in the New Testament is the most typical of the method common to them all, whichever of the three may reach it. He protests again and again that hitherto Ritschl has not been read or expounded in Britain with the generous and appreciative interest which he deserves; but it may be doubted whether an ardent Ritschlian would regard his own book as exuberantly sympathetic. While he rarely notices other critics of Ritschlianism save to refute them—and this occasionally with an air of judicial superiority which sits somewhat ill

upon him—the blows he himself strikes at the master or his followers are hard enough. What more could any one say in disapprobation of a theological system than that in it “God is lost in His kingdom, Christ in His vocation, the soul in its activities?” Indeed, there is hardly one of Ritschl’s negations which Mr. Garvie does not vigorously question. If Professor Denney criticises Ritschl as a convinced opponent, Mr. Garvie belabours him as a candid friend.

The book opens with a historical introduction, rather heavily written, but full of knowledge and suggestion. The circumstances which rendered the theological climate favourable to the growth of some such product as Ritschlianism are rapidly and compendiously reviewed, chief among them being the prevalent distrust of philosophy, the confidence of science, and the activity of historical criticism. Mr. Garvie pleads with much persuasiveness that what Ritschl and his school are aiming at is to restate to this age in its own language the faith once delivered to the saints. And it may readily be granted that the most urgent claim which Ritschlianism has upon our regard is the function it performs, in a time of intellectual transformation, as a missionary theology to minds chiefly nourished upon science.

The main part of the book is divided into two. In Division A we have a study of the *critical*, in Division B of the *constructive* aspect of the Ritschlian system. The first of these sections is principally occupied with an exceedingly able and luminous discussion of the Ritschlian attitude towards metaphysics and mysticism. Mr. Garvie does not, as is clear from various remarks, take a high view of Ritschl’s philosophical capacity, or even of his ability to state accurately the theories of other philosophers. The epistemology which he followed was *vulgar realism*, with occasional lapses into *critical idealism*. He excluded metaphysics from theology only because he wrongly identified it with epistemology. His exaggerated polemic against what he called the Platonic theory of knowledge, which he supposed to be indissolubly bound up with many orthodox doctrines (*e.g.*, with the doctrine of original sin), seems to have prejudiced him at times against the plain dicta



of Christian experience. Throughout the course of his exposition Mr. Garvie repeatedly points out how unfortunate was the result upon his theological method, inasmuch as it led him to lay stress upon the phenomenal to the exclusion of the noumenal aspects of reality. Though Ritschl's supporters, with much justice, claim for him that he has hastened the death of speculative rationalism in Christian theology, Mr. Garvie regards his hostile criticism of the ordinary theistic arguments as unnecessarily overdriven. After all, if the world was made by God, it may surely be expected to exhibit some traces of its origin; and this Ritschl himself did not hesitate to urge against Strauss. There is a truth concealed in Herrmann's exaggerated contention that only faith in Christ can lay hold or keep hold of the idea of God; but probably it might rather be stated in the form that he who finds in Christ no evidence of God's existence and character will assuredly find it nowhere else. The Ritschlian attitude to mysticism, of which Mr. Garvie's account is full and clear, is a notorious subject of controversy. To a certain extent the question is one of words. If the characteristics which Reischle declares to be essential to genuine mysticism—(a) a Neo-platonic idea of God, (b) an abstract conception of the soul, (c) indifference to history—were kept in mind, and the phenomena of modern piety interpreted strictly in the light of them, much of Ritschl and Herrmann's fierce polemic against mysticism would be seen to be either gratuitous or inconsistent with their own principles. It is difficult to see how Ritschl's denial of the *unio mystica* does not involve a direct negation of the deepest element in Paulinism, which again has the closest affinities with unmistakable words of Our Lord. Mr. Garvie reproves Professor Orr, it is true, for charging Ritschl with refusing to recognise any "direct" spiritual communion of the soul with God, and argues that in any case some process of mediation must be allowed for. The crucial point, however, is to determine whether the medium is a past or a present Christ. The Ritschlians, when their language is taken in any wise strictly, appear to insist on our going round by the historical Jesus ere we can have communion with God

or with the exalted Lord. Pietism or no pietism, is it possible adequately to describe St. Paul's fellowship with Christ as consisting in "accurate and copious" memory of Him? If not, Ritschl's whole case collapses. And, indeed, as not infrequently happens, after expressing dissent from the censures passed upon Ritschl, Mr. Garvie himself proceeds to state excellent reasons which make these censures inevitable (p. 150).

The second part of the book (chaps. vi.-xii.) is occupied with the constructive aspect of the system. After pointing out various defects in the Ritschlian conception of religion, and passing upon it the summary criticism that it partakes of the nature of a pathology rather than a biology, Mr. Garvie advances to the thorny problem of the value-judgments of faith. We may ask in passing whether he has sufficiently considered the hedonistic character of Ritschl's definition of a value-judgment as stated in the official passage devoted to the subject. Again, do the common Christian convictions, that God's wrath against sin is a present reality and that the evils of life are punitive, come under the head of value-judgments; and if they do, does Ritschl's repudiation of them as merely imaginary not seem to throw a shadow of doubt over faith-knowledge as a whole? Mr. Garvie denies that there exists any dualism, on Ritschlian principles, between scientific and religious judgments; but Herrmann's ambiguous attitude towards the Resurrection as a historical fact (*Die Religion*, p. 382 ff.) seems to point to a very different conclusion. Further, it appears altogether too simple an account of the matter to say that value-judgments are merely the subjective form whose objective content is supplied by historical revelation. Revelation surely may educate the sense of value and so prove itself normative, not merely correlative. Do value-judgments authenticate a revelation or *vice versa*? These are some of the questions on which a reader will naturally desire to cross-examine Mr. Garvie further.

Other chapters which may be singled out as specially important and educative are vii., ix., and x. In the first of these Mr. Garvie claims truly for the Ritschlian writers that they have done eminent service to Christian thought by

bringing theology back more earnestly than ever to the conviction that Revelation is a matter of history, the prime object of which is not didactic but remedial. He devotes several interesting pages to Herrmann's deeply religious but dogmatically inadequate limitation of Revelation, at least primarily, to the "inner life" of Jesus Christ. But, as he points out more than once, the general attitude of Ritschlianism to Holy Scripture exhibits an insufficient sense of the fact that the record here is itself organically connected with the history recorded.

Much of the suspicion of which the Ritschlian theology has been the object springs from the belief that certain of its principles—whether really foreign to its true essence or no—are inimical to the Catholic ascription to Jesus Christ of inherent and essential Godhead. And all that Mr. Garvie urges in his profoundly engrossing chapter on the subject does not completely allay this fear. He assures us, indeed, that when Ritschl says that Christ has the *worth* of God he is neither so much the fool nor the knave as to mean that Christ is *not* God; but how reconcile this with Ritschl's own dictum that Christ's Godhead must be capable of imitation by us, and his complaint that the dogma of Christ's pre-existence confers upon Him an incomparable dignity of which His people cannot partake? The mere refusal to enter into speculations regarding Our Lord's pre-existence would have offended no one; but what is lacking in Ritschlian dogmatics is any worthy or unequivocal recognition of the great basal thought of the New Testament that in Christ's advent from a heavenly world, and not merely in His faithful discharge of His vocation here, we have received an inestimable proof of the love and self-sacrifice both of the Father and of the Son.

Chapter x. is occupied with a searching examination of Ritschl's doctrine of sin and salvation, and here it is shown to be especially true that "while Ritschl's affirmations are often for the most part right, his denials are generally wrong". Certainly a theory which involves the utter negation of original sin, the present reality of God's wrath, and the vicarious nature of the sufferings of Christ, appears to fall considerably short not only of the teaching of Scripture, but of the verified

certainities of Christian experience. At the same time Mr. Garvie very properly reminds us that on this topic the master entirely failed to enlist the sympathy of his followers. Apart from the emphasis which he laid upon the *prospective* aspect of redemption, Ritschl's doctrine of sin and salvation can hardly be called meritorious.

After a long and exceedingly suggestive chapter on "the Church and the Kingdom," Mr. Garvie offers us his critical estimate of the system as a whole. His verdict is eminently sane and judicious. The chief merits he finds in Ritschlianism are its method, its opposition to speculative rationalism, and its hostility to unhealthy pietism. It has still to learn to appreciate Scripture at its proper value and "to think things together". Ritschlian reserve is a welcome protest against offensive confidence in the profundity of human speculation, yet reserve may be carried so far as to incur the suspicion of denial. Faith has a right to ask that its objects be completely determined.

For most purposes Mr. Garvie's book is the most useful on this fascinating subject yet published in this country. As an exposition it is entirely trustworthy; and the reader will feel that it has been written by a man of masculine and independent thought. Many of its pages show a remarkable aptitude for paraphrasing Ritschl's complex and intricate periods, and reducing their substance to language which, if anything but elegant, is at least admirably clear. Mr. Garvie's knowledge of the relevant literature is conscientious and thorough. His simple desire is to commend to the interest and appreciation of this country a theology which he is convinced has a special mission to render as an apologetic to our age. And while we may remain stubbornly dissatisfied with many of the details of the Ritschlian system, yet when we remember the service it has done to Germany, its loyalty to the interests of piety, its infectious vitality and strength, its practical enthusiasm, its ardent sincerity, we cannot but anticipate its future with the liveliest good-will. But as yet its line is too short to fathom the deepest things in Christianity, and what may be welcomed as an apologetic must be refused allegiance as a theology.

H. R. MACKINTOSH.

## **The Ascent through Christ: A Study of the Doctrine of Redemption in the light of the Theory of Evolution.**

*By E. Griffith-Jones, B.A. London: James Bowden. Crown 8vo, pp. xxvi. + 469. Price 7s. 6d.*

THE theory of evolution is with us, and has come apparently to stay. It has been pressed on the attention of thoughtful people from all sides, it gives us a point of view so fruitful and suggestive, it explains so many things and helps to solve so many problems, that people have accepted it—at least as a working hypothesis. It naturally occurs to many minds to look at accepted beliefs in the light of the theory of evolution. All the sciences and all the philosophies have been at work, testing their former results by this new view, and trying to ascertain whether ancient beliefs can be made to agree with it. Work of this kind is painful, and has to be done cautiously, reverently and wisely. It is one of the hardest tasks set to man to revise his beliefs, and he is apt to resent any view which sets him to such an unwelcome work. Still more unwelcome is the task of overhauling our beliefs, and of co-ordinating them into a rational system. To investigate our religious beliefs, to look at them as needing justification, or requiring evidence, is always unwelcome. For religious beliefs have always a peculiar sacredness, and in relation to them men are all naturally conservative. What, then, is the bearing of the theory of evolution on the doctrine of redemption? Can the doctrine of redemption live with the theory of evolution? This is the question of the book before us.

Redemption seems to be a great fact of human experience. It is a fact that bad men have become good, selfish men have become unselfish, and those whose lives were evil, under the impulse of religious motives, have attained to heights of impassioned goodness, purity and holiness. This is as well attested as any fact in the experience of man. Part of the hostility felt and expressed against the theory of

evolution arose from the persuasion that it left no room for religion in that form of it which we call Christianity. It is quite true that the theory of evolution may be stated so as to leave no room for the distinctive doctrine of Christianity, and the doctrines of religion may be so stated as to leave no room for evolution. But is it necessary that these must be stated in that mutually exclusive fashion?

Mr. Griffith-Jones has set himself to the great task of stating the theory of evolution and the doctrine of redemption, and seeks to show that there is no contrariety between them. A man may accept the theory of evolution without feeling himself constrained to deny the doctrine of redemption. From a careful reading of the book we have seen that he is competent to write of both themes. He has qualified himself by the diligent study of the great writers on evolution, and of the facts and processes on which the theory is based, to speak with intelligence on the theory of evolution and its manifold applications, and there is not the slightest doubt of his theological competence. He knows theology, and he knows the facts of the religious life. He is therefore competent to speak of the relation of these to the theory of evolution. We do not say that his work is perfect or final, or that it will supersede further inquiry, but we do say that he has done a service of great worth in showing that there is a *modus vivendi*, and that the old faith can live with the new.

An elaborate introduction deals with man's place in evolution. The change of outlook brought about by the modern intellectual movement is described with ample knowledge and with graphic power. The enlargement of our view of the physical universe, the transformation of our idea of time, the filling up of space and time with the grand perspective of life, and the result of these on man himself are set forth, and the disturbing effects of the successive expansions of knowledge on the religious situation are fittingly described. Readjustment is necessary; but the idea of readjustment is repellent to some. Still an attempt must be made to restate the old faith in the thought and language of to-day.

After this statement of the case, the author proceeds to

inquire, What is Evolution? Ancient and modern theories of evolution are described, and the difference between them is shown. Evolution is "a continuous progressive change, according to certain laws, by means of resident forces". The so-called breaks in the continuity of nature, in the appearance of life of sentiency, and of self-consciousness do not imply a complete failure of continuity. But the Christian evolutionist must part company with the materialist. The statement of the reason for parting company is clearly and convincingly stated and will repay attentive study.

Evolution and man is the next theme. While it is admitted that man is physically descended from the brute creation, this does not reduce him completely within that category, for there has been an arrest of physical development, natural selection has been replaced by another kind of selection, and a self-conscious rational being has appeared. Many other things of importance are said in this relation, but we do not dwell on them, as the same considerations have been often urged. What is said is said clearly and with much force, and, in fact, is as well said as possible.

The main part of the book is the attempt to look at the Bible, and at religious experience, in the light of the theory of evolution. Evolution and the Fall of Man, Evolution and the Incarnation, Evolution and the Resurrection, are the titles of the three books of which the treatise is made up. It is a long discussion, during which the author has to state and sometimes to restate the main doctrines of Christianity, and to show that these are not discredited by the wider outlook of to-day. He begins with the two accounts of creation in the book of Genesis, he passes on to the Biblical doctrine of sin, the relation between sin and death, the natural history of sin, and how a fallen race may be redeemed. In justice to the author we give the following summary of results: "We have now passed under review the chief questions that bear upon the Biblical and Evolutionary aspects of the mystery of moral evil, and have come to the conclusion that there is nothing essential to the older doctrine of Sin and the Fall of Man which the new science has made no longer believable.

Setting aside, on the one hand, a literal interpretation of the early narratives of Genesis as untrue to history and non-essential to an accurate and helpful exegesis of Scripture, and, on the other, certain crude and undigested theories of human personality and moral evil which had been identified with an evolutionary philosophy, we have arrived at a point of view which combines the essential teachings of past theology and of present anthropology into a synthesis to which each contributes its quota of truth. Man has been developed physically from the brute creation ; mentally he is also akin to them ; but there are unique elements of self-conscious, moral and spiritual life in him which separate him from them by an impassable chasm. He was not created with a perfectly developed nature, but with one in which the animal heritage was transformed by the presence of a spiritual factor which at its first appearance was inconceivably faint, but which was meant to grow into the dominating and determining element in his complex nature. His course, like that of every other creature, was meant to be one of gradual and steady growth. But at a very early, if not the earliest, stage of his existence as a race, he turned aside from the path of his normal development ; and while his capacity for civilisation, intellectual progress, and, to a certain extent, moral growth was not destroyed, this twist in his spiritual nature proved an effectual barrier to his highest development, and reacted with fatal persistence on all the lower channels of his life ; so that beyond a certain point he has never succeeded in rising to his ideal condition. History is a record of continual upward efforts, which have come to their climax only to sink into failure ; and though the stream of progress has never ceased to push forwards, it has constantly had to change its course, and seek new and ineffectual lines of advance. If the story of the past has proved anything, it is that Man, individually and socially, is incapable of coming to his own ; and that with an unconquerable instinct driving him forward to a fairer and nobler life, his final experience is one of bafflement and despair."

How shall man come to his own ? There is no principle



of self-recovery in man. For this there is abundant evidence, and a summary of such evidence is given, and it is shown that, if man is to be restored, restoration can only come by infusion of fresh life. So there must be a revelation of the true life, and also a process of incarnation. But does not evolution exclude incarnation? This forms the theme of the second book. Modern difficulties, arising from the supposed unknowableness of God, difficulties arising from physical science, from the alleged miraculous birth, are successively dealt with, and so far overcome. At least they are overcome so far as to show that there is no presumption against the incarnation from these supposed difficulties. There is a redemptive purpose implied in the incarnation, but the meaning of the incarnation is not exhausted by the redemptive process—rather to bring man to perfection is the end of the incarnation. But the redemptive process is real and necessary. Man has failed, and the mystery of sin is there, and sin must be dealt with. The atoning process begins with the incarnation, and the sacrifice of the Kenosis precedes that of the Cross. It is confessedly difficult to form an adequate theory of the atonement and sin, but science has shed light on the mystery of vicarious suffering. The weak suffer for the strong, and the strong suffer for the weak, and the good suffer for the bad, and sacrifice is real. The revelation of a suffering Saviour helps to bring God and man together. Such are the successive propositions of the discussion, given in mere bald outline, an outline which does no justice to the greatness and felicity of the argument. Then the Christ as the realised ideal of humanity is set forth, and it is shown that He cannot be classed with other men, that He must be viewed as the Ideal man. “Just as we are told that the embryo recapitulates in the preliminary stages of the individual life the whole history of the race, so we may reverently say that, in the stages of growth of the perfect life as seen in Jesus from the cradle to the Cross, we see the pathway that would have been followed by the race if, instead of falling into sin, it had retained its innocence and gone on to perfection. In that case there would have been limitations; there would have

been growth ; there would have been a gradual Evolution from a partial and incomplete life to a glorious and perfect one, like the growth of the bud into the flower. *But there would have been no sin ;* and in that wide difference we have the whole story of the actual as opposed to the ideal course of man. If we study the childhood of Christ as it is scantily sketched for us, we have a picture of the true pathway that ought to have been followed by humanity in its earlier and prehistoric career ; and if we study His later life, we shall see not only what we ourselves ought to be individually, but also what the race ought to be in its relations to God and to its constituent members."

We have no space to speak of the third book, which deals with evolution and the resurrection. The topics discussed are, the Risen Christ, the resurrection, a new evolutionary departure, the man that is to be, behind the veil, some final problems. We wish that we could state the position taken by the author on these interesting and important themes. We may say that they are suggestive, and are worthy of the deepest study. On the book, as a whole, we may say that it is one of the ablest, as it is one of the most opportune of those that have appeared in recent years. It is a book emphatically for the time. It speaks directly to those questions which men are asking at present, and deals with real difficulties in a real way. If there are some things to which exception may be taken, if there are statements that evolutionists on the one hand, and theologians on the other may dissent from, well, it must be remembered that this is a pioneer work, and one that will be supplemented by and by. At all events we are not disposed to criticise, still less to find fault. It is a bit of work that required to be done, and it has been done in a masterly way.

JAMES IVERACH.

## Psychologie der Veränderungsauffassung.

Von L. Wilhelm Stern. Breslau: Preuss und Junger, 1898.  
8vo, pp. viii. + 264. Price M.6.

THIS is the first attempt of modern psychology to give a full and complete account of the conditions that underlie the perception of change. It would be an extremely important work for this reason if it had no other claim to recognition. The treatise gains additional value from the care with which it has brought together the scattered investigations in this field and made them available for ready reference, though this service would be increased if the conclusions had been stated more definitely and with more immediate reference to the main purpose of the work.

The book is divided into two parts. The first treats the subject qualitatively—is devoted to a discussion of the nature of the problem, and its most likely solution in the light of previous discussions. The second part is quantitative in its nature, and gives a full and technical description of the apparatus, methods and results, both for the author's own experiments and for those of earlier writers on the same subject.

If we disregard the author's order of treatment, we find that the book sets for itself two main problems about which all the other subordinate ones cluster: (1) What are the psychological and physiological conditions of our perception of change? and (2) What are the effects of change in our mental life? The first question is answered satisfactorily for some sense modalities, and an indication is given that a similar answer will hold true for the others. In any case the perception of a change is a simple process and must take place in a single act of consciousness. We need not assume, however, as has frequently been done, that perception of change is dependent upon unanalysable feeling or mode of being conscious. This is only to state, not to solve, the difficulty. We can, on the contrary, in certain cases, analyse the perception

into elements that are not change, and introspection affirms that there are similar marks of change in the other senses.

At this point we must follow our author in distinguishing two ways of recognising that a stimulus has changed. One is present when the change lasts over a considerable period of time, the other applies to rapid changes. In the one category we find the growth of a child, the fading of the twilight, and the movement of the hour hand of a clock; in the other the flight of a bird, the dawn of day upon the stage, or the increasing intensity in the rumble of an approaching vehicle. For perceptions of the first form memory is needed to bring back the stages that have lapsed from immediate presentation, that they may be compared with the more recent. The elements here involved are comparison and recognition, and a detailed treatment is given of the circumstances that favour both. For the second form of perception we can discover definite physiological as well as psychological conditions. The best instance of this kind is found in the perception of movement by the eye. This question has been exhaustively investigated by the author in an earlier publication. Here he found that the knowledge that an object is moved is derived not from its successive appearance upon different parts of the retina, but by the trail of after-images that is left behind along the course of the movement. The sign of movement is a process, punctual in time, that is continuously present during and just after the movement. Similar marks of change are present, the author tells us, in all the senses and for all forms of change, but in no other case have they been so carefully determined. That there is this distinction everywhere is proven by the author's results in the later sections. These show that change has a peculiar effect in the production of reactions, and that a slowly changing stimulus has a higher line of difference than the discrete quantities that are ordinarily used in determining the fraction for Weber's law. Introspection also confirms this view.

The main question treated in connection with the second main problem, the function of change in the mental life, is as to the efficiency of changing sensations in arousing re-

actions and of changing stimuli in producing sensations. The starting point of the discussion is the statement of Preyer, based upon experiments with the lower animals, that only change in stimulus produces sensation. Dr. Stern points out very clearly that Preyer confused movement with sensation in this matter and that we cannot argue from lack of reaction to a stimulus to absence of sensation due to that stimulus. The standpoint is taken that we must distinguish between having a sensation and attending to the sensation, and that, while we may have reaction to what appears to be a constant sensation, it is always due to a change in the sensation dependent upon an act of the attention. But if we go farther back we find that an activity of the attention is possible in the last analysis only through change. So we have the general law that all activity, bodily or mental, is ultimately aroused by change.

The entire treatment of this section is marred by the loose use of the terms *attention* and *judgment* that are nowhere defined and everywhere called in to help the writer over a difficulty. Then too there is not sufficient evidence adduced to support the conclusion that attention is only aroused by change.

The experimental results are very interesting in themselves, and will probably prove by far the most valuable part of the book, but space does not permit that we discuss them here. The patience with which they have been wrought out is typically German, and the author is well fitted by long work in this line to give expert testimony as to the value of the work done by others in the same province.

The book as a whole will undoubtedly serve to open up new and important problems for investigation. The chief fault to be found with it arises from the distinct lack of unity in exposition, owing mainly to the fact that the first part—which contains the theoretical discussions, and many of the conclusions—was prepared separately as a *Habilitationsschrift* two years before the rest, and was not rewritten in the light of the experiments it is supposed to introduce. A summary of results would also add greatly to the work.

W. B. PILLSBURY.

## Einleitung in das Neue Testament.

Von Theodor Zahn. Zweiter Band: Leipzig, 1899. 8vo, pp. iv. + 656. Price 13'50m.

DR. ZAHN's second volume is an admirable sequel to the first, and we welcome with renewed thanks the completion of his *Introduction*. As in the first volume, so also in the second, the notes at the end of each chapter are in themselves alone a most valuable contribution to New Testament studies, and it is not surprising that the learning and research which characterise the whole work should be recognised by critics whose standpoint differs from that of Dr. Zahn, as, e.g., by J. Weiss in his short notice of the book, *Theologische Rundschau*, April, 1899.

At the same time it is very possible that this second volume may disappoint some of Zahn's warmest admirers, at least in one respect, in his treatment of the Synoptist problem. On the other hand, it should be remembered that before he attempts to make any statement relative to this difficulty, Zahn does most important service in laying stress upon a fact which has sometimes been unduly forgotten, *viz.*, the acquaintance which St. Paul's Epistles and other New Testament writings not only show, but presuppose in the minds of their readers, with the life and teaching of our Lord (pp. 158, 166-170). In this respect Zahn's summary (pp. 166, 167), will be found very valuable with its clear division of references in the Epistles (1) to the history of Jesus, (2) to the teaching of Jesus. It is, moreover, satisfactory to note that Dr. Zahn refers to the able articles on the subject by Paret, *Paulus und Jesus*, and to Keim's *Geschichte Jesu*, i., p. 35 (which contains so many striking admissions as to St. Paul's evident acquaintance with the life and teaching of his Master), and with some slight qualification to Dr. P. Ewald's *Das Hauptproblem der Evangelienfrage*.

But Dr. Zahn's treatment of the Gospels and of their relation to each other will no doubt comprise the part of the

book which will be surprising even to conservative critics who are prepared to accept, at least for the present, the 'two-document hypothesis' as the most widely recognised basis for further investigation and the priority of St. Mark in the probable sequence of the Evangelists, in spite of the protest again raised by Hilgenfeld, *Acta Apostolorum*, p. vi., 1899, and his welcome of Mr. Badham's *St. Mark's Indebtedness to St. Matthew*.

According to Dr. Zahn, St. Matthew's Gospel is the earliest, *i.e.*, St. Matthew's Gospel in its Aramaic form. He fully recognises (p. 254), that we owe to Papias our oldest and weightiest information as to the literary activity of St. Matthew, but the *Λόγια* ascribed to this Apostle are by no means a collection of discourses, and are by no means to be limited to this. Such was not the meaning of Papias; he only refers by the word *Λόγια* to that part of St. Matthew's Gospel in which he had a special interest, but he does not in the least mean to affirm that St. Matthew had limited himself to our Lord's discourses, in distinction from the other Evangelists who describe the actions of Jesus as well as His sayings. This notion of the *Λόγια* wants not only external foundation in the statement of Papias, but also internal probability (p. 255); even the longer discourses of Jesus are pictures which would never have had any existence apart from the frames in which they are set. But the Gospel of St. Matthew, the Gospel which he himself wrote, was not our Greek Canonical Gospel, but a Hebrew or rather Aramaic Gospel, which the Apostle wrote in Palestine about A.D. 62 (p. 297). What became of this Gospel? It was lost, and our Greek Gospel of St. Matthew is placed by Zahn about A.D. 85, and referred not to St. Matthew himself as the translator, but to some unknown hand (p. 301). But between the dates of the Aramaic and the Greek St. Matthew, the two other Synoptists are placed by Zahn: St. Mark as early as the summer of 64, St. Luke (and Acts) about 75. Thus, in one sense, the order of our Gospels according to Zahn is St. Mark, St. Luke, St. Matthew in Greek, while, in another sense, St. Matthew is still his *Urevangelist* as the author of

the Aramaic Gospel. It may be noted in passing that whilst Dr. Dalman would be at one with Zahn in his preference for Aramaic rather than Hebrew, the former writer is altogether doubtful as to the existence of an Aramaic *Urevangelium* of Matthew, and regards it as quite possible that the original sources of our Evangelists were written in Greek (*cf. Die Worte Jesu*, pp. 47-57). With regard to the interdependence of the Evangelists, St. Mark was acquainted with the Aramaic Matthew (pp. 259, 322, 328), while St. Luke was acquainted with St. Mark, but not, however, with the Aramaic Matthew; since, in Zahn's judgment, he could only have had access to it through a translation, which at the time of St. Luke's writing was not in existence (pp. 364, 401, 402), and it was improbable, if not impossible, that St. Luke was acquainted with Aramaic. The Greek translator of St. Matthew could have used Mark, and apparently Luke (pp. 298, 322, 323).

It must of course be borne in mind that the order of succession and interdependence of the Synoptists adopted by Dr. Zahn is fixed after a careful investigation of the patristic tradition as to the authorship of each Gospel (pp. 172; *cf.* 261 ff.). But the conclusions which Zahn draws from these traditions, as well as from the statement of Papias, require a longer examination than we can afford; for the present we can only note that it is a matter of regret, not only to opponents, but to friendly critics, that Dr. Zahn should not have examined the Synoptist problem more closely from the point of view of language, of mutual similarities, of divergences; *e.g.*, we have only two pages, 401, 402, given to the relationship existing between St. Luke and St. Matthew (see Schürer, *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, No. 5, 1899; and *Theol. Literaturblatt*, No. 33, 1899).

Dr. Zahn dismisses the view that our St. Matthew was originally a Greek document, and also the view that St. Matthew himself could have written both in Aramaic and Greek, as in direct opposition to the correctly understood words of Papias (pp. 261, 262). But at the same time, whatever difficulties the statement of Papias may present, it is somewhat strange that the name of the translator who has given us 'an essentially true translation' of the Matthew-Aramaic Gospel should



have been so entirely lost in oblivion, especially when we remember that according to Zahn (p. 259), this transference of the name of Matthew from the Aramaic to the Greek Gospel must have taken place under the eyes of Papias and other disciples of the Apostles.

But whilst Dr. Zahn may disappoint us in his treatment, or lack of treatment, of the more recent phases of the Synoptist problem, as the phrase is generally understood, his treatment of each Gospel as a whole, and of the special aim and purpose of each, demands and repays the most careful study. Not only does he see in St. Mark, whose Gospel he examines first, a scholar of St. Peter, and the man who committed to writing St. Peter's preaching in Rome, but he sees in Mark's Gospel 'the Gospel of Peter'; the narratives of St. Peter's experiences were heard by Mark in his mother's house in the Holy City (Acts xii. 12-17; cf. ii. 42, 46). He leaves Jerusalem, but later we find him again at St. Peter's side in Rome, where all the recollections of his earlier years would be revived (pp. 203, 204). Moreover, the words of the Muratorian Fragment (*ali)quibus tamen interfuit et ita posuit* (p. 244), have a special interest for Dr. Zahn, and he sees in Mark not only the *ἐρμηνευτής* of Peter, but also the narrator of scenes in which the Evangelist himself had shared (cf. Mark xiv. 51, p. 243 ff.), although a most friendly and learned critic of Dr. Zahn's work (Dr. E. Haupt) warns him against the danger of pressing the words of the Fragment too far. The tradition supported by Clement of Alexandria that St. Mark did not write until after the death of Peter and Paul, A.D. 66 or 67, is explained by Zahn on the supposition that St. Mark may well have commenced to write before St. Peter's death, and may have finished his work at a later date (see further below).

In his discussion of St. Mark's Gospel, special interest attaches to Dr. Zahn's treatment (p. 227 ff.) of the last twelve verses. He reckons it among the most certain results of criticism that the words *ἐφοβούντο γάρ*, xvi. 8, are the last which come from the author himself, but he connects this unfinished state of the book (pp. 234, 235), with the hypothesis already mentioned, *viz.*, that the Gospel was commenced

during the lifetime of St. Peter, and that his martyrdom, with that of St. Paul, sufficiently suggests reasons and events which would snatch the pen from Mark's hand and prevent him from concluding his work as he had intended. The possibility is further entertained that the incomplete book may have been given by St. Mark to his friends to read, and that they may have copied it and multiplied copies before Mark could stay its circulation. It is of further interest to note, in connection with Mr. Conybeare's well-known suggestion, that Zahn further holds that these twelve verses, although not from the hand of St. Mark, may be traced *partly*, v. 14-18, to Aristion the elder, whom Papias mentions as a personal disciple of Jesus (p. 230).

If we turn to St. Luke's Gospel, with which Acts must be closely associated as a second part of the same work (p. 366), it has for its aim the representation of the history of Christianity up to the date of the completion of the work, in such a form as to recommend the trustworthiness of the Christian tradition to a cultured heathen, as Theophilus was, at any rate when the Gospel of St. Luke was dedicated to him (pp. 360, 361). In the fact that the epithet *κράτιστος* is omitted in Acts i. 1, Dr. Zahn sees a possible indication that in the meantime Theophilus had become a Christian *ἰδελφός*. Probably in his preface to his Gospel St. Luke may refer to the unfinished work of St. Mark (p. 364), but at all events the words of his preface show that he included in his sources of information men like Philip the Evangelist, the brethren of Jesus, and other *ἀρχαῖοι μαθηταί*, Acts viii. 4, i. 14 (*cf.* 1 Cor. ix. 5, xv. 7), xxi. 16 (p. 363).

If, moreover, the careful inquiry to which St. Luke himself appeals (Luke i. 1-3) was to be of any validity, he must have been concerned to gain access to the most reliable information, and if he was already in A.D. 40 a member of the Church at Antioch (Acts xi. 27 ff. ; *cf.* p. 334, 341, 365), if he was identical with the author of the 'We' sections in Acts, and at the same time with the Luke of St. Paul's Epistles, he evidently had rich opportunities of gaining direct information from the mouth of primitive and prominent witnesses to the Christian tradition (p. 365).

Whatever we may think of the originality of the basis upon which the belief is made to rest, St. Luke's membership in the Church at Antioch is strikingly maintained by Dr. Zahn (pp. 341, 350), and with equal skill he argues for the identity of the Evangelist with the author of the 'We' sections in Acts, as also with the Luke of the notices in Col. iv. 13; Philem. ver. 24; 2 Tim. iv. 10 (*cf.* p. 406 ff.). If we seek for St. Luke's aim in his writings, he wrote with the object of recommending his work to readers of the type of Theophilus, and thus he often brings Christianity into touch with political history (p. 375), while possibly the universality of the Christian religion is insisted upon with the same purpose (p. 376), as also the teaching of his Gospel as to poverty and riches and the blessing on the poor, *cf.* Acts xx. 35, iii. 6; Luke xiii. 21 (p. 379). So, too, from the same point of view it was of importance to emphasise the fact that Christianity stood in no hostile relationship to the Imperial Government and the Roman officials (p. 379). In this same part of his volume Dr. Zahn maintains another hypothesis which at the present time is likely to be discussed with keen interest, supported as it is by Professor Ramsay, and more recently by Mr. Rendall, and in Germany by a small but by no means unimportant band of scholars (although Dr. E. Haupt in his recent review of Zahn's work pronounces against the hypothesis), *viz.*, that St. Luke proposed to write a *τρίτος λόγος* as a continuation and completion of his previous books (p. 368 ff.). Dr. Zahn compares the brief conclusion of St. Luke's Gospel with the fuller narrative in Acts, 1-26, and argues that it was Luke's intention to amplify the brief notice (Acts xxviii. 30, 31) into a fuller account of the history of the Roman Church in his third treatise, just as in the beginning of Acts he amplifies the concluding verses of the Gospel. The same line of argument is adopted by Mr. Rendall in his *Acts of the Apostles* and in his comments on the concluding verses of that book.

A good instance of the discrimination with which Dr. Zahn investigates the sources employed by St. Luke may be found on pp. 404, 405. The contents of Luke i., ii., which in their

narrative portions, and in the canticles which they contain, can only be compared with the books of Samuel in their poetic grace and genuine Hebrew spirit, could not have been the creation of the Greek Luke, and twice (Luke ii. 19, 51) the Evangelist gives us incidental notices which point to Mary the Mother of Jesus as the source of information for these early chapters (p. 404, 405). This point, no doubt, has been often emphasised, but Dr. Zahn's decided remarks will be read with interest at the present time as a fresh endorsement of Professor Ramsay's striking description of the information which we owe beyond all reasonable doubt to a Mother's reminiscences in his *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* In continuing his subject, Dr. Zahn holds that the other narratives of St. Luke's Gospel bear the stamp, as is the case scarcely anywhere else in the Gospels, of transparent originality; the historical portions (p. 405), in their notices of places, names of persons, traits of character beyond the power of fiction, and genuine Hebrew colouring, disarm all suspicion. If, e.g., Luke alone gives us two notices of Herod Antipas (xiii. 31-33, xxiii. 6-12, 15), we read that the wife of a steward of the same prince belonged to the company of Jesus (viii. 3), and that a foster-brother of the same prince (Acts xiii. 1), was a teacher of the Church at Antioch, when the historian of Acts probably belonged to the same Christian community (p. 405, and see above).

By an accumulation of many other instances Zahn shows in the following pages how wide and numerous were the sources of information which St. Luke possessed for his history of the early Church, whilst he brings the later portions of Acts to the tests of archæology and modern discovery, and defends ch. xxvii. against the extraordinary attack of Mommson, referring to the well-known book, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, by James Smith, F.R.S., of Jordanhill (p. 421).

There are several other subjects, of special interest at the present time, connected with the examination of St. Luke's Gospel and Acts. (1) Dr. Zahn, e.g., investigates the supposed dependence of St. Luke upon Josephus (p. 394 ff., 416), and passes some just strictures upon Krenkel's extravagant attempt to prove the affirmative, and the somewhat modified

attempts of other writers in the same direction, *e.g.*, Dr. C. Clemen. Dr. Zahn examines in detail the most notable points of contact between the two historians (pp. 416-418), and proves that in each case St. Luke shows traces of following an independent tradition, and he subjects the test of language to which Krenkel appealed to a severe and close analysis (p. 414). (2) Another portion of the volume (p. 338 ff.) is concerned with the theory of Dr. Blass and his Roman or  $\beta$  text. Dr. Zahn is prepared to accept Dr. Blass's theory so far as Acts is concerned (although he does not admit its correctness in relation to the Gospel, a view in which he is entirely supported by Haupt), and he advocates the originality and superiority of the Western text in many instances, *e.g.*, Acts xi. 27, xii. 10, xxi. 16, whilst he declines to accept it in the famous passage, xv. 29, connected with the Apostolic decree, a reservation which has recently called forth a reply from Dr. Blass, *Studien und Kritiken*, p. 5-28, 1900. It is of interest to observe that Zahn before the publication of Dr. Blass's *Acta Apostolorum* had been working on somewhat the same lines with regard to the widespread evidence to the existence of the Western text (p. 248). (3) In *Excursus*, ii., p. 626 ff., the chronology of Acts receives careful consideration; here we can only note that the author rejects entirely the 'new chronology' of Harnack and O. Holtzmann, whilst he accepts (p. 627), the identification of Gal. ii. 1-10 with Acts xv. 1 ff., not only because the two accounts are in his view concerned essentially with the same events, but also because (in spite of Harnack's recent strictures) of the impossibility of any other combination. (4) In relation to the language of the third Gospel and Acts, Dr. Zahn lays stress upon one point of primary importance (pp. 427, 435): the medical phraseology which characterises the two books. And in this connection it is gratifying to English readers to find such a full and complete recognition of the value of Dr. Hobart's work on the *Medical Language of St. Luke*. We may readily admit that many of the instances adduced by Dr. Hobart require careful sifting, and we may be quite prepared to recognise the tests proposed by Dr. Plummer

in his most valuable *Introduction* to St. Luke's Gospel; we may readily grant that some of the instances quoted by Zahn will probably fail to gain acceptance; but the fact remains that Dr. Hobart's main position is abundantly proved, as Dr. Plummer fully admits, and the value of his work and the correctness of his main thesis have been recognised by Professor Ramsay no less than by Bishop Lightfoot and Dr. Salmon. In Germany, too, Dr. J. Weiss shows by his constant references to Dr. Hobart's work in his *Evangelium des Lukas* in Meyer's commentary that he is fully aware of its worth and importance. No one now-a-days can afford to dismiss this argument from medical language as mere *Spielerei*, to use the word once applied to it by Dr. B. Weiss (although it is surely significant that in the *third* edition of his *Einleitung*, p. 531, the word is dropped, and reference is made to the existence of Dr. Hobart's book). The testimony of a layman like J. Vogel in his *Zur Charakteristik des Lucas nach Sprache und Stil*, p. 17, 1897, is a fresh tribute to its value; recent commentaries like those of Rendall in England and Knabenbauer in France may be quoted on the same side, and it is surprising that in what has been called one of the most powerful and recent attacks upon the Lucan authorship of Acts, Dr. McGiffert's *Apostolic Age*, not one single word is directed to this subject by the writer.

When we turn to St. John's Gospel, we find that Zahn again bases his conclusions upon a careful examination of the traditional and external evidence for the Gospel—an examination which for thoroughness leaves nothing to be desired, *e.g.*, in its proof of the unreasonableness of adducing the Alogi as witnesses detrimental to the Johannine authorship of the Gospel (p. 447, 461). In his treatment of the internal evidence, and the import of its contents as to the personality of the author, we find that familiar ground is traversed to a great extent both in the examination of the narratives and of the speeches (p. 556), but the fulness and force with which the conclusions are stated anew will be welcomed, *e.g.*, the way in which (p. 468), the author emphasises the fact that the two sons of Zebedee, although occupying

such a prominent place in the lists of the Twelve, are never mentioned by name in the fourth Gospel, whilst the same significant silence is observed, except in the supplement (xxi. 2) with regard to their father Zebedee, and their mother Salome (p. 468); how are we to explain this silence as to two Apostles of the first rank in a Gospel from which we learn more than from any other the characteristic traits of the members of the Apostolic band?

Certainly it seems strange that Schürer in reviewing this volume can tell us that in connection with the fourth Gospel the most important questions are never discussed at all; but in spite of this he cannot refrain from some words of commendation as to the fulness and thoroughness with which Zahn examines a question which most people will consider of the greatest importance, the manner in which this fourth Gospel presupposes the other three (p. 498-527). In this connection we are specially grateful for Zahn's conclusion that the Virgin Birth of our Lord is presupposed as known by the readers of John i. 13 (*cf.* p. 505, 518). No doubt there are points in the examination of St. John's Gospel which will occasion surprise, *e.g.*, the identification in xix. 35 of *ἐκεῖνος*, not with the author of the Gospel, but with Jesus Himself, and the reference of the term *λόγος*, not to the pre-existent Christ, but to the Christ appearing in the world (*cf.* p. 537, 546). The Apocalypse, which is placed a few years later than the *terminus ad quem* for the Gospel, *cir.* 95, is without hesitation ascribed to St. John, and we cannot be surprised that Zahn in his attachment to tradition places the book so late, and not as has been fashionable in modern days, in the year 68. But it is noteworthy that he practically agrees in this with Harnack, who assigns the Apocalypse to 93-96; although the latter, while acknowledging the identity of authorship between the Gospels, Johannine Epistles, and the Apocalypse, attributes these writings not to John the Apostle, but to the shadowy 'presbyter John'. Zahn places the Gospel and Epistles between A.D. 80-90, as we might expect from a staunch conservative, but when we remember that Baur placed the fourth Gospel at 170, a date which no German

critic of the front rank except, perhaps, O. Pfeiderer would now be so rash as to adopt, we thankfully note that in spite of his eccentricity as to the actual author, Harnack assigns the fourth Gospel to the year A.D 80-110. We may mention in passing that the third notice in the *Theol. Literaturblatt*, No. 34, 1899, of Zahn's volume, is devoted entirely to the consideration of this section on the Johannine books (pp. 445, 626).

A few words as to some of the other writings which are examined in the pages before us. Dr. Zahn strongly defends the genuineness of 1 St. Peter in the opening section of his work. According to him, the Epistle was directed to the heathen-Christian Churches of Asia Minor which had been originally founded by St. Paul. For this purpose Silvanus was fitly connected with the letter (p. 10), as he had been chosen by St. Paul as his companion in his second missionary journey to many of the Christian communities mentioned. But we venture to think that Zahn ascribes too important a part to Silvanus in the phrase *γράφειν διὰ τινος*, which he takes to mean that Silvanus was actually a joint author of the letter with Peter, although the latter is the actual speaker from the beginning to the end, and Silvanus is not once formally named as sharing in the authorship (p. 12, 16). Zahn places the date of the Epistle at 64 (p. 19), as against Professor Ramsay's advocacy of a considerably later date, *cir.* 80. It seems impossible to maintain the very early date still advocated by Köhl, B. Weiss, and a few German critics, and formerly by E. De Pressensé in France, tempting as it is.

Among the notes of interest there is a long discussion of the term Babylon and its undoubted application to Rome, 1 Pet. v. 13 (pp. 17, 19), a discussion which gains in importance from the recent advocacy by Dr. Blass of the application of the term to the Babylon of the Euphrates. Another important note defends the historical accuracy of the notice of the name "Christian," iv. 16 (p. 40), against any attempt to see in it an indication of a late date for the Epistle, while at the same time the same note contains a criticism of Professor Ramsay's view that the letter presupposes a systematic persecution by order of the State (p. 39).



Another section of interest will be found in Dr. Zahn's defence of 2 Peter which, however, he dates, with Spitta, earlier than the first Epistle, *viz.*, in 62.

With regard to the Epistle to the Hebrews, whilst he declines to advance further than the famous saying of Origen as to its authorship (p. 151), Dr. Zahn regards it as a letter directed to Jewish Christians in Rome, since the Church consisted predominantly from the first of Jewish Christians. But such a view of the composition of the Church in Rome is by no means free from criticism, if we consider the different elements of which the Church in that city was composed not many years before it may reasonably be supposed that the Epistle in question may have been written (*cf. e.g.*, Rom. xvi. 1 ff., and Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. xxxiv.), to say nothing of further difficulties presented for Zahn's view by some of the passages in the Epistle. Zahn certainly supposes that the letter would be received, not by the whole Roman Church, but by the Jewish-Christian portion of it; but this conclusion will scarcely find a very wide acceptance. Here again we come across a question of immediate interest in face of the advocacy of the early date, 59, for the Epistle by Professor Ramsay, and of its address to Jewish Christians resident not in Rome, but in Jerusalem.

In a short notice it is quite impossible to discuss in further detail the varied learning and interest of this second part of Dr. Zahn's work; we can only repeat Dr. Gloag's judgment, in his review of the first volume,<sup>1</sup> that no student should be without it. One of the most recent and thorough reviews of the volumes in question, by one of Dr. Zahn's own countrymen, justly comments on the untiring and ceaseless care which marks every page, and on the unique position occupied by the work in its fulness of exegetical, critical, historical, geographical, and archæological apparatus. We would endorse the conclusion of the same writer that a rich harvest must result from such a rich sowing (Dr. E. Haupt in *Studien und Kritiken*, p. 131-161, 1900).

R. J. KNOWLING.

<sup>1</sup> *Critical Review*, viii., 288.

**The Christology of Jesus : Being His Teaching concerning Himself according to the Synoptic Gospels.**

*By the Rev. James Stalker, M.A., D.D. Hodder & Stoughton.*  
1899. Crown 8vo, pp. xi + 298. Price 6s.

IN this book, which consists of the *Cunningham Lectures* for 1899, Dr. Stalker gives the first part of his proposed exposition of "The Whole Teaching of Jesus Christ," promising to follow it with a volume on "The Ethic of Jesus," and a third volume on "The Teaching of Jesus as Recorded by St. John". Readers of *The Life of Jesus Christ* and *Imago Christi* will be prepared for the charm of this new work. The same freshness of treatment, the same vigour of style, the same evangelic fervour that we are familiar with in all Dr. Stalker's writings appear here. He has the art of making theology—usually deemed the dullest of subjects for all but its professional students—interesting to the general reader. But while the style and treatment are popular, in the best sense of the term, there lies behind a careful study of the subject in the full light of modern criticism. Dr. Stalker rejects the recent disintegrating criticism of the Gospel narratives, which now threatens to go as far in Germany with these records as it already goes with the Pentateuch in our own country; and he argues strenuously against the belittling of the import of Our Lord's most striking sayings about Himself that Wendt persistently pursues in his exposition of them.

There is no subject that now calls for more careful scientific treatment than that which Dr. Stalker here discusses. Much as our attention has been directed to the teachings of Jesus of late, this has been for the most part on the ethical side. But inquiries now in process force the pertinent question, What did Jesus think and teach on the weighty topic of His own nature and mission? Before facing that question Dr. Stalker first devotes a lecture to the general subject of the importance of the teaching of Jesus. While

setting the highest possible value on this teaching he utters his protest against the popular modern way of handling it. He objects to the isolated position given to Our Lord's teaching in Dr. John Watson's *Mind of the Master*, arguing, first that Jesus gave His disciples teaching authority, and secondly that "Christ Himself is more than His words" (p. 18). It will be seen that there is nothing very novel in these positions. The freshness of Dr. Stalker's writing is not to be found so much in its main ideas as in the living style in which they are presented, and their direct application to the most recent utterances of criticism. "Dr. Watson" he writes, "speaks as if the words of Jesus were the long-neglected but rich source of dogmas, where any one can lay his hand on them, as on the eggs in a discovered nest, and find his Creed made and ready" (p. 22). There is justice in his answer, "When we go to the words of Jesus for the articles of a Creed, is not this to mistake the genus to which these words belong? The difference between religion and theology may be hard to define, but it is not hard to feel; and surely the words of Christ belong not to theology but to religion" (p. 23). But here we are pulled up at the difficulty created by the popular styles of both these popular writers. Epigrammatic pointedness seems to settle an argument when a little serious thought will show that it evades it. It may be replied to Dr. Stalker that if we are not to expect to find a "made-and-ready" Creed in the teachings of Jesus we have there the touch-stone with which to try all Creeds and the best material out of which to coin any. To take his own illustration, we *have* the eggs in the nest, not the full-fledged theology, but the embryo thoughts. Dr. Stalker has some wise words on the form of the teaching of Jesus. Here, as again later on, he runs counter to the modern habit, inherited from Ritschl, of taking the idea of the Kingdom of God as its central theme. Frequent as the phrase is on the lips of Our Lord, he holds that it was only an accommodation to Jewish modes of thought, so that the apostles were wise in abandoning it, and we may be wise in not trammelling our conceptions of Christ's teaching by too close adherence to it.

The first lecture concludes with a brief consideration of the characteristics of the teaching of Jesus, noting especially (1) its "Pregnancy," and (2) its "Imaginativeness".

In the second lecture Dr. Stalker discusses the significance of Our Lord's use of the title "The Son of Man". Passing in review the chief recent explanations of the use of the term he traces it back to the familiar passage in Daniel, though admitting that there it stands for the "saints". He explains the position thus: "Jesus, however, by assuming the title, puts Himself in the place of Israel, no doubt on the ground that in Him its attributes culminated, and its kingly destiny was fulfilled" (p. 58). It was not a popular Messianic title in the time of Christ, or Our Lord's use of it would have conveyed His claim to the position of Messiah, which evidently it did not do, or at all events was not supposed to do by His hearers. Dr. Stalker does not attribute it at all to Our Lord's uses of apocalyptic literature. In spite of Mr. Charles, he considers that the passages about the Son of Man, if not the whole book of Similitudes in which they occur as part of the Apocalypse of Enoch, are not genuine, and must be attributed to Christian authorship. On the other hand, Wellhausen's idea that the title is simply the Aramaic *Barnash*, meaning just "man" cannot be accepted, as it does not account for the articles which give unique significance to the title as used by Jesus Christ. Still, while He derives the actual phrase from Daniel, Jesus shows His individuality in His continuous uses of it, hinting at His great mission to those who could receive the idea, at the same time emphasising His consciousness of identity with the children of men.

In his third lecture Dr. Stalker discusses the term "The Son of God". This is not directly applied by Christ to Himself anywhere in the synoptics. But when it is offered to Him by others He tacitly or openly admits it. Occasionally He calls Himself simply the "Son," and frequently He refers to God as His Father in a unique sense, since He says "My Father," and "Your Father," but never joins Himself with His disciples or any other men in saying "Our Father". The title "Son of God" is applied in Scripture to (1) angels

(Job i. 6, ii. 1, xxxviii. 7), (2) the first man (Luke ii. 38), (3) the Hebrew nation (Exod. iv. 32), (4) the kings of Israel (2 Sam. vii. 14), (5) believers in Jesus (*e.g.*, John i. 12; 1 Peter i. 23). Dr. Stalker rejects what he allows to be "the almost universal verdict of scholarship" that its application to Jesus arose from its reference to the kings of Israel, in short, that like the term "Son of Man" it is Messianic. He holds that it points to Our Lord's real Divine nature. In confirmation of this view he points to the message of the Annunciation (Luke i. 35). But is not that outside the range of his subject, since it is not a part of the teaching of Jesus? The same must be said of his citation of the cry of the demoniacs, and the exclamation of the men on the ship when He had stilled the sea (Matt. xiv. 33). Still these cases serve to illustrate the popular use of the term which Dr. Stalker holds is separate from the idea of the Messiahship. The crucial test is found in the language of the high priest when adjuring Our Lord (Matt. xxvi. 63, 64; Luke xxii. 66-71). Here Dr. Stalker thinks that Caiaphas means a different person by the "Son of God" from the "Christ," because he puts two questions, one about each. Surely that is a difficult position to maintain. Did the Jewish high priest have some trinitarian creed which he kept apart from his Messianic ideas? Still it must be allowed that Dr. Stalker has a strong case for his main argument in this lecture, which is to show that by His own confession Jesus revealed His Divine nature. It is difficult in face of the instances he brings forward to hold that the Divinity of Christ is a belief of aftertimes, growing up in the reflections of the apostles of the Church and not a part of the teachings of Jesus Himself, unless we are to tear those teachings to fragments and reject whatever testifies to this doctrine. In particular Dr. Stalker points (1) to the long series of remarkable utterances in connection with Our Lord's miracles which indicate His lofty claims, (2) to the sayings in which His superhuman consciousness betrays itself when He comes forth as the supreme and final Revealer of truth, commencing with such formulæ as "I say unto you," "Verily, I say unto you". (3) To His claim upon

the conscience, as when He says "Follow me," (4) to His claim to forgive sins, and (5) to certain great sayings that stand by themselves, such as that to St. Peter about the founding of His Church. While Holtzmann discredits the genuineness of these stronger sayings, and Wendt depletes them of their meaning, Dr. Stalker vindicates them by their agreement with the teaching of St. Paul at too early a date for so tremendous a misapprehension of the nature of Christ to have come about, as would have been the case if Jesus Himself had not given any justification for such a view of His nature.

In his fourth lecture Dr. Stalker discusses the idea of "The Messiah" in relation to the teachings of Jesus. He argues against the contention that Our Lord never claimed to be the Messiah at all. His declaration in the synagogue at Nazareth (though surely the anointing there spoken of is that of a specific mission apart from the actual Messiahship), His acceptance of the title "Son of David," and His argument about David calling his son "Lord," are cited as proofs that Jesus directly claimed to be the expected Christ. Here Dr. Stalker returns to his objection to the modern revival of the idea of the "Kingdom of God," concluding his discussion of this subject with the following words that directly contradict the modern Ritschlian phraseology:—

On the whole, however, the attempt to revive this term seems to be mistaken. We are very remote now from the world to which it belonged. To many Christians, living under republican forms of government, the very name of a king or a kingdom is something foreign and out of date. Whatever may be the case in Germany, to our ears the phrase as a name for Christianity has a sound of preciousness and make-believe; and there are far better names for the same thing. The attempt to revive it is due to a mistaken reverence for Christ, as if the repetition of His mere words were obligatory upon Christians; it is a return from the spirit to the letter, an attempt to force thought back into a form which it has long outgrown (pp. 166, 167).

In an important lecture on "The Redeemer" Dr. Stalker argues for the objective efficacy of Our Lord's atoning work on the ground of His own teachings. He holds that the death of Christ meant much more to Our Lord in anticipation

than is commonly supposed, quoting Dr. Fairbairn in support of this position. When Christ speaks of giving His life as ransom for many "that from which He ransoms may be called the fear of death, but, if so, it is the fear of death eternal; and the only method of taking this away is to take away sin, which lends to death its terror" (p. 183). The ransom, Dr. Stalker holds, was paid to God. He even says "By far the most important effect of the death of Christ was its effect on the mind of God" (p. 187), and as if this were not strong enough he adds a footnote. "Nine-tenths of the modern books on the Atonement are occupied with its effects on the mind of man, but nine-tenths of the Bible statements are concerned with its effects on the mind of God". Such a sweeping statement demands a most elaborate justification, but that is just what it cannot receive in a popular treatise. It must stand for what it is worth.

In his last lecture—on "The Judge"—Dr. Stalker gives us some of his most striking thoughts. He carefully marks the critical stages in the development of Our Lord's ministry. The temptation he describes as "a conflict between traditionalism and originality and the struggle that this produced in the soul of Jesus". He regards the Transfiguration as an important turning point in Our Lord's life and consciousness, remarking with reference to the appearance of Moses and Elijah, "The presence of these two may also be intended to suggest the means by which His mind attained to the position of mastery over His fate" (p. 220).

Dr. Stalker subjoins two Appendices. The first, reprinted from the *Expositor*, contains an exposition and criticism of Wendt's untranslated volume of the *Teaching of Christ*, which will be very useful for English readers who desire to know Wendt's exact position. The second is a reprint from the *Thinker* of an article on the "Book of Enoch" in which the Christian origin of the "Son of Man" passages is maintained.

WALTER F. ADENEY.

## **The Epistles of S. Clement to the Corinthians in Syriac.**

*Edited by the late R. L. Bensly, M.A. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1899. 8vo, pp. xviii+66. Price 6s. net.*

THE book before us must be regarded as a necessary and welcome supplement to the work contributed by the late Professor Bensly to Bishop Lightfoot's edition of Clement of Rome. In that great work (vol i., pp. 131-142) is found (1) an account of the MS. (Camb. Univ. Add., 1700) from which our Syriac text is derived, (2) a collation of the Syriac, and (3) a full discussion of the relation of the Syriac text to that of the two Greek MSS.<sup>1</sup> at present known. A further account of the MS. (more detailed) appeared in the late Professor Bensly's *Harklean Version of the Epistle to the Hebrews*. We now have, thanks to the editorial care of Mr. R. H. Kennett, University Lecturer in Aramaic, some further work left unfinished by Professor Bensly, consisting of the full Syriac text of the First and Second *Epistles to the Corinthians* together with some useful notes chiefly on Greek and Syriac equivalents in Clement and in the Old and New Testaments. These last show that the translator of Clement used in the main the style and vocabulary of the Syriac Hexaplar and of the Harklean version.

From this general character of the translation we might roughly date it as perhaps not later than the seventh century. Lightfoot has however pointed out (vol. i., p. 135) that there is no good ground for supposing that Thomas of Harkel himself translated Clement. The translation is none the less as accurate in detail as if it had come from the hand of this prince of literal translators. The very free quotation of Isaiah lx. 17 for instance is reproduced *ad literam* in Syriac: *I will appoint their bishops in righteousness and their*

<sup>1</sup> The Latin text was first published at the beginning of 1894, three years after Lightfoot's great edition.



deacons in faithfulness. " Their deacons " is a strange equivalent for the Hebrew **בוגשיך**. The Latin has, *Praeponam episcopos eorum in iustitia et ministros eorum in fide*. It is a most satisfactory circumstance that we now have the text of the earliest of the Apostolic Fathers in four complete and independent editions, viz., the text of the Codex Alexandrinus in the facsimile edition of the great MS., that of the Codex Constantinopolitanus, in autotype at the end of the first volume of Lightfoot ; the Latin in D. Morin's *editio princeps* of 1894 ; and now at last the Syriac in the *editio princeps* of Professor Bensly of 1899. The nineteenth century has filled the lacunæ and established the text of Clement, until we may believe that we read it to-day at least as correctly as Eusebius read it.

W. EMERY BARNES.

## Texte und Untersuchungen.

*Altchristliche liturgische Stücke aus der Kirche Aegyptens. Von Georg Wobbermin :*

*Zur Ueberlieferung des Philostorgius. Von Ludwig Jeep.*

[T.U. ; n. F., ii. 3 b.] 8vo, pp. 36 and 33. Price M.2.

*Die Todestage der Apostel Paulus und Petrus. Von C. Erbes.*

*Der Ketzler-Katalog des Bischof Maruta von Maipherkat. Von Adolf Harnack.*

*Der alte Umfang, etc. von Cyprians Schrift ad Donatum. Von K. G. Goetz.*

[T.U. ; n. F., iv. 1] 1899. 8vo, pp. 138, 17 and 16. Price M.5.50. Leipzig: Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate.

THESE two issues of the New Series of the *Texte und Untersuchungen* contain five papers of varying length and widely different interest. From an eleventh century MS. in the Laura Convent of Mount Athos, Wobbermin, who has done good service in his studies on the Ancient Mysteries and their possible influence on the Church, prints here for the first time a collection of Christian prayers belonging to the early part of the fourth century. According to the title, and also to internal evidence, we may regard as author, or at least as editor, of the collection Serapion, Bishop of Thmuis, in Lower Egypt, the friend and correspondent of Athanasius. The prayers are followed by a brief dogmatic discussion *περὶ πατρὸς καὶ υιοῦ* in the form of a letter which, though anonymous, probably proceeds from the same pen. The letter is noteworthy for two things, of which the first is the attitude of the writer to the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Spirit. The title itself suggests a pre-Trinitarian point of view, and though the writer rejects the description of the Spirit as a *κτίσμα*, he does not go further than to describe Him as *τὸν κόλπον τοῦ θεοῦ*, the sum and total of the Divine

attributes. He does not treat the Third Person as in line with the First and Second. So that we have reflected here precisely that stage of thought to which Athanasius addresses himself in his letter to Serapion, though he does not connect these defective views with Serapion himself. Light is thus thrown both on the development of the doctrine and on Athanasius' famous letter. The second point is the testimony borne by this document to the Epistle of Barnabas, which is quoted as canonical Scripture in the same way as the Epistle to the Romans and the Fourth Gospel, while its author is described as *τιμώτατος* and *ἀπόστολος*. Contrasting this with Athanasius' disparagement of the same epistle, Wobbermin sees a case of the distinctions between the tradition of contiguous localities.

In the prayers, of which there are thirty, will be found material for an interesting study, which the editor promises in the future. They fall into groups connected with the administration of Baptism and the ordination of Deacons, Presbyters and Bishops, as well as with the Eucharistic Service. The great prayer of the Prosphora, combining Thanksgiving and Consecration, has several interesting features. It contains a quotation from the corresponding prayer in the Didaché, of which there is an echo also in Athanasius, with the insertion of *καθολική* before *ἐκκλησία*; those parts are still combined which are differentiated in the Canon of the Mass, and of course the Oblation precedes the Consecration. The bread is described as *τὸ ὁμοίωμα τοῦ σώματος τοῦ μονογενοῦς*, and in like manner the wine; and these form *τὴν ζῶσαν θυσίαν τὴν προσφορὰν τὴν ἀναίμακτον*. We have therefore some valuable new material for the study of the Eucharistic doctrine in the course of its development from the Didaché to the earliest liturgies.

The group of Church historians, Philostorgius, Sozomen, Socrates, and Theodoret, represent a series in some way inter-dependent. Dr. Jeep has already defended the view that both Socrates and Sozomen made use of Philostorgius (in his *Quellenuntersuchungen zu der Griechischen Kirchenhistorikern*, 1884). In answer to Harnack's demands for

further evidence, he has now collected all the available testimony. He clears away the presumption against the use by orthodox writers of the pronouncedly Arian Philostorgius by pointing to the use made of him by Theodoret, which has been recognised also by Guldenpenning, and then analyses the material derived from the same source by Suidas and traces the subsequent history of the MS. transmission of the work.

The discussion of the dates of the death of Paul and Peter respectively leads Dr. Erbes to a very full and technical examination of evidence of every kind, the chronology of Roman Bishops, the year of Festus' administration, the day of the Feast of Peter and Paul, the evidence of tombs and inscriptions in the Catacombs. He sums up strongly against the theory of a second imprisonment, fixes the date of Paul's arrival in Rome in February 61, and believes that his execution took place in 63 at the close of the two years' imprisonment, and probably in consequence of the Apostle's appeal having been heard and dismissed. The martyrdom of Peter he ascribes to the great persecution of a year later, and traces the idea that both suffered on the same day to a very early confusion.

In Maruta, Bishop of Maipherkat, we have a name once famous and significant now being restored to its place in Church history. Works attributed to him, *e.g.*, in Mansi, have been overlooked as "recent and worthless productions," but the publication of a Syriac text of his *de Nicaena Synodo* (by O. Braun in the *Kirchengeschichtliche Studien*) justifies the respect in which his name and work were held by his immediate contemporaries and successors. It is a German translation of the *Catalogue of Heretics* which Prof. Harnack has printed with notes and introduction. Fifteen heresies in all are enumerated, "just those which we would expect to find recorded by a Bishop familiar with the affairs of the Patriarchate of Constantinople about A.D. 400". Of the older Gnostic sects only the Marcionites are mentioned. The characterisation of each sect is brief, but being accurate in those cases which are already familiar, may be trusted

for the others. A new sect (or a new name for an old one?) is that of the Timotheans, who, while doctrinally orthodox, exclude from their fellowship all holders of private property.

In the last of these papers K. G. Goetz takes up a suggestion first made by the late Archbishop of Canterbury, in his work on Cyprian, that the so-called letter *Ad Donatum* is not a letter nor yet a treatise in epistolary form, but a dialogue constructed on a Ciceronian model, the character of which has been obscured by the omission of an introduction which properly belongs to it. The change and the mistake are probably due to the habit of ascribing peculiar authority to the Epistles of a Bishop and the desire to raise this dialogue also to the same rank.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

## The Books of Kings.

*Die Bücher der Könige.* Von Lic. Dr. I. Benzinger, Privatdocent der Theologie in Berlin. Freiburg i. B., etc. : J. C. B. Mohr (Marti's Kurzer Hand-Commentar), 1899. 8vo. Pp. xxiv. + 217. Price M. 5 (to subscribers, M. 3.60).

*Das Buch der Könige.* Untersuchung seiner Bestandtheile und seines litterarischen und geschichtlichen Charakters. Von Dr. Carl Holzhey, Privatdozent an der Universität München. München : J. J. Lentner. 1899. 8vo. Pp. 63. Price M. 1.40.

THESE contributions to the exposition of a somewhat neglected book are very welcome. Dr. Benzinger's is an example of that compression into a small compass of the maximum of information that can be given with a limited allowance of type and paper, with which students are already familiar in other volumes of Marti's series. It is characterised by the exact and thorough scholarship of the author's Old Testament Archæology. Dr. Holzhey's pamphlet discusses the general history of the composition of *Kings*, its sources and editions. The detailed analysis is not dealt with, and there is little reference to the work of previous scholars. These and other limitations enable the author to treat clearly, and with comparative fulness, the subjects to which he confines himself.

The general position of both works is one long familiar to the English student in Driver's *Introduction* and elsewhere, viz., that our *Kings* is an exilic or post-exilic revision of a pre-exilic compilation from pre-Deuteronomic sources. The revision was made towards or soon after the close of the Exile, the compilation shortly before the Exile, both by Deuteronomic writers. The pre-Deuteronomic sources were eighth or ninth century prophetic accounts of Elijah and Elisha, and certain works cited as "the Book of the Acts of Solomon," "the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel," and "the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah". These "Books" were not official archives.

This view involves a difficulty which has not hitherto received sufficient consideration. The pre-exilic Deuteronomic editor of *Kings*, writing according to Driver and others, c. B.C. 600, made use of "the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" as one of his main sources; but in 2 Kings xxiv. 5, this work is cited as containing an account of the reign of Jehoiakim, who died in B.C. 597. Jerusalem fell in 586, at the latest. The theory seems to require that, in the eleven troubled years, 597-586, *first* "the Book of the Chronicles" was compiled, and *then* on the basis of this, the pre-exilic R<sup>D</sup> *Kings*; which is scarcely credible. Kautzsch assigns the citations of "the Book" down to Josiah to the earlier R<sup>D</sup>, and the citation as to Jehoiakim to the later R<sup>D</sup>. This, by itself, does not help us. A work cited by anybody about Jehoiakim cannot have been written before 597, and can scarcely have been used by the earlier R<sup>D</sup>. It is possible that the earlier R<sup>D</sup> used an edition of "the Book" which stopped short at Josiah, and that 2 Kings xxiv. 5 refers to a supplement added to "the Book" somewhat later; or the reference may have been inserted by a late editor who had never seen "the Book," through a false analogy with previous references. Could "the Books of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" and "Judah" have been R<sup>D</sup> works resting on earlier sources? Possibly the pre-exilic R<sup>D</sup> prepared new editions of earlier works known as "Books of the Chronicles, etc."; and the new editions kept the names of the earlier works. Such a view would be favoured by some of Holzhey's positions. It has been usual to regard the pre-exilic R<sup>D</sup> as the real author of *Kings* and to confine the work of the later R<sup>D</sup> to a limited revision. So Benzinger, p. xiii., *Der vorexilische Redaktor (R<sup>1</sup>) ist der eigentliche 'Verfasser' des Buchs*. According to Holzhey, pp. 42 ff., the later R<sup>D</sup> made a thoroughgoing revision of the pre-exilic *Kings*, including a rearrangement of the material. But if the arrangement is due to the later R<sup>D</sup>, it seems simpler to suppose that he found his material in separate Deuteronomic works. Otherwise, we should expect to find, in our present *Kings*, traces of the earlier order.

Both Benzinger and Holzhey depart somewhat from the usual view as to 1 Kings i.-ii.; these chapters are generally referred to the same source as 2 Samuel ix.-xx. Benzinger accepts this view for 1 Kings i., but refers ii. to the History of Solomon; while Holzhey refers both chapters to the latter source. Benzinger refers to the later R<sup>d</sup>, 1 Kings xii. 32-xiii. 34, Mission of the Anonymous Prophet to Jeroboam at Bethel; while 2 Kings i. 5-16, Elijah and the Fire from Heaven, is an addition from the period of the earlier redaction.

W. H. BENNETT.



## Notices.

We have received a series of Lectures on the Development of the *Catholic Church*<sup>1</sup> in our century by Professor Karl Sell of Bonn, giving a vivid and instructive view of the history of the Church from 1789 to 1897 under the successive influences of the Concordat, the Romantic, Liberal and Democratic Movements, on to the triumph of the infallible idea from 1870 to the present day; a pamphlet by J. W. Morden on the question, *Was Man Evolved?*<sup>2</sup> a criticism of the theory of Evolution in its Theological bearings, in which the writer unwisely commits himself to the position that "if the evolution of man controls our theological thinking, away goes any real revelation in Christ"; a very useful volume on *Pitfalls in Bible English*<sup>3</sup> by Mr. J. A. Clapperton, M.A., reprinted in large part from the *Preacher's Magazine*, pointing out the many words in our English Version that "unconsciously mislead," and giving brief, pointed explanations—altogether well done; a very tasteful volume by the same author, entitled *Ten to One*,<sup>4</sup> containing a series of very short, but interesting and profitable papers, based upon striking, characteristic sentences taken from the writings of great saints and martyrs—Baxter, Suso, Bunyan, Savonarola, Luther, Milton, St. Francis, Ignatius, Tauler, and others—a very happy idea; Mr. F. Storr's *Life and Remains of the Rev. R. H. Quick*,<sup>5</sup> a late but welcome and worthy memorial

<sup>1</sup> Die Entwicklung der Katholischen Kirche im neunzehnten Jahrhundert. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. 112. Price M.1.50.

<sup>2</sup> London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo., pp. 60. Price 9d. net.

<sup>3</sup> (*Books for Bible Students.*) London: Charles H. Kelley, 1899. Sm. cr. 8vo, pp. 126. Price 1s. 6d.

<sup>4</sup> (*Helps Heavenward.*) London: Charles H. Kelley, 1899. Demy 16mo, pp. 128. Price 1s. 6d.

<sup>5</sup> Cambridge: At the University Press, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. + 544. Price 7s. 6d.

of a man far too little known, a man of rich gifts, strong and impressive character, and wide outlook, one of the most notable educational experts of our time, whose mind is worth having on many important subjects, as it is expressed in the numerous extracts given in this volume from his Note-books : the seventh part of the new *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, based on the Lexicon of William Gesenius as translated by Edward Robinson*,<sup>1</sup> an important instalment towards the completion of a work that will be invaluable to the Hebrew student and bring the highest honour to English and American scholarship ; *Markus-Studien*,<sup>2</sup> an attempt to show, by a detailed examination of Mark's Gospel, that our Synoptical Gospels may be explained by supposing that various forms of the Aramaic *Logia* had come into official use, that the Evangelical writers took these for the basis of their narratives, and that along with the Old Testament Scriptures parts of the Christian story were read in the Sacred Hebrew tongue in the public services of the Christian Synagogues of the oldest Christian time ; the first part of what promises to be an important series of historical studies to be published under the direction of the *vorderasiatische Gesellschaft*, the subject of this first issue bearing the title *Die Völker Vorderasiens*,<sup>3</sup> and giving a brief, popular, yet scholarly digest of the present condition of our knowledge of the origin, movements and culture of the various races connected with ancient Arabia, Asia Minor and Eastern Asia ; a cheaper edition of the late Lord Sel-

<sup>1</sup> By Francis Brown, D.D., Davenport, Professor of Hebrew and the Cognate Languages in the Union Theological Seminary, with the co-operation of S. R. Driver, D.D., and Charles A. Briggs, D.D. Part vii. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1899. 4to, pp. 529-616. Price 2s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Von Dr. H. P. Chajes. Berlin : Schwetzké u. Sohn, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 78. Price M.2.

<sup>3</sup> *Der alte Orient. Gemeinverständliche Darstellungen, herausgegeben von der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft. I. Jahrgang, Heft 1 : Die Völker Vorderasiens*, von Dr. Hugo Winckler, Privatdozent an der Universität Berlin. Leipzig : Hinrichs, 1899. 8vo, pp. 36. Price M.o.50.

borne's *A Defence of the Church of England against Disestablishment*,<sup>1</sup> a very able statement from the Anglican point of view, devout in spirit and carefully reasoned, containing much with which those in all Churches who prize the spirituality of Christ's House will be in hearty sympathy, but much also that will seem strained to those outside the Anglican Communion, both in its inferences from historical events and arrangements and in its general outlook; an acute, philosophical discussion by Dr. Friedrich Wagner of the old question of *Freiheit und Gesetzmässigkeit in den menschlichen Willensakten*,<sup>2</sup> dealing with the ambiguity in the idea of *Will*, the problems of absolute and relative freedom, the relations of the natural and the moral, positive and negative morality, and more particularly the different views of the world which follow on the denial and the affirmation of man's freedom; a Lecture by Nathan Söderbohm, pastor of the Swedish Church in Paris, entitled *Die Religion und die soziale Entwicklung*,<sup>3</sup> delivered at the Congress at Stockholm in 1897, and handling in an able and eloquent manner some of the outstanding social problems of the day; the second part of the *Bible for Home Reading*,<sup>4</sup> edited with much skill by Mr. C. G. Montefiore, and furnished with well chosen comments and reflections for the use of Jewish parents and children; a volume entitled *Sagesse Pratique*,<sup>5</sup> being the authorised French translation of the work of Albert Maria Weiss, containing many useful and suggestive reflections on Doubt and Negation, Truth,

<sup>1</sup> With an Introductory Letter to the Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. By Roundell, Earl of Selborne. London: Macmillan & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxxvii. + 381. Price 2s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Tübingen: Laupp; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. 115.

<sup>3</sup> Freiburg i. B., Leipzig u. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. 96. Price M.1.60.

<sup>4</sup> Containing Selections from the Wisdom Literature, the Prophets and the Psalter, together with extracts from the Apocrypha. London: Macmillan, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxvii. + 799. Price 5s. 6d. net.

<sup>5</sup> Ouvrage traduit de l'Allemand sur la 6<sup>e</sup> edition. Par L'Abbé L. Collin. Paris: Delhomme et Brigueut, 1898. Sm. cr. 8vo, pp. 485. Price F.3.50.

Spirit, Man, Redemption, God, Christianity, Grace, and similar topics; the third edition, revised and completed, of the *Directoire de L'Enseignement religieux dans les Maisons d'Education*,<sup>1</sup> by the Abbé Ch. Dementhon, dealing in a useful and sensible way with the organisation and method of religious instruction, the qualities of the teacher, etc., and giving in an Appendix a pretty full bibliography; a pamphlet by James Gairdner, LL.D., on *The English Reformation, What it was and what it has done*,<sup>2</sup> in which the extraordinary position is taken that the authority of the Pope, accepted as of divine origin, was the only "guarantee at the time against anarchy in Christendom"; the first four parts of *A Vindication of Anglo-Catholic Principles*,<sup>3</sup> by J. C. Sharpe—a very useful collection of "original and selected treatises" by Bishop Coxe, of Western New York, the late Dr. Hook, the late Dr. Biber, and Canon Trevor, in defence of the "Scriptural and primitive doctrines of the Anglican Church from perversion by the revival of mediæval and papal corruptions of the truth"; a volume of *Sermons by Charles Parsons Reichel, D.D., D.Lit., sometime Bishop of Meath*,<sup>4</sup>—a collection of twenty discourses, carefully composed, forcible in style, and with many suggestive ideas on such subjects as Jacob, Balaam, Esther, St. Paul, the Atonement, Creation, etc., and prefaced by a well-written Memoir by the author's son, Henry Rudolf Reichel, Principal of the University College of North Wales; a volume by Ramsden Balmforth on *The Evolution of Christianity*,<sup>5</sup> consisting of a series of Sunday evening discourses delivered in the Free Protestant Church, Capetown, asserting the Unitarian position and expounding the principle of Liberal Thought and Religion as meaning belief in one God, in Duty, Righteousness, Retribution, Immortality, the Fatherhood of God and

<sup>1</sup> Paris: Delhomme et Briguet, 1899. Sm. cr. 8vo, pp. 324.

<sup>2</sup> London: Macmillan, 1899. 8vo, pp. 20. Price 6d. net.

<sup>3</sup> Oxford and London: Parker & Co., 1898-1899. 8vo, pp. 228. Price 1s. each part.

<sup>4</sup> London: Macmillan, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xcvi. + 421. Price 6s.

<sup>5</sup> London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 161. Price 2s. 6d.

the Brotherhood of man ; *Die Geschichte Jesu*,<sup>1</sup> a vivid, concise and attractively written sketch of our Lord's Life, written on the supposition that it extended only over about one year, attempting to exhibit as exactly and fully as possible the actual historical Jesus, and to be followed by an Appendix giving the necessary scientific and critical explanations.

The first article in the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for the last quarter of 1899 is a study of the "Fatherhood of God, according to Christ," by the late Principal King of Winnipeg. The conclusion reached is that "in the connections in which it is set by the Saviour, Sonship implies and rests on, not simply creation in the image of God, community of nature with God in respect of intelligence and moral capacity, but also the possession through Christ of a life which makes man kindred with God in a still higher sense, and which lays the foundation for the presence and operation of a fatherly love on God's part, in the exercise of which He ministers to the needs of His children (Matt. vi. 32), embraces in His regard their every interest (Matt. x. 30), and listens to their prayers, giving them in answer thereto, 'good things,' the 'Holy Spirit,' that supreme good (Matt. vii. 11; Luke xi. 13)". Papers of importance are also contributed by Dr. James Lindsay, on "Mysticism : True and False"; Dr. E. N. White, on "The Catholic Apostolic Church," and by others. Among the reviews of books we refer specially to Dr. Warfield's full and incisive account of recent discussions of the Kenotic doctrine.

The autumn issue of the *American Journal of Theology* contains a number of important Articles and Critical and Historical Notes. New Testament scholars will look with particular interest to the examination of Resch's *Logia*, by Professor Ropes of Harvard and Professor Torrey of Andover. The value of Resch's work as a collection of material is recognised, but his "inability to see what does and what does not constitute reasonable proof" is made the subject

<sup>1</sup> Erzählt von Dr. Paul Wilhelm Schmidt, ord. Professor der Theologie an der Universität Basel. Freiburg i. B., Leipzig u. Tübingen : J. C. B. Mohr ; London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 175. Price M.3.

of strong animadversion. The general verdict of both reviewers is that, by this particular book at least, Dr. Resch has contributed nothing of any weight to the discussion of the origin of the Gospels. Bishop Hurst writes on the "Elizabethan Settlement of the Church of England," bringing out certain "palliations of the restored Church-State's persecutions of the Catholics," but eulogising the "splendid loyalty of the Roman Catholics in the face of unparalleled provocation". A paper by W. Rupp of Lancaster, Pa., on "Ethical Postulates in Theology," begins well, but ends in an assault on the "central dogmas of theology," which is of the cheap, "popular" order, and betrays remarkable ignorance of what these doctrines really are.

*Thomas Boston*<sup>1</sup> of Ettrick is a name to be held in honour by all who value piety and scholarship. Scotsmen do well to be proud of it. It would speak ill of the devout Scot if he became forgetful of it, notwithstanding the great change that has taken place in our ways of looking at many things since Boston's day. We owe much, therefore, to the enterprise of the publishers that puts this new edition of these remarkable *Memoirs* into our hand. The volume is a very handsome one, admirably printed and got up, and it is offered at a very low price. The introduction by Mr. Morrison is a very creditable bit of work, appreciative, in good taste, and putting us in possession of all that is necessary in the way of information. We trust the young people of Scotland, and especially students of theology, may obtain and master the book.

In the religious history of Scotland, in the first half of the nineteenth century, there are few more interesting figures than *Thomas Erskine of Linlathen*.<sup>2</sup> He was the correspondent of

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of the Life, Time and Writings of the Reverend and Learned Thomas Boston, A.M.*, sometime minister of Simprin, afterwards at Ettrick. Divided into Twelve Periods. Written by himself, and addressed to his children. To which are added some original papers and letters to and from the author. New Edition, with Introduction and Notes by the Rev. George H. Morrison, M.A., Dundee. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1899. Demy 8vo, pp. xxxvi. + 520. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> *Erskine of Linlathen. Selections and Biography*, by Henry F. Henderson, M.A., Dundee. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1899. Large cr. 8vo, pp. vii. + 310. Price 6s.

many of the most distinguished men of the day. He was the valued friend of Frederick Denison Maurice, Thomas Carlyle, and Thomas Chalmers. His life was that of a quiet recluse, yet he exercised an influence of a singular kind, and did much to modify the theological teaching of his day. It is difficult for the present generation to understand the claims that are made in his behalf, and it has always been felt peculiarly difficult to write anything like a Life of him. This is due largely to the fact that most of his peculiar teaching, all of it indeed that was of value, has passed into the accepted religious thought of our time, and has ceased to be in any sense distinctive.

If one is to understand Thomas Erskine he must go to his *Letters*, and read these again and again. Dr. Hannah made the best contribution to the appreciation of Erskine when he edited these *Letters*. But Mr. Henderson has given us a book which will also be of great use in keeping Erskine's memory green and helping us to realise our debt to him. The biography is brief, but done with taste and insight, and the selections from the writings are well chosen. Two things we regret in Mr. Henderson's otherwise able and appreciative volume. One is a tendency which appears now and again to have a dig at the preaching and theology of an earlier generation of Calvinists. This is best left to those outside. It never comes well from those who hold by the same creed as those thus stigmatised. It is quite possible, indeed, that the very superior theology of our generation may look to Mr. Henderson's successors, fifty years hence, as raw as the theology of some of his fathers looks now to Mr. Henderson. The second thing to regret is a grave injustice done to the saintly McCheyne. A quotation is dragged in which, taken by itself, entirely misrepresents McCheyne, as if he had been an extreme type of the fire and brimstone theologian. Like all real preachers McCheyne gave their own place to the terrors of the law. But if any minister of his time was a preacher of the gospel of love in all pitying and entreating tenderness, it was McCheyne, and those who owed their spiritual life to him were numbered by the thousand. It is never just to represent a

man by occasional words, instead of his whole life and teaching. If we were to select one or two of Erskine's occasional utterances, we should make quick work of his claims. He would be exhibited on the one hand as a very mystified thinker, and on the other as a tolerably hard theologian.

These things apart, however, Mr. Henderson is to be congratulated on the picture he gives us of Erskine. He is not blind to the defects of his hero. He recognises the vagueness of much of his writing, and his lack of logical precision and systematic thinking. But he shows us the beauty of his life and character, the softening influence of his teaching, and the great service he rendered in re-instating the intuitional, the inward, the experimental, in their proper places, both in practical religion and in theology. If the book turns men's thoughts back to this rare and attractive teacher, it will not have been written in vain.

We give a very cordial welcome to the most recent addition to the number of our theological journals—*The Journal of Theological Studies*.<sup>1</sup> It is intended to be a journal of solid, scholarly articles, and the opening number is quite of that character. It contains some notable papers. Among these we may refer to one by Canon Sanday on "Recent Research on the Origin of the Creed"; a very able paper by the Master of Balliol on "St. Anselm's Argument for the Being of God"; and two papers by the Rev. J. A. Cross and the Rev. R. B. Rackham on the "Acts of the Apostles," which make a somewhat striking and suggestive contrast. We wish the editors much success in the work which is begun so well.

The appearance of the first volume of the Messrs. Black's *Encyclopædia Biblica* is a notable event. The book is one of great importance, with conspicuous merits, but also with some drawbacks. It is admirably edited and no less admirably got up. We regret that limits of space make it necessary to postpone the review of this weighty contribution to our theological literature.

<sup>1</sup> London: Macmillan & Co. Oct. 1899. Pp. 160. Price 3s. net. Annual subscription, post free, 10s.



## Record of Select Literature.

### I.—OLD TESTAMENT.

- BARNES, Rev. Dr. W. E. The Book of Chronicles. With Maps, Notes and Introduction. (Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.) Cambridge University Press. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxxvi. + 303. 4s.
- BURNEY, C. F. Outlines of Old Testament Theology. (Oxford Church Text-Books.) London: Rivingtons. 18mo, pp. 134. 1s.
- CHEYNE, Prof. T. K. The Christian use of the Psalms. London: Isbister. Cr. 8vo, pp. 273. 5s.
- STREANE, A. W. Ecclesiastes: or the Preacher. (Churchman's Bible.) London: Methuen. Cr. 8vo, pp. 136. 1s. 6d. net.
- PEROWNE, Ven. T. T. The Proverbs. With Introduction and Notes. (Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.) Cambridge University Press. Cr. 8vo, pp. 196. 3s.
- BERTHOLET, A. Deuteronomium. (Kurzer Handkommentar zum Alten Testament.) Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. 8vo, pp. xxx. + 119. M.2.50.
- GRÜNHUT, L. Ezra u. Nehemia. Kritisch erläutert. 1. Thl. Einleitung nebst Anmerkgn. v. S. J. Halberstam. Frankfurt: A. M. J. Kauffmann in Komm. 8vo, pp. vi. + 98. M.2.
- BACHER, W. Die älteste Terminologie der jüdischen Schriftenauslegung. Ein Wörterbuch der bibelexeget. Kunstsprache der Tannaiten. Leipzig: Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. viii. + 207. M.8.50.
- SCHLOEGL, N. De Re Metrica Veterum Hebraeorum, Disputatio. (In Universitate Vindobonensi Praemio Lackenbacheriano Ornata.) Wien: Mayer et Co. 4to, pp. viii. + 53 u. 25. M.6.
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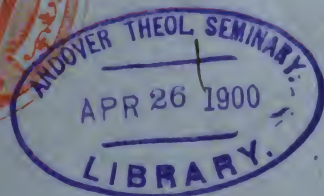
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EDITED BY

PRINCIPAL S. D. F. SALMOND, D.D., F.E.I.S.



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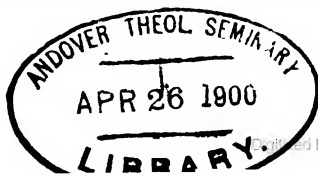


## Zoroaster the Prophet of Ancient Iran.

By A. V. Williams Jackson, Professor of Iranian Languages in Columbia University, New York City. New York: Macmillan Company, 1899. Pp. xxii + 314. Price 12s. 6d. net.

THE author of this monograph will need no introduction to the small company of English students interested in Parsism, and to the general reader it is enough to describe him as one of the two or three foremost living authorities on the difficult and fascinating subject he has made his own. The present work is a miscellaneous collection of information about equally divided between the expert and the layman. The main part of the book narrates all that is known about Zoroaster—which could be told with embellishment in a very few pages—and the mass of legends which have grown up round his name. Much of this legendary accretion seems to us very foolish, but it is essential for us to know its contents, just as we have to know the mythology of Greece or the tale of the kings of Rome. It is moreover easy to pick out events which not only might have happened, but which fit in perfectly with the scanty indications in the Gâthâs, and may therefore be regarded as highly probable. When we have thus sifted the material here provided, we shall most of us feel rather unkindly to the stupid miracle-mongers who have blurred and defaced the portrait of one of the truest saints and profoundest thinkers the Gentile world has ever known. It is one more object-lesson in the hopeless impossibility of *inventing* the miraculous. In that realm Truth either shines out in moral grandeur which none but the blind can mistake, or revenges herself on falsehood by the transparent silliness which inevitably attends the inventor's best endeavours.

For students the main interest of Dr. Williams Jackson's book begins when the myths have been told. The appendices contain, first and foremost, reprints (brought up to date) of the invaluable papers from the *Journal of the American Oriental*



*Society*, entitled respectively "On the Date of Zoroaster" and "Zoroaster's Native Place". The bewildering variety of opinion, ancient and modern, on these two questions is enough to make one despair of attaining truth. It is a light thing that the best modern authorities are divided between Âdar-baijân and Bactria as the scene of the Prophet's activity. His date—even when we have set aside the modest estimate of B.C. 6000 formed in antiquity—wanders over a range beside which the difference between the earliest and latest dates of Joel seems puny. First-class scholars have made him little later than Moses; while within the last six years one of the greatest of Orientalists has made him wholly mythical, and found the authors of the "Hymns of Zoroaster" to be contemporaries of the Apostles. Dr. Jackson re-examines both questions with a wealth of learning and with judgment such as does not always go with learning. He decides for Âdar-baijân as the Prophet's native place, but explains the varying tradition by showing reason to believe that he failed in his own country, wandered eastward, and only found in Bactria the royal convert whose help assured his success. The Zoroastrian reform then spread westward, and entered Media some generations after the Prophet's death. On the question of date the essay is a rehabilitation of the Parsi tradition which fixes Zarathushtra's life (as West works out the data) for B.C. 660-583. Dr. Jackson remarks, "I confess I should like to place Zoroaster as early as the beginning of the seventh century. The earlier the better." The observation betrays the consciousness that this date, though accepted because of the weight of evidence, cramps rather seriously the time needed for the spread of the faith from Bactria to Persia. According to Dr. West, the results of whose investigations on the calendar are reprinted here, Darius introduced the Zoroastrian names of the months, in place of the old Persian, in the year B.C. 505; and Dr. Jackson accepts this evidence as corroborative that Darius professed the reformed faith. It is weighty evidence, certainly; but does this chronology leave time for the immense development separating Gâthâs, and later, Avesta? The archaic forms and metres of the verse

Gâthâs mark one period; the changed tone and thought of the prose Gâthic pieces demand the lapse of a generation, if not a century or more; and we then descend into an age in which the dialect is greatly changed, the metres are of a different cast, a rank growth of myth has sprung up round the founder's figure, and the religion is vitally modified by the importation of a scarcely veiled polytheism, and an elaborate and burdensome ritual conceived in the interests of a Dualism very different from the system of Zarathushtra himself. I do not say this cannot have taken place within what the absolute acceptance of the traditional chronology would limit as less than a century; but it seems to me more and more improbable. Dr. Jackson formerly, like his distinguished teacher Geldner, placed Zarathushtra before B.C. 1000, as Tiele does still.

Another extremely valuable appendix is the collection of classical passages referring to Zoroaster. I trust that when Dr. Jackson publishes his greatly-needed companion volume on the Zoroastrian religion,<sup>1</sup> he will give us a similar collection. In the keen disputes which still rage as to the antiquities of Parsism and its Prophet the judicious use of the classical testimonies is essential.

Other items, which must only be named, are the excellent bibliography and the appendices on Zoroaster's name, and on sculptures supposed to represent him. An admirable map of Iran adds to the usefulness of the book. It is amusing to find that Ragha—of all places!—has contrived to slip out, though named in the index.

<sup>1</sup> In shortened form, and in German, this important work is coming out now in Geiger and Kuhn's *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

## Geschichte der Religion im Altertum

*bis auf Alexander den Grossen, von C. P. Tiele. Deutsche autorisierte Ausgabe von G. Gehrich. II. Band. Die Religion bei den iranischen Völkern. Erste Hälfte. Gotha : F. A. Perthes, 1898. M. 4. Pp. 187.*

MANY of the qualities of this book, which appeared in the original Dutch rather more than four years ago, will be anticipated by any who have studied the science of religion, a subject which no one would think of following without the guidance of Professor Tiele at one point or other. On the religion of the Avesta, Tiele speaks with special authority. I shall not attempt to give a definite account of a book which, in its contents and arrangement, naturally follows a beaten track, but shall select some of the points on which Tiele's judgment is of interest. It should be stated that as Tiele himself revised the translation, making alterations where his own statements called for correction or addition, we have here the latest and fullest account of the earlier Avestan religion at present accessible.

The introductory chapter on "Sources" brings us at once to a highly debatable question—the evidence of Herodotus. Tiele's view, explained more fully in a later chapter (p. 33), is that "the coincidences [between Herodotus and the Avesta] are too numerous and too remarkable for us to be able to doubt that he really had the Zarathushtrian religion in view". He observes that Herodotus naturally depicts the popular side of the religion which the Inscriptions assume in official language, and the Avesta sets forth in ecclesiastical style. This is suggestive; and when we find Tiele, Geldner, and Williams Jackson on the same side, assisted now by West's discovery that Darius introduced Zoroastrian names of the months a few years after setting up the Behistān Inscription, it is difficult to hold the fort longer. But no satisfactory answer has yet been made to the objection that the Inscript-

tions and Herodotus agree in silence upon the Prophet Zarathushtra and his concept Angra Mainyu. I feel strongly that at any rate the Vendidad—that is, on my reading, the Semitic Magian reconstruction of Mazdeism—was not a part of Darius's creed. The new calendar, with the names of Amshaspands prominent, might be a sign of Darius's accepting Zarathushtra's teaching. But had that teaching included the later Dualism, how should we explain the absence on the inscription of Angra's name, with the recurrent declaration that Auramazda creates everything (evil apparently included), and the notable curse: "*Auramazda* slay thee"? All this is consistent with the Parsism of the prose Gâthâs of the generation after the Prophet: it seems absolutely impossible to fit it in with the Magianism which, as I still believe, was established in Persia by Artaxerxes Mnemon.

The Avesta is next described, first according to its contents in Sassanian times, and then in its present condition. Tiele attempts the work of higher criticism in a field where criticism has reached more widely divergent results than anywhere in Hebrew literature. There is perhaps fair reason to hope that opinion will settle down on conclusions not greatly differing from those for which Tiele soberly argues here. On the one side there is emphasised the high antiquity of the Gâthâs, and the gulf that separates them from the later literature; on the other, the lateness of some of the Yashts. At least two centuries must be left between the Gâthâs and the oldest part of the later Avesta, which itself cannot begin much after B.C. 800. The only serious rival to this chronology is that of the Parsi tradition, which places Zarathushtra in the seventh century B.C.; but even Dr. Williams Jackson, who has so ably rehabilitated the traditional date, seems conscious of the too narrow limits of time within which lengthy processes have to be restricted. Tiele of course has to reckon with Darmesteter's revolutionary hypothesis,<sup>1</sup> which it is needless to say he utterly rejects.

<sup>1</sup> Stated last by its author, shortly before his early death, in the second edition of his *Avesta*, in *S.B.E.*, vol. iv.

He was himself one of its earliest and most effective critics,<sup>1</sup> and never has a brilliant paradox been more completely exposed. It may be doubted whether the theory that the Gâthâs were modelled after Philo would have been thought worth refuting had it emanated from any less authority. That such a prince of scholars should have failed to realise the notes of antiquity in the "Hymns of Zoroaster" must always remain one of the miracles in the history of criticism. Darmesteter expects us to believe that Parsi priests of the first century A.D. solemnly forged the Gâthâs in a language long extinct; while others, in a dialect not much less dead, produced the rest of the Avesta. Their consummate skill may be seen from the fact—to name one point among many—that they have artfully left us verses that would not scan until Western scholars brought in Vedic rules and showed that numbers of words had to be rewritten in more archaic form.<sup>2</sup>

On one point perhaps Tiele need not have been careful to answer Darmesteter—the acceptance of a reference to Buddha in the "questions of the heretic Gaotema".<sup>3</sup> Of course the Vedic Gôtama is closer to Gaotema than is the patronymic Gautama, but "questions" is very characteristic, and the lateness of some Yashts, on Tiele's own showing, makes it easy to suppose a polemic such as is thoroughly in keeping with the tone of Avestan dogmatism. This is virtually what Tiele himself postulates when he deals (p. 84) with the Vendidad passages (x., 9 and xix., 43) where the Hindu gods Indra and Nâsatya are adopted as demons: instead of thrusting them back into the common Indo-Iranian period, he sensibly points to the Avestan passages being very late, and allows an anti-Hinduistic polemic. Why not allow the same thing for Buddhism in an isolated place? (Of course Darmesteter's further comparison of the demon *Bûiti* with *Buddha* is hopelessly unsound.)

<sup>1</sup> See *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, xxix., p. 68 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Thus the name *Ârmaiti* scans as four syllables, and must therefore in Gâthic have been closer to the Vedic *Arâmati*.

<sup>3</sup> Yasht xiii., 16.

Closely connected with Tiele's view of the prevalence of a true Zoroastrian Mazdayasna in Achaemenian Persia, is his opinion (p. 52 f.) that the Medes were Aryan. His most effective argument is that the three languages of the great Inscription at Behistân in Media are old Persian, Elamite and Babylonian, which shows that the Medes understood the Persian.<sup>1</sup> But since we know that *one* of their five divisions (Herodotus, i., 101) was Aryan (*Ἀριζαντοί*), might not Aryan language have prevailed without Aryan blood? It is at any rate precarious to assert (p. 54) that *Fravartīš* (*Φραόρτης*) and *Uvakhšatara* (*Κυαξάρης*) express "pure Mazdayasnian-Zarathushtrian conceptions". It is not alleged that *Fravartīš* means "guardian angel" (Av., *fravaši*); and surely, if it is not that, it cannot be a religious term at all, unless we are to suppose that the Avestan technical meaning had not yet developed. But the doctrine of the *Fravashis* appears in the latest Gâthic period (though not in Zarathushtra's own time), and this, with Tiele's dates, is much earlier than the use of the name for a Median King. Since no one would think of giving the name "guardian angel" to a child, or adopting it as a title in later life, is not the very occurrence of the name proof that Avestan religion had *not* yet penetrated Media? This becomes of special importance when we come to the question whether the Magi are native or foreign to the Avesta religion. Tiele decides for the former, alleging that their Babylonian origin depends only on the title Rab-Mag (Jer. xxxix. 3). He ignores the very important evidence of Ezek. viii. 17, where an indisputable feature of Vendidad ritual, the "branch" (*barsom*, Strabo's "bundle of tamarisk")<sup>2</sup> held "to the nose" during sun-worship is found in Jerusalem before the Exile. It is I believe hopeless to explain this passage except on the theory that the Magi were a foreign priestly caste with a cult and ritual of their

<sup>1</sup> The proof may be seen in Weissbach's prolegomena to the Achaemenian Inscriptions of the second kind, *Assyriol. Bibl.* ix. Strabo says the Persians and Medes were *ὁμόγλωττοι παρὰ μικρόν*.

<sup>2</sup> τὰς δὲ ἐπ' ὤδ' αὖ ποιοῦνται πολὺν χρόνον ῥάβδων μυρικίων λεπτῶν δεσμὴν κατέχοντες (xv., 733).

own, which was only later tacked on to Zoroastrianism. The Gâthâs have no ritual; the unreformed Mazdeism as portrayed by Herodotus has hardly any. It seems probable that the ritual of the Vendidad, with its *barson*, its "towers of silence," its killing of noxious animals,<sup>1</sup> and its mechanical dualism, is to be set down to the Magi, who, after failing to obtain political power through Gaumâta the Magus, the pseudo-Smerdis, made a clever bid for sacerdotal power. Thus they adopted the faith in order to corrupt it, insinuating themselves as *âthravanō*, fire-priests, so that their name might not prejudice their law-book when, in the later Achaemenian period (?), it found its way into Persia. With many of Tiele's criticisms on Spiegel, the leading teacher of the doctrine of Semitic influence in the Avesta (p. 124 f.), I am disposed to agree; but the criticisms do not affect the theory just stated.

There are several other points which invite discussion in this interesting book, but space forbids. I will only raise a mild protest against the unnecessary doubt as to the historical character of the Gâthic Zarathushtra (p. 99 ff.). I cannot see that his apotheosis has really begun in the Gâthâs. A modern poet might address the Creator in the words of *Yasna*, xliii., 5, "I saw Thee at the Creation of the world," especially if he goes on to add "and at the last end of creation" (the final Judgment): the "seeing" is a mental act which can be predicated of any prophet.

Students will wait eagerly for the second part of this work, which will carry the story on through the later Avestan period. When will the English translator step in?

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus, i., 140.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.



## A History of the English Church.

*Edited by the Very Rev. W. R. W. Stephens, B.D., Dean of Winchester, and the Rev. William Hunt, M.A. Vol. I. The English Church from its Foundation to the Norman Conquest (597-1066). By William Hunt, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xix. + 444. Price 5s. net.*

THE first volume of the new history of the English Church, edited by the Dean of Winchester and Mr. Hunt, has now made its appearance. It is from the pen of one of the editors, Mr. Hunt, and sets a high standard of thoroughness to the volumes which are to follow. It covers the Anglo-Saxon period. Six more volumes are to follow in completion of the work, which promises to be a most valuable chronicle of the long history of our National Church. In addition to the Dean of Winchester, who is responsible for vol. ii., Canon Capes, Dr. Gairdner, Mr. Frere, Mr. Hutton, and Canon Overton will write the succeeding volumes. Their names are a sufficient guarantee that the complete history will reach a high level of excellence.

The Dean of Winchester, in a general introduction, observes that interest in the history of the English Church has been steadily increasing of late years, and therefore the want has been felt of a more complete presentment of it than has hitherto been attempted. Each of the seven volumes can be bought separately, and will have its own index. The price also will be a moderate one. With all these attractions the new history bids fair to become a standard and popular work.

To turn now to the volume before us. As the author observes in his preface, Canon Bright's *Early English Church History* only carries us down to A.D. 709, and, for the remaining portion of the period, this is the first attempt to write a continuous history of the English Church before the Norman

Conquest with any degree of fulness. Mr. Hunt disclaims advocating any party principles in his work—his one aim having been to present a thoroughly truthful picture of the Church during the period. In this aim he has succeeded remarkably well. We may indeed detect something of a leaning to the monastic ideal, just as we undoubtedly have an exactly opposite tendency in Dean Hook's record of the period in the first volume of his *Lives of the Archbishops*. But it is only fair to say that Mr. Hunt, who maintains a discreet silence as to the merits or demerits of his great predecessor's work, honestly endeavours to view the great questions of a bygone age as far as possible in the light of that age allowing for their more limited point of view. The men of that time could not be expected to foresee the evils which might result from what seem to us an unnatural repudiation of home ties, and an extravagant asceticism. They only saw two alternatives—one, the luxury, nay even licentiousness, of a married secular clergy; the other, the absolute renunciation of the married state, and the stern discipline of a monastic life. There were no refined Christian homes in country parsonages presenting to the people an ideal of life, perhaps not inferior to, and certainly more human than, that of the monastic state. The secular married priests were, without exception, men who, enjoying the revenues of old monastic foundations, had, owing to the unsettled state of the country, abandoned the original rules of their society, and settled down to a life little different from that of the upper classes of the day, from whose ranks the clergy were then recruited. Mr. Hunt has traced in the monastic reforms of St. Dunstan a quasi-democratic movement, by which fresh vigour was infused into the work of the Church, and the easy-going secular ecclesiastics of the day were supplanted by men of lower social status, but a more zealous and self-denying spirit.

Similarly Dean Hook was, perhaps, somewhat too severe in his judgment of men like the great apostle of Germany, St. Boniface, for their extreme compliance to the extravagant claims of the Pope, which, in the course of centuries, rivetted

the fetters of Papal domination upon this country, and enslaved men's minds to a spiritual despotism, from which we have not even yet been fully emancipated. But St. Boniface and other great men of this period, who were equally subservient to the Pope, as, *e.g.*, Alcuin, were only the creatures of their day. The belief that the Pope was the Vicar of St. Peter, and was to be venerated as St. Peter himself, was universally diffused at that time, and the spiritual power of the Popes was at least a valuable check on the tyranny and rapacity of worldly kings and barons.

If we are prepared, then, to accept such general conditions of the age as these, and not to quarrel with the saints and godly men of the Anglo-Saxon Church, because they were all of them monks and papists, we shall find in the picture of the age presented to us in these pages a great deal both of interest and instruction.

Mr. Hunt has wisely passed over the countless miracles related by the monkish chroniclers with very scanty notice. He does not, indeed, wholly discard all the alleged miracles as incredible. Here, however, we may prefer to share the healthy scepticism of Dean Hook, though we may not, like him, regard the legends of the age as largely made up of the inventions of idle vagabond monks, who came at last to believe in the creations of their own fancy.

If there is one omission in Mr. Hunt's work, it is, perhaps, a due statement and appreciation of the apocryphal literature, on which the Church of that day was nourished. It is obvious from the writings of St. Aldhelm, *e.g.*, that he believed the "Acts of St. John," which relate that that apostle, amongst other wonderful things, changed grass into gold, were as credible as the gospel itself, though of course he regarded them as deuterocanonical, *i.e.*, not suitable for public reading in Church. Dean Hook quotes in his *Lives of the Archbishops* (vol. i., pp. 165-167) Thomas of Elmham's catalogue of the books in the library of St. Augustine's at Canterbury, amongst which we find: "The conflict of the apostles Peter and Paul with Simon Magus and their Passions. Also the Passion of St. Andrew the Apostle.

Also the Passion of St. James, the Passion of St. Thomas the Apostle, the Passion of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, the Passion of St. Matthew, Apostle and Evangelist, the Passion of the Apostles St. Simon and St. Jude, the life of St. John, Apostle and Evangelist."

Lipsius has told us what a multitude of monkish MSS. of the apocryphal Acts he had to collate in compiling his great work on the subject. It is clear, therefore, that Canterbury was no exception, and thus from the very foundation of the Anglo-Saxon Church, there must have been a plethora of this class of apocryphal literature, which I need not say is full of the most impossible legends. Yet to our simple forefathers, with their natural predisposition to a belief in the miraculous, these popular legendary accretions of Christianity would not only present no difficulty, but doubtless made their change from paganism to Christianity easier. Certainly for ages after the introduction of Christianity into these islands, the cults of popular saints, and the miracles believed to have been wrought at their shrines, as well as those of the apostles, constituted a far larger element in the religious belief of the people than the dogmas of the Creed.

It was, of course, far otherwise with the more educated portion of the community. Mr. Hunt has very carefully collected all the scattered facts which have come to light about the various schools of learning which existed at this period, and which were, in a very real sense, the pioneers of classical and religious education in this country. I have noted the various references to the subject which will be found on pp. 65, 79, 96, 136, 168, 190, 200, 209, 232, 242, 277, 342, 359, 377. But one desiderates a special chapter on the point, tracing the genesis and relationships of the various schools. Thus, after marking the partial beginnings of an educational system before Theodore, the writer might have noted the first attempts at something like a national system of education which followed the extraordinary outburst of educational zeal consequent upon the foundation of the great school of Canterbury under Theodore and Hadrian.

The schools of Wessex and Northumbria, though existing before in germ, received an enormous impetus from the school of Theodore at Canterbury. We see the results in the great learning of Aldhelm of Malmesbury on the one hand, and Bede and Alcuin on the other. The great reputation of Aldhelm in Wessex, and Bede in Northumbria, arrested the flow of students to the Celtic schools of Ireland, and established the Anglo-Saxon educational system as our first national system of education. We gather something from the letters of Aldhelm as to the rivalry between the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon schools. The latter triumphed, just as the Roman method of calculating Easter and other Roman practices triumphed, because, coming as they did straight from Rome, the centre of culture and civilisation, they were more up-to-date than the customs and systems of the isolated Celtic Church.

It might be an interesting task for some one, though rather a wearisome one, to collect the Latin grammars and prosodies published by various Anglo-Saxon scholars such as Aldhelm and Alcuin. They sometimes take the form of a dialogue between students. Few people are aware of the extraordinary facility of the scholars of this age (including learned nuns and abbesses), in the composition of Latin verse. No doubt the Latin is sometimes turgid and stilted. But it is not always so, and the marvellous rapidity with which our Saxon forefathers assimilated Roman culture and Roman literature might be compared with the phenomenal growth of Western culture in Japan at the present day.

There is, perhaps, too little in the work before us about the typical great men of the period. Bede, of course, receives due notice, but rather more might have been said of men like Aldhelm, Boniface, and Alcuin. Aldhelm's literary fame is evident from the request of Cellanus, an Irish saint, that he would send him some of his compositions, and, long after his death, Lul covets some specimens of his work. His great popularity is evidenced by the many miracles believed to have been wrought by his intercession after his death. He became a favourite patron saint. But his literary

remains are, it must be admitted, written, for the most part, in strange pompous Latin, abounding, according to Hahn, in Græcisms derived from Theodore, and Africanisms derived from Hadrian. But Mr. Hunt traces his peculiar style of Latin to another source. But while Aldhelm is often difficult to translate, Boniface and Alcuin are easy enough, and the collections of the letters of these great men are full of interest and instruction. Mr. Hunt has, indeed, availed himself of them to a certain extent, but he might have given us a fuller and more living picture of the men themselves. He has, perhaps, crowded his canvas too much with a multitude of names, which leave a blurred impression; whereas a fuller and bolder outline of the character and personality of some of the greater men would have left a truer and more adequate notion in the reader's mind of the general type of saint and scholar which the age was capable of producing. It was a type which had many beauties and several limitations. The chief thing which strikes one is the deep affection which shines through even the formal and somewhat exaggerated epistolary style of the day. And yet, however affectionate, the language of Boniface and Alcuin is stern and uncompromising in dealing with sin and rebuking immorality even in kings. That it was an age of shocking immorality is also to be inferred from the Penitentials attributed to Theodore, Bede, and Egbert. Another delicate trait in Alcuin is his unfailing courtesy, while his deeply religious temperament is evinced by his repeated requests to his friends for mutual intercession. His letters reflect also the general virtues and vices of his age, and give us an interesting insight into the Adoptian heresy, in his remarks on which Alcuin displays himself an ardent advocate of the doctrine of Christ's Divinity. Here, too, we get glimpses of his own superstitions, such as his belief in the value of relics, or again we find him advocating the absolute separation between the civil and spiritual power, a doctrine which was to culminate in the Hildebrandine theory of the two swords.

Doubtless, considerations of space hindered the author from indulging in any such detailed description of Anglo-

Saxon worthies. But we cannot but regret this, as also that many interesting and valuable illustrations of the history of the English Church contained in these letters of Boniface and Alcuin should have been (perhaps compulsorily) excluded.

There is one more omission which we may note before passing on to the more congenial task of illustrating the author's real and scholarly grasp of his subject by one or two quotations. And this is that he has said nothing as to the origin of tithes. He has, indeed, referred to the fourfold division of the tithe between the bishops, the clergy, the poor and the fabric fund of the several minsters, with a reservation of a part of the tithe in favour of any chapelry with a burial ground attached. But he might have referred to the valuable note on p. 637 of the third volume of Haddan and Stubbs, where the legal origin of tithes in this country is traced to the Legatine Council of A.D. 787, the decrees of which were accepted by the kings and witan of Mercia and Northumbria, and probably also by the witan of Wessex. It was enacted by this Council in its 17th canon "that all men shall be zealous to pay tithes of all they possess, for this is the Lord's due, etc.". A little earlier (A.D. 779) the payment of tithes had been made obligatory by Charlemagne on the continent. If for no other reason, this period should have an abiding interest for the English Churchman, because in it his Church received the main part of those ancient endowments which she still enjoys, in spite of many attempts to deprive her of them.

But these are only, after all, slight drawbacks in a work of singular merit. Every available source of information has been ransacked, and only those who have examined the original authorities can appreciate the amount of painstaking labour which has gone to form the author's work. He is to be congratulated, indeed, on the great and laborious investigations of other scholars who have compiled materials for the study of the age, and he makes a special acknowledgment in this respect to the Bishop of Oxford in the dedication of his work. But, with all such helps, he deserves our gratitude for his own careful industry. One or two remarks on salient

points must bring this review to a close. Mr. Hunt frequently points out the part which the Church played in the unification of the State, and how important for the growth of the nation was the central government of the Church from Canterbury. The Church under Theodore attained a solidarity which at that time was entirely absent in the State. For it was not until Alfred that the little kingdoms of the Heptarchy finally coalesced into one English nation. The advantages which accrued to the English Church from the introduction of new methods and discipline by Archbishop Theodore are well described on pp. 128-130, from which the following may be quoted :—

“The Church needed to be saved from the dangers and puerilities of a morbid asceticism. A large number of its ministers were monks, and the monasticism of the Scots and their followers had, as has already been said, a strong tendency to exaggeration. The English—clergy, monks and laity—needed to be taught the relative importance in the Christian life of active work and contemplative devotion. English monasticism had to be saved from the follies of overstrained asceticism. Its salvation was to be effected by the diversion of monastic zeal into new and more wholesome channels. This was another task for Theodore, who was to fulfil it by making the English monasteries places of secular as well as religious learning, and leading his disciples and followers of both sexes to engage in education. Other interests and occupations, and especially foreign missions, speedily exercised a similar influence on the lives of men and women under monastic vows, and for a while monastic life in England under its best conditions was a model of noble and unselfish energy.”

The wholesale conversion of tribes at the first introduction of Christianity is well commented on as follows (p. 46): “In an early state of society the individual was religiously of small account; the tribe or clan was everything. Religion was the bond of the community, and the worshipper of strange gods, the man who deserted the god of his tribe, and sought help from another source, was false to his tribe, and offended



against its most sacred convictions. . . . Each royal house claimed descent from Woden, the earth-ruler ; and in virtue of this descent, the fittest of its members had a right to be chosen king. In this god-descended king the English tribe or nation saw the sign of its independence. As their religion was a tribal bond, and the king was the expression of tribal or national life, the religion of the king was naturally adopted by his people. For it is clear, as will be seen later, that English kings did not change their religion without consultation with their constitutional advisers. With them conversion was not merely a matter that concerned themselves; it was an affair of state. . . . English heathenism was in a sense an established religion, and the conversion of a king in like manner established Christianity in the kingdom. So that, from the conversion of Æthelbert on to the present day, the English Church has always been an Established Church ; it was established in each heptarchic kingdom when the king, with the consent of his witan, became a Christian, and the union of the several kingdoms under one king did not alter its position."

J. H. WILKINSON.

[SECOND NOTICE.]

**The Origin of the "Original Hebrew" of Ecclesiasticus.**

*By D. S. Margoliouth, M.A., Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford. London: James Parker & Co., 1899. 4to, pp. 20.*

WHEN writing my first notice, I was labouring under the disadvantage of the volume containing the Cambridge Fragments being still in the press. My obligations to my publishers compelled me to limit my references to these fragments to a few hints and some half-dozen of quotations. The volume is now published, and I am at liberty to quote from it in a less constrained manner. The British Museum Fragments, edited by the Rev. G. S. Margoliouth, have also appeared in the meantime in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, and are now public property. Upon the appearance of the Cambridge Fragments, Rev. Professor D. S. Margoliouth, of Oxford, declared in the *Expository Times* (August) that he does not think "the Cambridge fragments will be defended by any one". I may as well say at once that this prophecy has not been fulfilled—Professors Smend, Strack, Bacher, König, Halevy, Fränkel, Kautzsch, Nöldeke, Ryssel, Rev. G. Margoliouth of the British Museum, and a large number of other scholars having avowed their belief in the authenticity of the Fragments.

The Cambridge Fragments present the following phenomena :—

(1) They present us with a new MS. of Ben Sira termed by the editors MS. A, which gives no real marginal glosses, and, as I have pointed out in my introduction (p. 11), shows a closer agreement with the Syriac against the Greek than MS. B. This latter, it should be known, comes from the codex of which the Lewis-Gibson Fragment, the Bodleian and the British Museum Fragments form a part. Lest,

however, this approximation to the Syriac should lead to wrong conclusions, as I suspect indeed it already has done, I will at once add that however closely MS. A, as compared with MS. B, agrees with the Syriac, it differs from it no less fundamentally in many places. This will be at once apparent when the following verses from the Hebrew are compared with the Syriac version. Not only does the Hebrew differ in meaning, and in the order of the verses, but it also gives in many cases whole hemistichs or even verses of which the Syriac has no trace. The list is not exhaustive.

3	9	Heb.	שִׁירֵשׁ Syriac	differs.
"	16	"	ומכעים . . .	"
"	21	"	ומכוסה . . .	"
"	22	"	עסק	"
"	23	"	וביותר . . .	"
"	28	"	אלתרץ	omits.
4	2	"	ואל . . . נפש	"
"	3 <sup>a</sup>	"	"	differs.
"	6	"	צורו	"
"	10 <sup>d</sup>	"	"	omits.
"	11	"	ותעיד	differs.
"	19	"	"	omits.
"	26	"	שבלת	differs.
"	27(1)	"	"	order differs.
"	28(1)	"	"	omits.
5	2	"	"	"
"	4 <sup>b</sup> (1)	"	"	"
"	6 <sup>a</sup>	"	"	"
6	2 <sup>b</sup>	"	"	differs.
"	9	"	"	omits.
"	10	"	"	"
"	17 <sup>b</sup> (1)	"	"	"
"	22 <sup>b</sup>	"	"	differs.
"	22(1)	"	"	order differs.
"	22(2)	"	"	"
"	29 <sup>b</sup>	"	"	omits.
"	30	"	"	"
7	5	"	תתבונן	differs.
"	7 <sup>b</sup>	"	"	"
"	15	"	"	omits.
"	17(1)	"	"	"
"	18	"	תלח	differs.
12	3 <sup>b</sup>	"	(See notes.)	"
"	5 <sup>e</sup>	"	בכל . . .	omits.
"	9 <sup>a</sup>	"	רע	differs.

			Syriac	omits.
12	14 <sup>b</sup>			
"	15		"	"
"	17	Heb.	יחפש עקב	differs.
13	6 <sup>b</sup>		"	"
"	7		"	"
"	8	"	תדוב מאד	"
"	11		לחפש	"
"	11 <sup>d</sup>	"	"	"
"	12		"	"
"	17(1)		"	omits.
"	20		"	"
"	28 <sup>b</sup>		"	differs.
14	1 <sup>b</sup>		"	"
"	10		"	omits.
"	10(1)	" יזל מים (Syr. probably reads ידלם)	"	differs.
"	11 <sup>c</sup>		"	omits.
"	12 <sup>ab</sup>		"	differs.
"	14 <sup>b</sup>		"	omits.
"	16 <sup>b</sup>	"	כי . . .	"
"	19	" רקוב ירקבו (Syr. p. r. ברוק יברקו)	"	differs.
15	6	" ימצא (Syr. p. r. ימלא)	"	"
"	13	"	יאננה	"
"	15 <sup>b</sup>		"	omits.
"	17 <sup>b</sup>		"	"
"	18	"	חוחה כל	"
"	19 <sup>a</sup>		"	differs.
"	20 <sup>b</sup>		"	"
16	3 <sup>c</sup>	" ומאחרית זדון	"	omits.
"	11 <sup>c</sup>	" ועל . . .	"	differs.
"	22		"	omits.

(2) The second point of importance to notice is the large number of doublets given by the text. This feature is common to MSS. A and B, as well as to the British Museum Fragments. The fact that in *some* cases one verse of the doublet is represented by the Greek, and the other by the Syriac, and *vice versa*, was advanced by Professor Margoliouth as a proof of a dual rendering corresponding to the two versions. A proper examination, however, will show that this hypothesis is as inadequate to account for the existence of *all* the doublets as it was in the case of the marginal glosses of the Oxford Fragments. I confine myself in this notice to some of the doublets contained in the Cambridge volume.

4	19	Agrees closer with Greek (?).		}	
"	19 (I)	"	"		Syriac.
12	14 (I) (2)	"	"	Syriac.	
"	15	"	"	Greek.	
15	15 <sup>b</sup>	"	"	Greek.	
"	15 (I)	"	"	Syriac.	
16	3 <sup>b</sup>	"	"	Greek	
(reading κόπον עקבותם for τόπον).				}	
"	3 <sup>a</sup> (I)	Agrees closer with Syriac.			
"	3 <sup>c</sup>	"	"		Syriac
(לעולה).					
"	3 <sup>d</sup> .	Agrees closer with Greek			
(ומאחרית זדון).				}	
30	11 (I)	Agrees closer with Greek.			
"	12	"	"	Syriac.	
"	17	"	"	Greek.	
"	17 (I)	"	"	Syriac.	
"	20 <sup>b</sup>	"	"	Greek.	
"	20 <sup>b</sup> (I)	"	"	Syriac.	
31	4	"	"	Syriac.	
"	4 (I)	"	"	Greek. (?)	
"	10 (I)	"	"	neither.	
"	10 (2)	"	"	"	
32	4 (I)	"	"	Syriac.	
"	5	"	"	Greek.	
"	5 (I)	"	"	Syriac.	
"	6	"	"	Greek.	
"	9 (I)	"	"	neither.	
"	10	"	"	Greek.	
"	11	"	"	Greek (partly).	
"	11 (I)	"	"	Syriac (partly).	
"	13	"	"	neither.	
"	15	"	"	Greek.	
"	14	"	"	Greek.	
"	14 (I)	"	"	Syriac.	
"	16	"	"	Greek.	
"	16 (I)	"	"	Syriac.	

32	17 (1)	Agrees closer with Syriac.	
"	18 <sup>a</sup>	"	" Greek.
"	21, 22	"	" Greek.
"	22 (1)	"	" Syriac.
"	22 (2)	"	" Syriac.
"	23	"	" Greek.

It is interesting to notice that in the majority of the doublets agreeing with the versions, the verses corresponding with the Greek come first; whilst on the supposition of Professor Margoliouth (that the Fragments are based on the Syriac version but were improved upon subsequently by the translator's acquaintance with a person possessing the knowledge of the Greek language), we should expect the verses representing the Syriac, or at least most of them, to come first and the Greek to follow.

It will further be seen that some doublets are marked in the list as agreeing with neither version. The reason for this is that they are either omitted by both the Greek and the Syriac (as in 31, 10 (1), 10 (2)), or at least by the Syriac (as in 32, 9 (1), 10 and 32, 13, 15). This shows at once the inadequacy of Professor Margoliouth's theory as an explanation of all the doublets. For, according to this theory, each verse of the doublet should represent one of the versions. But a closer examination of the contents of these doublets will demonstrate the insufficiency of the explanation even in cases where the Greek and the Syriac are both represented in our text. Thus with regard to the first doublet in MS. B. of the Cambridge volume, Professor Margoliouth tells us 30, 12 is also rendered twice; the Greek has *θλάσσειν*, the Syriac *pakka*: the first is rendered רציץ, the second בקע. "The poor lad's loins are to be split!" (*Expository Times*, 528). The doublet in question runs thus—

כפתן על חי תפגע      רציץ מתניו שעודנו נער:      11 (1).

כף ראשו בנערותו      ובקע מתניו כשהוא קטן:      12<sup>a</sup>.

Professor Margoliouth pounces on the רציץ and draws his conclusion from it, but he in no way tries to account for the first hemistich of this verse which does not occur in the

Greek, the Greek agreeing with 12<sup>a</sup>. But any one who is at all familiar with the Bible in Hebrew (not necessarily in forty-two languages) will at once recognise in this verse a paraphrase of Ezek. xxix. 7.

תרוץ ובקעת להם כל כתף העמדת להם כל מתנים.

As I have pointed out in my notes *ad loc.*, we must emend כתפו for כפתן, and תפגע for תבקע—but the corruption is a very old one, and some copyist (being ignorant of the parallel passage in Ezekiel) emended כפתן into כפרו.

The case stands somewhat similar with the doublet 31, 4, and 4 (1)

4 יגע עני לחסר ביתו ואם ינח יחיה צריך :

4 (1) עמל עני לחסר כחו ואם ינח לא נחה לו :

With reference to this Professor Margoliouth says: "Both the Greek and the Syriac tell us that the poor man labours in the deficiency of this life" (*i.e.*, livelihood), but "the Syriac word for 'life' means also 'house' and the Greek word for "life" (*βίου*) is very like a word meaning 'strength' (*βίας*). Hence we have two alternative renderings, one with 'house' and one with 'strength'." (*Guardian*, 8th November, 1899). But a glance at the text will show that the differences between the two verses are not confined to the alternatives of ביתו and כחו—verse 4 (1) adding in the second hemistich the לא נחה לו (*cf.* notes *ad loc.*), which is to be found in neither version, both agreeing in this clause with 4<sup>b</sup>. Besides, if the ביתו of verse 4 was meant to represent the Syriac, we should expect that it would also reproduce the words מסכנא עמל of this version. But as a matter of fact the corresponding words עמל עני occur at the beginning of 4 (1) which, according to Professor Margoliouth, represents the Greek. Professor Margoliouth also fails to tell us what the original Hebrew was. It seems he would think that it was חסרי חיים. But it is evident that כחו is right, the verse in Ben Sira

יגע עני לחסר כחו ואם ינח . . .

having been suggested by Job iii. 17,

ושם ינחו יגיעי כח.

The phrase **חסרי כח** also occurs in B. T. Tractate Makkoth 23b. The **ביתו** of course is only an early corruption of **כחו** which the Greek again misread **חיי**.

As to the doublet 30, 17, 17 (1)

17. טוב למות מחיי שוא ונחת עולם מכאב נאמן  
17 (1), טוב למות מחיים רעים ולירד שואל מכאב עומד  
of which Professor Margoliouth says: "the Hebrew renders the verse twice; for *ἐμμουσον* it has **נאמן**, for *Kayyam* "עומד" (*Expository Times*, *ibid.*), it should be observed that both **נאמן** and **עומד** as referring to maladies are good Hebrew words. The former has a parallel in Deut. xxviii. 59:—

**מחיים רעים וחלים רעים ונאמנים**. The marginal gloss **מחלים רעים** against 17<sup>b</sup> should accordingly be corrected into **מחלים רעים**. Probably the original reading was **מחלי רע ונאמן** suggested by the Scriptural verse just quoted. The latter again (**עומד**) is to be found in Lev. xii. 5, **הנגע עמד**.

Now, as already pointed out in my first notice (*Critical Review*, ix., 397), it is not impossible that in some cases interpolations derived from the Syriac were made in our text. The state of the Hebrew text of Ben Sira known to the Rabbis, notoriously full of Aramaisms, interpolations and additions (*cf. Monatschrift für Wissenschaft d. Judenthums*, xiv., p. 178, *seq.*), would only favour the smuggling in of a few verses translated from the Syriac into our text. Still one must hesitate before declaring a verse in Ben Sira, even in the case of doublets to be a mere translation. For not only do we find a tendency in the copyists of Ben Sira to give alternatives of words even in cases where the Syriac omits the whole verse, as for instance, **סימא** for **אוצר** (41, 12-14), **פחו** for **זנות** (41, 17; 42, 10), **מסר** for **מרדות** (42, 8), but even the Canonical writings are not free from such differing expressions in verses repeated in various places, but evidently coming from the same source.

Here are a few instances:—

ומי צור מבלעדי אלהינו 2 Sam. xxii. 32.

„ זולתי „ „ Ps. xviii. 32.



האל מעוזי חיל יותר תמים	2 Sam. xxii. 33.
„ המאזרני „ ייתן „	Ps. xviii. 33.
ואת גייתי תקעו וגו	1 Sam. xxxi. 10.
„ גלגלתו „ „	1 Chron. x. 10.
ינמשו בעמק רפאים	2 Sam. v. 8.
„ „ „	1 Chron. xiv. 9.
המלך דוד מפוז ומכרכר	2 Sam. vi. 16.
„ דוד מרקד ומשחק	1 Chron. xv. 29.
ואיש כלי משחתו בידו	Ezek. ix. 1.
„ מפצו „ „	„ 2.
שכמו עליך	Ezek. xxvii. 35.
„ „ „	„ 36.
רגזה ותרעש הארץ	Ps. lxxvii. 19.
„ ראתה ותחל „	Ps. xcvi. 4.
על גפי מרומי קרת	Prov. ix. 3.
„ „ „	„ 14.
בו לרעהו חסר לב	Prov. xi. 12.
„ „ „	Prov. xiv. 21.
נהם ככפיר זעף מלך	Prov. xix. 12.
„ „ „	Prov. xx. 2.

Perhaps I may also draw attention here to Ben Sira 4, 1. The Hebrew text reads

בני אל תלעג לחיי עני

while the Greek (*ἀποστερήσης*) evidently had

ב' א' תעשק ל' ע'

A similar variant we have in Prov. xiv. 31 and xvii. 5; the former reading עשק דל חרף עשדו, and the latter ח' ע' לעג לראש. The same thing may also be observed in Ben Sira 37, 9, where the Hebrew text has רישך, whilst the marginal gloss offers ראשך. (British Museum Fragments in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, xii., p. 9.) Both readings are to be found in Prov. vi. 11 and xxiv. 32, the former running ראשך ובא מתהלך רישך, the latter giving רישך ובא כמהלך ראשך

It will be as well to refer here to a curious instance of the absolute inability of Professor Margoliouth to deal with an ancient corrupt text. This occurs in his criticism of the doublet 32, 4 (1), 32, 5. I must reproduce the whole paragraph, which consists of a group of peculiar doublets, and the marginal glosses.

(1) 4 כחותם על כים זהב

שירת      שִׁיר אֵל עַל מִשְׁתֵּה הַיּוֹן :

5 נוב זיר      כּוֹמֵז אֹדֵם עַל נִיבֹּ זֶהֶב

מִשְׁפֵּט שִׁיר עַל מִשְׁתֵּה הַיּוֹן :

(1) 5 נהפך ספיר      כְּרִבִּיד זֶהֶב וְבוּ נֶפֶךְ וְסַפִּיר כֵּךְ

נֹאִים דְּבָרִים יָפִים עַל מִשְׁתֵּה הַיּוֹן :

מלא      6 מְלוֹאֹת פֹּז חֻתָּם בִּרְקָת

קֶלֶךְ מִזְמוֹר עַל נֹעַם תִּירוֹשׁ :

Verses 4 (1) and 5 (1) agree with the Syriac and verses 5 and 6 with the Greek, and are therefore taken by Professor Margoliouth as a proof of the retranslation theory. Of the *מִשְׁפֵּט שִׁיר* in verse 5, he remarks that it was intended as a translation of the Greek *ἐγκρατεια μουσικῶν* "which savours of the fourth form of a grammar school" (*Expository Times*, 528). The first point to be considered is that the phrase *ἐγκρατεια μουσικῶν* never occurs either in the Classics or in the Septuagint except in this place. The commentators, as can easily be seen, are all groping for the meaning of the phrase. The probability is therefore great that we are dealing here with a barbaric Greek translating literally the Hebrew original, and conveying little or no meaning as a pure Greek phrase.

In verse 17 of the same chapter *ἐγκρατεια* is used for *תורה* (see notes, *ad loc.*) which is a common synonym for *מִשְׁפֵּט*. The *מִשְׁפֵּט* of verse 5 is of course not to be translated "judgment" but has to be taken in the sense of "order," "measure," "rule," "arrangement". What places this

explanation beyond all doubt is the parallel passage 44, 5 (Oxford Fragments).

קו 5 חוקרי מזמור על חוק

“Who sought out *music according to rule*.”

But both חוק and the marginal gloss קו are synonyms of משפט. As it is moreover clear that חוק or קו can be derived neither from the Greek μέλη nor the Syriac על־אידִי קיתרא וכנרא, it is evident that the “order” or “measure” of music, חוק שיר and משפט שיר are idiomatic Hebrew expressions. The idiomatic use of חוק may perhaps throw light upon the חוק אל אספרה of Ps. ii. 7, which has baffled so many commentators.

There is a point of great interest to notice in 32, 5 (1) given above. The verse agrees with the Syriac, but if it be supposed a translation from the Syriac, we should have no explanation for the marginal gloss נהפך ספיר. For while there is no doubt that the נפך וספיר of the text could be suggested by the nouns טבעא וחמרדנא of the Syriac, there is nothing in the latter to suggest the verb נהפך of the gloss. This is clearly a case where two MSS., one of which contained the clerical error נהפך, were collated. The scribe conscientiously put the other reading—the corrupt reading—on the margin.

But even granting the possibility of some line having been introduced indirectly into our fragments from the Syriac (certainly not from the Greek) this would only explain *some* doublets—not *all*—there being, as we pointed out above, a number of them either entirely omitted by the Syriac or containing additional matter for which the Syriac offers no equivalent. The only way to account for all the doublets is to assume the existence of various families of MSS., some agreeing more with the type of the MSS. on which the Syriac version depended, others again corresponding more with those MSS. after which the Greek translation was executed. Besides these, they contained a whole number of verses and of readings good, bad and indifferent, wholly overlooked or

misunderstood by the versions. It is the divergences between these families of MSS. which now appear in our fragments, in the shape either of marginal glosses, of insertions between the lines, or of doublets. As far as these latter are concerned, they were probably inserted first as glosses on the margin or between the lines, and were afterwards embodied with the text. This hypothesis is supported by the consideration that whilst we have ample evidence that the scribes in their dealing with MSS. were constantly disfiguring them by omissions and additions, or confusion of differing recensions, and incorporations in the body of the MSS. of entirely foreign matter (see Brüll's *Jahrbuch*, ii., pp. 80-85 and *Tshuboth Haggeonim*, edit. Harkavy, p. 138), we have not a single case on record dating from those earlier times of a translation prepared after the method suggested by Professor Margoliouth.

To illustrate with some precision the elaborate and complex nature of such a method, I will give here the analysis of Chapter XLVIII. which has no glosses, and the correspondence of which to the versions constantly changes—now evidently approaching the Greek and now the Syriac, and in some cases differing materially from both—and in all cases presenting the fuller and superior text.

#### CHAPTER XLVIII.

1 Agrees with Syriac.

2<sup>a</sup> Differs from both versions which prob. read

ויבא עליהם רעב.

2<sup>b</sup> Agrees with Gk. (הבקיעם Syr. p. r. המעיטם).

3 „ „ (Heb. has no equiv. for Syr.

על מדבחה ועל אנשא רשיעא).

4 Agrees more with Syr.

5 Agrees more with Gk. (Syr. p. r. משאול. (המקים מתים).

6<sup>a</sup> „ „ ; Syr. omits.

6<sup>b</sup> „ „ (Syr. p. r. ממלכותם or מכסאותם for (ממשותם).

- 8<sup>a</sup> Agrees (more) with Greek (תשלומות).  
 8<sup>b</sup> „ with neither (Heb. תחתיו, Gk. Syr. p. r. תחתך).  
 7<sup>a</sup> „ (more) with Gk. (Syr. p. r. בניסוי for בסיני).  
 7<sup>b</sup> „ with Gk. ; Syr. omits.  
 9<sup>a</sup> „ with Syr. (מעלה).  
 9<sup>b</sup> „ with neither (ובגרודי).  
 10<sup>a</sup> „ (more) with Gk.  
 10<sup>b</sup> „ with Gk. ; Syr. omits.  
 10<sup>d</sup> „ with Syr. (ולהבין).  
 11 Heb. fragments defective.  
 12 „ „ „  
 12<sup>c</sup> Omitted in the Gk. (Syr. probably had נסים ואותות and misread נסיון).  
 12<sup>d</sup> Omitted in the Gk.  
 12<sup>e</sup> Agrees (more) with Syr. (Gk. prob. reading ישר for בשר).  
 13<sup>a</sup> „ with Syr. and Gk. (but both misunderstand דבר).  
 13<sup>f</sup> Omitted in the Syr. (Gk. p. r. נבא for נברא).  
 14<sup>b</sup> Agrees with Gk. (Syr. p. r. ובמותו החיה מתים).  
 15<sup>e</sup> „ (more) with Syr. (ליהודה).  
 16<sup>a</sup> „ with Gk. (עשו יושר, cf. 1 Kings xv. 11).  
 16<sup>b</sup> „ with neither (Heb. הפליאו, Gk. and Syr. p. r. הכפילו).  
 17 Agrees with Gk. and Syr.  
 17<sup>c</sup> Omitted in the Syr.  
 17<sup>d</sup> „ „ (Gk. prob. read הרים for מים).  
 18 Agrees with both.  
 18<sup>c</sup> „ with Syr. (ויגדף אל).  
 19 Omitted in the Syr. (Gk. adds וידיהם after לבם).  
 20<sup>a</sup> „ „ (Gk. p. r. רחום for עליון).  
 20<sup>b</sup> Agrees with Gk. (Syr. has חזקיהו).  
 20<sup>d</sup> „ (more) with Gk. (Syr. adds הנביא).  
 21<sup>b</sup> „ with neither (Gk. adds מלאכו, Syr. ויך בהם מכה רבה).  
 22 Agrees (more) with Syr. which prob. read ויחזק for ויחזק and added אביו after דוד.

22<sup>c</sup> Heb. frag. defective.

23 „ „ „

24 Agrees more with Gk. (אחרית).

25 „ with Gk. (Syr. p. r. עֵד עוֹלָם for עֵד עוֹלָם, and נְסִינּוֹת for נְסִינּוֹת).

The Jew of the Gaonic period and even later would certainly try to raise the intellectual level of his people by making accessible, through translation, any work which he would consider an essential contribution to his literature. But we never find that he would take the pains to collate the different versions of the same book, give alternative renderings, correct the errors of the one version by the aid of the other, and supply their deficiencies by the same means. This presupposes a degree of critical conscientiousness and fidelity of translation hardly known in the Middle Ages.

(3) A third point of importance presented by the Cambridge Fragments is the following. We find in it a new complete *Parashah*, of which there is not the slightest trace in the versions. This consists of fifteen verses (51, 12<sup>c</sup> (1)-12<sup>c</sup> (15)), and is of the type of composition familiar to us from Psalm cxxxvi. :—

O give thanks unto the God of praises,  
For His mercy endureth for ever.

As I have pointed out in my introduction, there can be no question of its genuineness, since we have there a couplet running thus :—

O give thanks unto Him who chose the sons of Zadok to be priests,  
For His mercy endureth for ever.

After the unworthy part played by the high priests of the house of Zadok during the Hellenistic troubles, it is highly improbable that any pious Jew would feel so enthusiastic about this family that their continuance in the sacred office would form the special theme of his thanksgiving to God. The benediction of the high priest pronounced on the Day of Atonement, dating from a later (post post-Maccabean) period

runs **בנהנים הבחור**—thus omitting all reference to a special family in connection with the priesthood.

The whole *Parashah*, however, is omitted both in the Greek and in the Syriac for the simple reason that the Greek translator—who in this respect, as in so many others, was followed by his Syrian successor—the grandson of Ben Sira lived at a time when the house of Zadok was already superseded by the Maccabean line. He therefore recoiled from giving publicity to a hymn which claimed for the **בני צדק** the exclusive privilege of the (High) priesthood. But how shall we account for the existence of this hymn on the translation hypothesis when not a single trace of the hymn can be found in any of the versions?

I have already transgressed the limits of a notice, and I am therefore loath to encroach further, though so much remains unstated both with regard to doublets and to deviations of the versions from the Hebrew. But I should like to appeal to biblical students, not unfamiliar with post-biblical literature, that they take the trouble to compare the style of Ben Sira with that of the Bible or of any post-biblical poetry, or any translations known to us from post-biblical literature. They will find that, in spite of copious reminiscences from the Canonical Writings, and not uncommon Rabbinical turns, it stands quite apart from the Biblical or Rabbinical schools of composition. Hence it must come from a period to which we have as yet had no access. I may say that many scholars, among them men who have spent all their lives in the study of Hebrew style in all its stages, have, in their letters to me, referred to this conclusion as most strongly impressed upon them by the study of the fragments.

S. SCHECHTER.

## Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte.

*Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte. Entwicklungsgeschichte der christlichen Lehrbildungen. Von Dr. A. Dorner. Berlin : Druck und Verlag von Georg Reimer, 1899. Pp. xi + 648. Price M.10.*

It is pleasing to find that Prof. Dorner's philosophical labours and interests have not hindered his historic studies. There was no reason why they should : the one set of studies may be freely allowed to enrich the other. Of Church historians of the merely chronicler sort, we have always enough and to spare : of philosophical historians we have always too few. Nor is there any reason why the thoroughness, on which our times insist, need be construed in terms of a specialism that shall be narrow, conceited, and unilluminated. The *Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte* of the author of *Das menschliche Handeln* and *Das menschliche Erkennen* is, therefore, a welcome contribution to Historical Theology. But it is welcome on other grounds, seeking, as it does, to understand, as far as possible, in an objective manner, each and every stage in the development of Christian doctrine by means of the conditions peculiar to it. Dr. Dorner properly attaches great importance to the history of Christian doctrine. He has before him the fact that no just view of historic Christianity is open to us, if we confine our interest to Church history, both because the churchly framework does not exhaust the life of Christianity, and because the churchly doings are so far behind the Christian ideal. His endeavour is so to follow up the history of Christian doctrinal developments, as to be able to give such answer as may be thus possible to the fundamental question of theology—an answer in accordance with the essence of Christianity. That essence is here taken to be rightly understood only as the outcome of such complete study of the historic development.

Before proceeding with the five sections of which the book



is composed, the author treats us to an admirable Introduction, in which the conception, task, and method, of the history of dogma are dealt with. In the course of his survey of the history of dogma, in the first part of the Introduction, Dorner refers to the *Grundriss* of Harnack on the same subject as the most significant work of our time. Dorner's view of the brilliant Berlin professor's work is that his fundamental conception and his final result cannot be held to register an advance. He admits Harnack's enrichment of the literary individual inquiry by his great sagacity and the power with which he enters into the spiritual creations of the great Church Fathers. He grants how replete the work is with churchly historical material, and regards it as a literary historical performance of the first rank. The fundamental apprehension proceeds from the dualistic thought of the distinction drawn in Kantian phenomenalism between theoretic knowledge and practical judgments of value. The historic process in early Christian dogma is thenceforward to Harnack one of the Hellenisation of Christianity. This distinction between theoretic knowledge and judgments of value Harnack takes as a standard or measure for the historico-dogmatic process. The worth of this distinction, Dorner thinks, is open to question. For our own part we should go further and say that, for the Ritschlian use of it, the dualism in question is distinctly untenable. Our religious faith may not have its basis given by theoretic reason, but that does not keep its grounds from being shot through with reason from first to last. Our theoretic knowledge is not dualistically opposed to value-judgments, in the way Harnack supposes, but is perfectly compatible with them, and is, on a full view, inclusive of them. Dorner rightly affirms that, at all events, the distinction cannot be made a standard or measure of the historical process. In confining the territory of religion to the limits of value-judgments in the way he does, Dorner contends that Harnack has unnecessarily narrowed the conception of the history of dogma, restricting it to only the culture of churchly dogma. He finely vindicates his own rejection of this restricted view, showing how

the impulse to know overleaps it; and how, in the whole religiously determined process of knowledge, such churchly dogma can be but part, if we would reckon up the full wealth of Christian knowledge. Dorner regards it as, methodically, incorrect to judge the historic process after a preconceived modern view of the difference between theoretic and practical knowledge, instead of trying to comprehend every appearance on the historic horizon as it arose out of its own time, and in connection with it. He further deems it an inquiry not to be overlooked, why the Hellenic influence on Christianity is only baneful, and thinks that, while it may appear orthodox to view Christianity only in connection with Judaism, and under those aspects that have escaped Hellenising influence, that does not make this view a true one.

When he comes to develop his own conception of the history of dogma and of its method, Dorner notes how it has always been the tendency of Christianity to display its contents as truth. He conceives the Christian principle as seeking to pierce through and through the world, and in this way works up his conception of Christianity as a totality. Christianity in its totality is for him bearer of a unified world-view, whose contents must be set forth in living form. But of his Introduction it must suffice to say that, richly informed as Harnack's "prolegomena" to his *Grundriss* may be, Dorner's preliminary section will be found far more solid and satisfying.

The work itself consists of five divisions. The first deals with the period of the apostolic fathers, as a time of immediate representation of the Christian contents without scientific precision. The second section is concerned with the age of the apologists, when Christianity is viewed as the highest knowledge or perfect philosophy. Now is witnessed the shaping out of Christian doctrine into a connected world-view. This section is especially interesting because of what Dorner has to say of Origen, when treating of the Alexandrians and their endeavours to exhibit Christian faith and knowledge in clearer relation, and set forth Christianity as the highest wisdom. Origen's theory of knowledge receives

proper attention from Dorner, who notes its more than theoretic character; in fact, its mystical aspect, inclusive as that was of an ethical relation. This was so in virtue of Origen's *αἰσθησις θεία*—that divine sense denoting the consciousness of man in its higher cognitive activity—which, says Dorner, means no corruption or perversion of Christianity, but through which, on the other hand, Christianity proves itself the freest of religions in that its contents can be made the subject of the freest knowledge. We cannot here follow Dorner's treatment in detail of Origen and his relations to the Gnostics, to cosmological and practical problems, but must be content to express our satisfaction that he has sought to do this most comprehensive of ancient Christian thinkers justice, and to exhibit his services in bringing out the absolutely rational character and ethical modes of Christianity.

The third division relates to the period of development of Christological-Trinitarian dogma, when Christianity appears under its Greek modification. With the development of Christian doctrine there is depicted the rise of churchly authority, with the relations between the two. There is nothing Hellenic, says Dorner, in the fact that a deeper progress was prevented in this period by the churchly rigidity in the way of reducing to dogma, since the same thing has happened at other times and under other influences. In the development of Trinitarian dogma, Monarchianism and Athanasianism have no sooner been dealt with than the Origenists are taken up, after which, by much careful discussion, we are brought up to the days of John of Damascus. The prominent place of Christology is first dealt with under this section, and the difficulties of the problem so presented are clearly set forth as they appear to our modern consciousness. The subject was approached, as Dorner shows, from the Divine side, and the ethical and metaphysical interests were, in their harmony or agreement, not realised.

We are thus brought up to the fourth division of the work, wherein are set forth the author's views of the Roman modi-

fyng effects on Christianity in the Western Church up to the Reformation. Many portions of this section of the work are of the deepest interest to historical and philosophical students, as, for example, the fine comparisons between Augustine and Origen, and between Aquinas and Duns Scotus, and the estimates of Mysticism and Reform before the Reformation. These portions are all written with the care and fulness of learning and reference so characteristic of German authors. The work is greatly enhanced in value by the author's exceptional ethical knowledge and insight—a feature the more to be prized from its rarity in works of historic character. In Dorner's view the conception of faith in the Middle Ages is a wholly practical one, to which the theoretic aspect is only a means. The end is salvation in the love of God. Dorner also brings out well how the mediæval conception of the kingdom of God came short—proved too narrow. But though narrow, the energy of its working was intense, and showed itself in practical service of the Church, in religious mysticism, and in scholastic thought. The Church would not freely allow the independence of personality, nor individual interests as opposed to churchly uniformity; the Protestant movement became an historic necessity, if the whole world of natural and spiritual culture was to be rightly taken up into the Christian view of the world.

The fifth and last division of the volume brings us from Reformational times up to the present, the breadth of the author's view being observable in the specific treatment he measures out to the Post-Reformational developments of the Reformed, the Roman, and the Greek Churches, no less than to the Lutheran. The new movement of this time in the development of Christian doctrine is directed towards personality, and the perfecting of the same. If, under the Greek and the Roman churchly influences, doctrine has hitherto figured as objective truth, we now come upon Protestantism in a form or aspect whose fundamental principle is personal experience, whose sustaining power lies in powerful personalities, and which inclines to individual types. With neither

the Greek nor the Roman Church do we associate the name of a single man in the same sense as we do in the case of the Lutheran; and although the denominational manifoldness of the Reformed Church does not make for a personal distinctiveness, yet here we have mainly the type of Calvin. When discussing the development of doctrine in the Reformed Church, Dorner finds the theological movements of the present in England, Scotland, and Northern America very interesting. Among Scottish philosophers and theologians mentioned are the Cairds, in connection with Hegelian idealism; Profs. Flint, Calderwood and Candlish, in relation to theistic tendency; Prof. Robertson Smith, in connection with historic criticism; Profs. Dods and Bruce, in relation to historic revelation; and Dr. James Lindsay, of Kilmarnock, who is referred to as having emphasised the personal and individual character of the Reformation, and as having pleaded for the progress of theological knowledge in relation to the newer science of the time.

Some closing results of his wide survey of the history of Christian dogma are then presented by our author. He first notes the strong impulse towards knowledge displayed by Christianity. No sooner has Christianity passed beyond the first stage of immediate representation than there arises the need to build up Christian dogma. The highest point of these earliest endeavours after a real knowledge is that reached by Origen. But this consisted less of an upbuilding of individual dogmas than a representing of the totality of the Christian world view. But the process immediately thereafter assumes a churchly form, and various points are individually fixed after this churchly fashion. When these individual positions have been so determined, there ensues the attempt to comprehend them as a whole, and to work them into a dogmatic system. This attempt was made by the Damascan in the East; it was also made in the West. These main dogmas had been no sooner fixed in the West under Roman influence, than we find the great summations of Christian dogma so characteristic of the Middle Ages. Next is Protestantism found drawing out its dogmatic positions; and

a scholastic dogmatism likewise brings forth its system. We have, in the first development of Protestantism in recent times, an attempt on its part to comprehend Christianity and form a Christian view of the world independently of dogma. With more perfect means at its command, Protestantism has approximated to the first form of dogma culture, and has sought to defend Christianity, not as churchly dogma, but as a world-view, as true knowledge or religious conviction. Thus it is evident there have been in Christianity both a free impulse to knowledge, and an impulse to knowledge after a churchly sort, but in either an endeavour after a systematic rounding off. Dorner, after further remarks, proceeds to discuss whether any partial Church is entitled to claim universal validity for its own dogmatic determinations—whether, in fact, any such Church may claim its own conceptions of Christianity as the sole and exclusively Christian. To this he returns an answer in the negative, with reasons for the same. He then inquires whether we can perceive an advance in the historical standpoint of Christianity, in respect of the fact that the Christian principle has, in dogma, found richer and more adequate expression. He shows at length the grounds on which we can postulate such a progress, in the long course of historical development. Lastly, he comes to the very interesting inquiry, whether the churchly determination of knowledge is for Christianity an immediate necessity. The present condition of Christian dogma shows, he says, that since there is no universal Church there can be no form of dogma which can have binding force as of universal validity. In the same Church the most diverse theological schools may be found; into all Protestant denominations there enters a rich manifoldness of doctrinal conception. So we must distinguish the Christian principle from its concrete appearances in determinate forms of doctrine, and must hold as justified the manifold attempts to bring this Christian principle to always more adequate expression, and resolve its contents into a dogmatic whole.

History, then, teaches us, concludes Dorner, that if it did happen to be for a long time necessary that Christian dogma

take a churchly form, this form must ultimately meet shipwreck by the fact of its trying to unite two things so disparate as free knowledge and churchly positing of doctrine. History teaches us, he maintains, that in Christianity the thought has never quite disappeared, that it is the rational religion—the religion that corresponds to the idea of religion. The more deeply its essence is known, the more does it lead back to a single unified principle. Through such unified fundamental knowledge churchly dogmas become superfluous, and Christianity will be for all the universal religion, when the official Churches have cast off their aristocratic character, and become Churches of the people. To distinguish the universally valid from what is true for the individual, to understand the variant forms of the Christian principle in objective manner, and to be just to the diversities in the historical development as to the richly constituted present—these make the task of an historic knowledge of Christianity.

The work will be found by theological and historical students replete with interest, and pervaded by calm and effective energy—the energy of the true thinker, and the deep, patient scholar.

JAMES LINDSAY.

## **A Historical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians.**

*By W. M. Ramsay, D.C.L., Professor in Aberdeen University ;  
Hon. Fellow of Exeter and Lincoln Colleges, Oxford.  
London : Hodder & Stoughton, 27 Paternoster Row, 1899.  
8vo, pp. xi. + 478. Price 12s. 6d.*

THE publication of Professor Ramsay's Commentary on Galatians is an event of great interest for all who are occupied with the problems of New Testament criticism. In a certain sense, it is the natural result of his previous works. The "Galatian question" is prominently to the front both in *The Church in the Roman Empire* and in *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*. In both books the South Galatian theory is defended with the vigour of intense conviction. We have therefore been justified in looking for an expression of Professor Ramsay's views on the epistle addressed to this much debated region.

Most readers will probably have at least *one* sentiment of curiosity in common. They will be eager to compare Professor Ramsay's commentary with that of Bishop Lightfoot. To a certain extent the two cover the same ground ; but the distribution of the matter is different. Professor Ramsay's interest is mainly historical ; he attempts "to show how much light the epistle to the Galatians throws on contemporary history in the widest sense—the history of religion, society, thought, manners, education—in the eastern provinces of the Empire". For undertaking this attempt, no living scholar is better fitted than Professor Ramsay. His special interest in Asia Minor, his researches in that region, his proved capacity as scholar, historian and archæologist, his enthusiastic interest in the personality of St. Paul, combine to give him a quite unique equipment for his task. The result is in accordance with our expectations ; Professor Ramsay's book



will undoubtedly take a place in the front rank of English commentaries.

The work is divided into two almost equal parts. There is a Historical Introduction, followed by a Historical Commentary. It is probably in the former of these divisions that the permanent value of the book chiefly lies. Professor Ramsay is here on the ground he has so thoroughly made his own; and we, instead of trying to criticise feel more inclined to sit as learners at a master's feet. The first ten sections deal with the history of Galatia proper, *i.e.*, North Galatia—first, during the pre-Galatic period (*circa* B.C. 900-B.C. 278), and then till the formation of the Province of Galatia in B.C. 25. Sections 4 and 5, on the pre-Gaulish inhabitants, and the religion of Asia Minor, are especially interesting in their bearing on the epistle. The historical survey has, however, a wider interest than this. It is a most striking fragment of the history of Rome. Professor Ramsay brings out with great clearness the characteristics of Roman policy; the toleration for local usage; the uniform effort to preserve a balance of power between rival states; the slow but persistent advance of frontier from Asia to Galatia, from Galatia to Cappadocia. Sections 11-23 deal with the after history of the Province of Galatia. Antioch, Iconium, Lystra and Derbe are described in detail.

With regard to this Historical Introduction, there can hardly be a division of opinion. Professor Ramsay has collected an extraordinary amount of matter; it is gathered from most recondite authorities in ancient and modern literature; in many instances the details are complicated and very obscure. Yet the whole of this difficult material has been shaped into a clear and continuous narrative. For this fact alone—that he has collected so much widely scattered matter into such readable form—Professor Ramsay deserves abundant gratitude.

In approaching the Historical Commentary we naturally adopt a more critical attitude. As the archæologist and historian of Asia Minor, Professor Ramsay holds amongst us a position of almost solitary eminence; as a commentator

on this epistle he is but one in a line of distinguished writers. We are therefore better able to submit his conclusions to a critical examination.

One statement we feel compelled to make by way of preface. It is quite evident that Professor Ramsay's *bête noire* is the North Galatian theory. In other matters he can tolerate difference of opinion; but when that difference can be traced to a fondness for the North Galatian theory, he seems divided between surprise and wrath at the obstinacy that so wilfully declines to see established facts (*cf.* pp. 6, 126, 245, 319, 323). Accordingly we make haste to say that for ourselves we heartily agree with Professor Ramsay's view as to the locality of the Galatian Churches. Therefore, if in other points we err in differing from him, we feel that the error will be comparatively venial: for it cannot be traced to a depraved liking for the North Galatian theory.

It will only be possible here to indicate briefly Professor Ramsay's views on the more important subjects of interest. He holds that the epistle was written from Antioch just before the third Missionary journey (p. 242). He lays stress on i. 2, οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντες ἀδελφοί and considers that these words indicate "a considerable body of Christians". "Only two congregations could add weight to this particular letter—Jerusalem and Antioch. The former is, for many reasons, out of the question; but Antioch is, from every point of view, specially suitable and impressive." A further reason is, that Antioch was probably the place where "Paul first received the news about the Galatian defection." Again, "Antioch had taken a very prominent and honourable part in the struggle for freedom; yet on the ordinary theory of origin, it is not alluded to in this letter, except to point out that every Jew in Antioch betrayed on one occasion the cause of freedom. . . . But when all Antiochian Christians are associated with the Apostle as issuing this authoritative letter, we feel that the Church of Antioch is placed in the honourable position which she had earned" (p. 244).

From this conclusion we venture—with a renewed disavowal of North Galatian influences—to differ. Of course,

one's view of οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντες ἀδελφοί is largely a matter of impression. But we feel strongly that Lightfoot's view that "the small band of his fellow-travellers is meant" is more suitable both to the expression and to its context. So far from indicating by these words the support of a large and influential Church "the Apostle in fact dismisses the mention of his companions as rapidly as possible in one general expression. . . . Paul's authority has been challenged, and Paul alone answers the challenge."

Lightfoot does not hold that his own arguments for placing Galatians between 2 Corinthians and Romans "amount to a demonstration". But we still agree with him that they "will hold their ground against those which are alleged in favour of the earlier date".

The explanation of οὕτω ταχέως μετατίθεσθε, i. 6, agrees, of course, with the theory that Antioch is the place of writing. In answer to the question: "How then was Paul ignorant of the steps in the Galatian defection?" Professor Ramsay says: "The rapid and unforeseeable changes of his life after his second Galatian visit made it impossible for exchange of letters and messages to take place. Even after he went to Corinth he was still looking for the expected opening in Macedonia (which he understood to be his appointed field) until the new message was given him" (Acts xviii. 9) (p. 254). The view that the Galatian defection was due to "fickleness" is stigmatised as "characteristic of the unscientific nature of the North Galatian Theory" (p. 255).

In the note on i. 6, 7, εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον, ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο, εἰ μὴ κ.τ.λ., stress is laid on the distinction between ἕτερος and ἄλλος. Here again, the view advocated is opposed to that of Lightfoot. The Bishop's view is, that "ἕτερον implies a difference of kind, which is not involved in ἄλλο". Professor Ramsay holds that "the truth is precisely the opposite": that, when ἕτερος and ἄλλος are pointedly contrasted "ἕτερος indicates specific difference, ἄλλος generic difference" (p. 262). This view is supported by quotations from the *Iliad*, Thucydides, Plato, and Aristotle. A final decision on this question is a matter for experts. For our-

selves, after a careful comparison of the two views, we feel that every word of Lightfoot's note will stand. We doubt whether Professor Ramsay's instances *prove* that ἄλλος when contrasted with ἕτερος implies *generic* difference—whether simple numerical “otherness” would not give the true meaning. In any case we strongly disagree with the dictum that “Lightfoot's usually accurate and thorough sense for Greek language was here misled by a theological theory” (p. 261).

Readers of *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen* will naturally look for a re-statement of the view there advocated, that the visit to Jerusalem in Galatians ii. 1-10 is to be identified with that of Acts xi., xii. Professor Ramsay prefers however to keep a judicious silence. This is in deference to a theory suggested to him by Mr. Vernon Bartlet that “Paul and Barnabas may have been ordered by revelation to go up to Jerusalem at some point such as Acts xi. 26 or elsewhere and that Luke left this visit unmentioned (as he did the Arabian visit), because he considered it to lie outside of the thread of his historical purpose”. “This,” he says, “is a fair theory, which at present I dare neither reject nor accept; and therefore in the ensuing discussion there lurks no identification with any visit described by Luke” (p. 286).

In commenting on iii. 1 ὧς ἀνόητοι Γαλάται, Professor Ramsay again carries the war into the North Galatian ranks. Ἀνόητοι has generally been understood to refer to fickleness and levity: “the very versatility of their intellect was their snare”. On the South Galatian theory the words are open to a different interpretation, and we think Professor Ramsay catches the true sense of the passage in making the words a reproach to them for sinking back to the level of their old national religion. He points to the state of society in South Galatia at the time. “On the one hand was the native and national spirit, allied with the power of the priesthood and the great temples—the spirit of Orientalism, of stagnation, of contented and happy ignorance, of deep-rooted superstition. On the other side was the desire for education, the perception

that Greece and Rome stood on a higher intellectual platform than the native religion and customs, the revolt from the ignorant and enslaving native superstition." Christianity was on the side of this higher tendency, and Paul tells them that, in thinking they can attain to a *higher* form of Christianity by submitting to circumcision they are simply sinking to a *lower* state. It is for this that he calls *ἀνόητοι*, "irrational". It is the "foolishness" that thinks to attain to a higher spiritual level by physical means (p. 323).

The words of ii. 19 *ἐγὼ γὰρ διὰ νόμου νόμῳ ἀπέθανον* lead to an interesting description of Paul's conversion. He was travelling to Damascus with "an intense concentration of purpose, which gave the mind supreme sovereignty over the body. This effect was accentuated by the spare diet, inevitable in Eastern travel. . . . Few, if any, persons can have much experience of travel under such circumstances, with the sun watching them day after day in pitiless unvarying calmness from its rising to its setting, without having their nature deeply affected, and even passing permanently into a new life and temper. But in a nature which was already so sensitive to the Divine world around it as Paul's, all the conditions were fulfilled which raised him above the ordinary limitations of humanity. It was a supreme crisis in his life, like that in the hall of the Proconsul at Paphos, like that when he perceived the 'faith of being saved' which looked through the eyes of the lame man at Lystra. In the bright light that shone about him, he saw and heard what none of his travelling companions could see or hear. He saw as a living Divine reality Him whom he had believed to be a dead Impostor. Paul's whole theory of life had been founded on the belief that Jesus was dead; but when he recognised that Jesus was living, the theory crumbled into dust" (p. 333). On a first reading this seemed very like an account of hallucination. But the last sentence at any rate is opposed to this view. We take it that Professor Ramsay refers to an *objective* reality as much as Paul did when he said (1 Cor. ix. 1) *οὐχὶ Ἰησοῦν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν ἑώρακα* ;

Two more points of particular interest remain. *Διαθήκη* in

iii. 15, is taken to mean a Will or Testament. Professor Ramsay admits that the general biblical meaning is "Covenant"; but here "the word is used in allusion to everyday life among ordinary men"; *κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω* means that Paul is "employing the word in the sense in which it was commonly used as part of the ordinary life of the cities of the East" (p. 350). Irrevocability was a characteristic feature of Greek Law, and Galatian Procedure was evidently similar. A Galatian will was irrevocable and unalterable. On this view it would seem that a will, as understood in South Galatian cities, would be a peculiarly suitable illustration for Paul's point here. It is essential for the illustration to remember that Professor Ramsay takes *διαθήκη* as a *Greek* and not a *Roman* will. The whole view with its finely drawn distinction is interesting, but we cannot help wondering whether it is not over-subtle. Is it not more probable that *διαθήκη* is used here in its general biblical sense as in Romans ix. 4; xi. 27, and does not *κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω* simply refer to the use of a human analogy for a Divine act?

Professor Ramsay thinks that the equality of sexes and nationalities in Christ referred to in iii. 28 must be taken (when compared with Paul's writings as a whole) to refer to the *end* and not to the *beginning* of the Christian life.

In commenting on *δι' ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς* (iv. 13) there is a full and clear statement of the view that what is referred to is a severe attack of malarial fever, contracted in Pamphylia, and that the first visit to the Galatian churches is therefore that of Acts xiii., xiv. He agrees with Lightfoot in taking *τὸ πρότερον* as indicating "the former of two occasions". If the epistle be dated from Antioch before the third missionary journey, this view is quite possible. Those who adopt the South Galatian theory, but agree with Lightfoot's dating of the epistle, are almost compelled to take *τὸ πρότερον* as "on a former occasion". This is quite a possible translation and receives the support of Blass.

We cannot close this short review without a sincere tribute to the worth of Professor Ramsay's work. His scholarship, his fine historical sense and his intense enthusiasm for his

subject, have helped to set before us the life and writings of Paul as a living reality. He is at times somewhat severe on "the commentator" who "sits in a study and comments on the text". We venture, however, to think that in this respect he too has the defects of his qualities; his tendency is to go rather to the other extreme—to be over-subtle—to find minute and delicate distinctions of wording—carefully adapted to the different localities of his hearers—in places where Paul is probably using words in their ordinary and generally accepted sense. In spite of this, Professor Ramsay's commentary is a very real gain to Biblical Scholarship. It constitutes also the fullest and most recent defence of the South Galatian theory.

DAWSON WALKER.

## **The Fundamental Ideas of Christianity.**

*(Being the Gifford Lectures on Natural Theology delivered to the University of Glasgow in Sessions 1892-3 and 1895-6.)*

*By John Caird, D.D., LL.D., Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Glasgow. With a Memoir by Edward Caird, D.C.L., LL.D., Master of Balliol. In two volumes. Glasgow : James Maclehose & Sons, 1899. Post 8vo, pp. cxli. + 232, 297. Price 12s. net.*

A BOOK which unites these distinguished brothers and places them once more side by side, though death rolls between, must be a welcome book to all who have felt their influence. What student of philosophy is there that has not fallen under their influence? Nay, whether students of philosophy or not, few men of our generation have escaped their influence. It has spread far and wide, has permeated art, science, literature and theology. Owing very much to them idealism has become the dominant philosophy in England, Scotland and America. When they began their work it needed courage for a man to profess to be an idealist, now it takes some courage to profess anything else. Idealism has captured most of the philosophic chairs in our Scottish Universities, and its familiar phraseology is heard in our sermons. It is therefore a great boon to have a book in which the idealistic philosophy is set forth in its relation to the fundamental ideas of Christianity. It is also a boon to have the memoir of Principal Caird by his distinguished brother.

It is a graceful and beautiful memoir. The portrait opposite the title page enables us to see the outward form of the Principal in his habit as he lived; the memoir enables us to enter into his inner life—to see him in the discharge of public duty, girding himself manfully to his appointed task, and always equal to the duty laid on him, as minister, as professor, and as principal. Honours came to him, goodwill,



esteem, troops of friends and universal respect, and none of them were sought by him. We are permitted to see him in his moral and intellectual striving after truth, striving to hold fast to what he felt to be good in the historic faith, and at the same time ever striving to make his philosophy and his theology blend into unity. It is a complete and a beautiful life, and the completeness and beauty of it shine forth in the memoir. We quote the concluding paragraph of the memoir: "Christianity and Idealism were the two poles of my brother's thinking, and the latter seemed to him the necessary means for interpreting the former. He had, therefore, the strongest repugnance for all theories that divorced faith and reason—equally for those which empty reason of its religious content, and for those that deny reason in the supposed interest of orthodox theology. In later years he thought much on the question of immortality, as will be seen in the following lectures; but the only evidence that seemed to him of any real value was that derived from the spiritual view of the nature of reality, and from the goodness that must belong to a God who is a Spirit. He is not the God of the dead, but of the living, for all live to Him."

The very title of the book is significant. It is the fundamental ideas of Christianity, and at the same time it is the Gifford Lectures on Natural Theology. An exposition of the fundamental ideas of Christianity is for him the best statement he can give of natural theology. On this identification much might be said were there time. To say these things would lead us too far afield, might raise the ghosts of forgotten controversies, and might disturb Lord Gifford himself, for Lord Gifford had a very different view of natural theology, as his will testifies. The fundamental ideas treated in these lectures are The Christian Idea of God, The Relation of God to the World, The Origin and Nature of Evil, The Incarnation, The Atonement, the Kingdom of the Spirit, and The Future Life. There are two lectures in addition, one on Natural and Revealed Religion, and one on Faith and Reason, with another on The Possibility of Moral Restoration.

In all these lectures he strives with all his strength to

effect a reconciliation between idealism and Christianity. It is wonderful how much of idealism he finds in Christianity, and how much of Christianity in idealism. As we read the fluent pages, and yield ourselves to the magic of the style, we feel that he has given us a wonderful statement. Christianity seems to be conserved, and idealism has its way. Yet as we read and ponder, and come back to read again we begin to doubt, and the doubt gathers strength, almost against our wish, till we are forced to consider the matter from the beginning. We conclude that, if some form of idealism is true and adequate, this form of it at least is inadequate. This form of idealism is individualism. We wish we had space to argue the question, but we can only state it. Our suspicion was aroused by such passages as the following: "The true and only sufficient explanation (of the existence of the world) can only be that there is in the very nature of God a reason why He should reveal Himself in, and communicate Himself to, a world of finite existences, or fulfil and realise Himself in the being and life of nature and man". Again, "When in the language of Christian thought, we say that all things exist 'for the glory of God,' that of Him and through Him and to Him are all things," that "the invisible things of Him, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal power and Godhead," that finite spirits in their ideal perfection "are chosen in Him before the foundation of the world"—what such expressions imply is not merely that all things owe their existence to God's creative will and power, or even that the Divine thought is the constitutive principle of all finite things and beings; but further, that God fulfils Himself, realises His own nature in the existence of the world, and above all in the spiritual nature and life and destiny of man; that, with reverence be it said, the very being and blessedness of God are implicated in the existence, the perfection, the salvation of finite souls. Passages of this tendency make us feel that the work must be done over again, in such a way as to lose nothing of the gain won by idealism, and as to recognise the Christian belief that God does not need to realise

Himself. If the world is cast into the life of God, if the world is regarded as the other of God, one may strive as he may but he cannot avoid the path which leads swiftly to pantheism. We think that the Principal has not succeeded in avoiding that tendency. In truth it seems the inevitable conclusion of idealism as it has been expounded in recent systems. For idealism starts from the self, and strives to interpret the experience of the self. Our thought constitutes the world we know and live in. It exists for us in thinkable relations, and it is easy to prove this, as is done in the book before us, that "this constant amidst the variable, not given by them but above them, is something which sense does not and cannot provide—is, and can only be, the self-conscious, spiritual self, the unifying, constitutive power of thought". From the self-conscious spiritual self, idealism swiftly proceeds on its way to the conclusion that as for the world in which this self-conscious self lives and moves the self is necessary, so for the universe of things and persons an absolute self-consciousness, a constitutive power of thought is necessary. As the objective world of the self is in relation to the self, so the universe is the objective of the absolute self. This is what I call idealistic individualism. What of the other selves in the universe? No doubt the Principal dwells with great clearness and power on the part which society plays in the making of the individual. What he proves is that without society the individual could not realise himself. But how on the ideal principle does he pass from the individual to society? Society on his view is only the means for the realisation of the individual. At least that is all that he makes good. Our contention is that the relation of God to the world cannot be construed according to the analogy of the relation of the self-conscious self to the objects of his experience. But this is the very essence of all the forms of idealism in vogue at present. Idealism must widen its fundamental principle; must not start from the self-conscious spirit in its selfness alone, and construct a world after that fashion; it must seek and find a principle which recognises a larger unity of many selves in spiritual relation to one another, and

to a common world of objects. To the idealism of the volume before us every self seems foreign to every other self, and finds no place in relation to that self save as a means to an end. If we can so widen the basis of idealism, and it seems to me that it can be so widened, we shall no longer be constrained to think of the relation of God to the world as that of an absolute self-consciousness to the object of its experience, nor of thought to the world which it constitutes, but rather after the pattern of a kingdom of conscious selves towards the objects of their common conscious experience. In other words, God will become to us not self-consciousness alone, nor thought alone, nor personality alone, but a social Being, in Whom are infinite differences abiding in unity, in the fulness of Whose life there is no becoming. The relation of the Godhead to the world will thus be rescued from mere individualistic idealism, and can be set forth in a way which will not cast the world into the life of God, and will not make it a means by which God is to realise Himself.

JAMES IVERACH.

## The Christian Salvation.

*Lectures on the Work of Christ, its Appropriation and its Issues.*

*By the late James S. Candlish, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1899. 8vo, pp. ix. + 263. Price 7s. 6d.*

Few public men have belonged less than the late Professor Candlish to those who strive and cry and cause their voice to be heard in the streets; yet few have secured a place more intimate and enduring in the affection and esteem of their generation; and this posthumous volume, which appears under the competent editorship of Professor Denney, will be welcomed by a wide circle who have been wont to look to the author as one of the instructors of the Church universal. It consists of a selection from his class lectures; and, in making the selection, regard has been had to the subjects already treated by Dr. Candlish in his published works. On only one of these—namely, the Sacraments—is there duplication, the reason alleged for departing from the rule in this case being that the subject is of special interest at the present time. One could wish to have got, instead, the lectures on the Person of Christ, because, in that case, we should have had in print a fairly complete course of theology from the late professor's pen. The present volume deals with the Work of Christ, the New Life, and Eschatology, besides the Sacraments; and former volumes have treated the Doctrine of God, the Work of the Holy Spirit, and the Doctrine of Sin, besides the Sacraments. Dr. Candlish's works have appeared in a characteristically modest shape, four having formed volumes in a cheap series of manuals for Bible classes; but it has not, on this account, escaped the notice of the discerning that they are lucid and solid expositions of theology. Of course there is, besides, his great work on the Kingdom of God.

The present volume exhibits all the author's well-known characteristics. It reveals profound and select learning, of

which, however, there is no display. To views different from his own the author is absolutely fair; and the references to literature are generally brought down to a very recent date. Dr. Candlish was never, however, a mere registrar of the opinions of others, but had always a standard of his own with which to test speculations; and in this volume there will be recognised the work of an independent thinker, who not only records but judges the views which come under his notice. It is common at present to speak of every tendency which shows itself in the field of theology or in the practice of the Church—if only it is able to attract a certain number of adherents—as a natural development of Christianity entitled to recognition. For example, the ritualistic and sacerdotal movement, so popular in many quarters, is referred to by writers of easy tolerance as representing one of the two great forms in which religion has always embodied itself; and it is taken for granted that it would be absurd to challenge its Christian character. But this is not Dr. Candlish's view. He would not say that the ritualistic and sacerdotal tendency was one equally legitimate with the prophetic and apostolic; but, on the contrary, that it was the tendency which not only the prophets and the apostles but our Lord Himself had constantly to antagonise.

His own position is defined in the following sentences: "The truth as it is in Jesus has always been opposed by two opposite kinds of error, which have assumed diverse names and aspects at different times, but against which the Church has always to be upon her guard. In the days of our Lord's earthly ministry there were the Pharisees on the one hand and the Sadducees on the other; in our day the Pharisees are represented by the Romanists and the Romanising parties in Protestant Churches, the Sadducees by the Rationalists and the Rationalising schools; while equally distinct from both is the scriptural and evangelical faith." His system is strongly biblical; and on every important topic the entire biblical testimony is adduced in brief terms and in historical order. He not only, however, indicates the passages which support his own view, but with perfect candour mentions

those which may seem to be against it, and frequently abandons texts which have been traditionally used in support of dogmas, if a fair construction of them, in the light of modern criticism, does not justify the application. He is, in fact, acquainted with every important text in the context to which it belongs; and many of these bits of exegesis are so choice that one regrets the absence of an index to the texts quoted.

While all is so good, the discussion on the Atonement, which receives the place of honour in the book, is specially noteworthy. It was the last work for his class done by Dr. Candlish; it is up to date, and exceedingly fresh and stimulating. The author has not, indeed, constructed an elaborate doctrine of his own, but he has reviewed the entire history of the doctrine and indicated the different points, contributed from different quarters, out of which a systematic doctrine might be constructed. He would give chief prominence to the influence of the atonement on God, but would also lay great stress on union with Christ as the condition under which the benefits of the transaction come to believers.

This is not a book of theological novelties; indeed, it contains perhaps too little of that zigzag light which excites and commands attention; but it closes with a speculation which has a pathos of its own in a posthumous work. In dealing with the employments of the redeemed in the other life, the author seeks to establish a reference of the work of Christ to regions lying far beyond the limits of our globe. There may, he thinks, always be worlds in process of being created, or of reaching the stage of development at which intelligent beings are created to inhabit them. To these new subjects of the Eternal King a period of probation may be appointed as it was to our first parents; and the means by which they are carried successfully over this stage of existence into a state of perfection may be the preaching of the love of God by beings who appear in these distant places of creation not only as heralds but as specimens of redeeming love.

JAMES STALKER.

## **Glauben und Wissen; Ausgewählte Vorträge und Aufsätze.**

*Von Richard Adalbert Lipsius. Mit einem Bildniss des Verfassers.  
Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn. Price 6s.*

THIS volume is a worthy memorial of a noble personality. Lipsius was in many respects a man by himself. Originality, freshness, strength, independence mark all his work. He was eclectic in the best sense. He was also master of a lucid, strenuous style. His books are a pleasure to read. Not the least remarkable feature in his life was the combination of the freest confessional position with much evangelical faith and fervour. The last feature along with the others is exemplified in this memorial volume. The combination may seem strange to British readers. Still we rejoice in the fact. The lectures and essays composing the volume are as true a picture of the intellectual and spiritual Lipsius as the portrait prefixed to the volume is of the physical. The nine longer essays—Faith and Knowledge, The Ultimate Grounds of Religious Certainty, The Idea of God, The Divine Government of the World, The Importance of the Historic in Christianity, The Ritschlian Theology, Our Common Ground in the Conflict with Rome, In what Form should we Carry the Gospel to Civilised Heathen Nations? The Position of Theology in the entire Organism of the Sciences—are masterly reviews of their subjects. They are interesting also for their fine blending of philosophy and religion, and the picture they give of the movements of thought in religious Germany. The essay on the Ritschlian Theology is characteristically complete and fair. Lipsius was no Ritschlian. Yet, as he himself confesses, he approached that position in some important respects, not least in the fact that he everywhere makes personal experience the ground of all religion. The business of theology is to give the rationale of that experience. The volume invites more than one reading.

J. S. BANKS.



## **The Theology of Modern Literature.**

*By Rev. S. Law Wilson, M.A., D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1899. 8vo, pp. xx + 446. Price 7s. 6d.*

## **Historical Geography of the Holy Land.**

*(Bible Class Primers. Edited by Principal Salmond.) By Rev. S. R. Macphail, M.A. With 42 illustrations, etc. Pp. vi. + 188. Price 6d.*

THE handsome and attractive-looking volume on *The Theology of Modern Literature* deals clearly and vigorously with a subject of much interest and importance, and of considerable complexity. In a modest preface, Dr. Wilson explains his object and method. His aim is to select representative writers of the Victorian era, essayists and thinkers like Emerson and Carlyle, poets like Browning, and novelists from George Eliot to Meredith, and to compare their theological teaching and tendencies, and the presuppositions on which their thinking rests, with the theology of Church and Creed. The term theology is used by the author in relation to modern literature in a broad and elastic sense, and the test or standard uniformly applied throughout the pages of this volume is that of ordinary evangelical orthodoxy. It may be said at once that little or no fault can be found with the spirit of Dr. Wilson's criticism, and both in his introduction and the nine chapters which follow, the author gives evidence of wide reading, manly appreciation and unflinching candour.

In the introduction, which extends to no fewer than ninety-three pages, the author gives us a general survey of the main features of present day imaginative literature and estimates its ethical and religious bearings. The field is almost too wide and complex to bring into one view, for there is truth in the saying quoted later from one of Meredith's characters: "our flying minds cannot contain a protracted description".

The chief unsatisfactory and objectionable features in modern literature and its main lines of opposition to sound thinking and Christian theology are these: the prevailing fashion, as in Mr. Hardy's novels, of impugning the moral order of the universe; various forms of unbelief and contemptuous rejection of Revelation, seen either in pronounced scepticism or in the agnostic spirit persistently voiced by A. H. Clough; again, and worse, there is the tide of depraving Realism which has set in among us from the continental writers, headed by Zola; another feature of contemporary authorship is its attenuated conception of sin, and the consequent tendency to make romantic pictures of vice and moral evil; and, lastly, the irreverent freedom and injurious influence of the 'religious novel,' and the vogue given to it by writers like Marie Corelli and Mrs. Humphry Ward. Dr. Wilson utters a strenuous counter-blast to all this, declines to be influenced or brow-beaten by these phases and assaults of theological diletantism, and concludes that what is wanted is "another Schleiermacher in these days to draw up for theology a new Declaration of Independence".

In the introduction, and later, there are passages in which Dr. Wilson allows his style to lapse. He writes (p. 67): "Talk of Milton and Marlowe's conception of Satan after this—they are not in it with that of Marie Corelli!"; and again (p. 92): "The passing opinions of a few oscillating litterateurs, with the dead leaves of which every autumn is strewn," etc. These sentences are not models of taste or metaphorical clearness. The spelling of 'Mansell' (p. 18) and of 'Tycho Bragh' (p. 45), is a needless concession to 'the Agnostic attitude'! In his first two chapters on Emerson and Carlyle, our author shows warm appreciation of the personality and character of these great writers, and points out clearly their well-known attitude to the miraculous and supernatural in history and Christianity. It is allowed that the one thing that survived the handling of Emerson's destructive criticism was his own beautiful and noble character, and that Carlyle, notwithstanding his large denials, always retained belief in a personal God, as a foremost article in his

creed. In the chapter next devoted to Robert Browning, our author characterises his message as a purely *modern* one, but probably his description of Browning as "the one great rhythmic spokesman of the age we live in," would apply with equal truth to Tennyson. In the same mood of appreciation Browning is held to have solved the contradiction between the poet and the man of science, and his works are recommended as the best tonic and means of deliverance to any tormented and imprisoned by scepticism. Where the poet is considered to come short is in his slight and unsatisfactory treatment of the problem of evil ("the evil is null, is nought," etc.); and, again, in his views of the Incarnation and Atonement and in his attitude to the written Word or Bible, there is detected "a strong tincture of Rationalism". In short, Browning's danger is that he is thought to be the poetical apostle of individualism in theology. This prepares us for the strict criticism next meted out to George Eliot, as the author passes in review her sudden and complete change of opinion, and her abandonment of all earlier theological and ethical beliefs except faith in and reverence for the law of duty. The theology of George Macdonald and of the Scottish school of fiction occupies two interesting chapters. It is quite fairly maintained that George Macdonald's characters keep up an incessant attack on the supposed extremes of Scottish Calvinism, but it is less fair to connect, so much, the influence of the Scottish school, Barrie and Ian Maclaren, with the theological leanings of the latter writer and with his position as a representative or advocate of the Larger Hope. Besides, how is it that S. R. Crockett is not ranked as one of the Scottish school? The chapter on Mrs. Humphry Ward's *Robert Elsmere*, and that on the realistic and fatalistic works of Thomas Hardy, furnish less agreeable reading, but the volume closes with a breezy and thoroughly appreciative notice of George Meredith, whose high and keen intellectual gifts, hopeful and religious spirit and superb style, combine to make his message to the time and his contribution to literature most inspiring and wholesome. On the whole, Dr. Wilson has given us a bright, interesting and substantial

volume, and leads us to consider afresh, as is needful and welcome, the thoughts and the influence upon life and character of great writers. Lovers of fiction might complain that the author falls into the habit, which he attributes to George Macdonald, of "too constantly lecturing his reader, and forcing him to swallow large doses of theology". We might point out also that some allusions, such as that to the "Emperor of Germany" (p. 99), might have been spared; and such words as "magnificated" (p. 132), "dehortation" (p. 137) and "visibilised" (p. 274), rather mar the enjoyment of this timely and thoughtful study of modern literature.

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Mr. Macphail's Primer on the *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* is a marvel of condensation. The work is divided into eighteen chapters, clearly written and arranged, and its value is enhanced by numerous illustrations, views and sketches, some of which strike us as particularly good. Mr. Macphail's volume should be prized by ministers and teachers as a reliable and painstaking performance, and will be regarded as an excellent and necessary addition to a useful series.

W. M. RANKIN.

## **The Christian Minister : His Aims and Methods.**

*(Lectures on Pastoral Theology at the four Scottish Universities,  
Sessions 1897-8 and 1898-9.)*

*By James Robertson, D.D. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1899,  
Cr. 8vo, pp. 184. Price 3s. 6d.*

## **The Christianity of St. Paul.**

*By S. A. Alexander, M.A., Reader of the Temple Church.  
Longmans, Green, & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 216.  
Price 4s. 6d.*

AMONG many recent volumes on the work of the Christian ministry there is certainly room for this one, if for no other reason than that stated by Dr. Robertson in the preface: "If I am to speak from experience, I shall speak as a country minister". These lectures present a high ideal of the ministry, whether the sphere of its exercise be in the city or the country. They unite much sobriety and wisdom with much spirituality of mind and feeling. No student preparing for the ministry, and no minister engaged in the work, could read this course of lectures without feeling himself helped and humbled. Its wide circulation would tend to a renewed sense of the need of personal consecration and devotion. It is unnecessary to speak of the lectures in detail, but perhaps where all is so admirable, special reference might be made to Dr. Robertson's remarks as to Visiting, Public Prayer, and the Training of Young Communicants. The value of the book is its faithful reflection of the lecturer's own experience. A lecturer who does not theorise on the subject of "Visiting," for example, but interrupts his lecture by saying, "while writing this I have been at the bedside of a young man," and goes on to describe the case, is just the man to set to this most needful work. How sane, too, and timely is his warning as to the difficulty

of making free prayer liturgical in form : " Do not make that confusion between free and liturgical prayer which demands the same merits in both. Do not strain after securing in an extempore prayer merits which belong to the other, and are only compatible with it." But this is not a volume to quote from. Its special value is the spirit that pervades it. It is certain to create an atmosphere for him who gives heed to it, in which he will at least try to live. It is one of the most practically useful books on its subject that could be named.

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The aim of Mr. Alexander's volume, which is not a treatise but a series of sermons, is, says its author, " in a direct and practical and simple way to illustrate the mind of St. Paul on certain great aspects of the Christian faith ". In this it fulfils its aim very fully. It is alive with fresh thought and felicitous illustration. It deals more with the ethical than the doctrinal side of St. Paul's teaching, but in the two sermons that come first, on " St. Paul's Conception of God," " St. Paul and the Cross," the preacher shows forcibly that these two elements are not really separable. These pages are full of ideas born of the ethical movements of the time, and are admirable examples of the kind of sermon which is wanted to-day, and will be listened to.

DAVID PURVES.

**Encyclopædia Biblica : A Critical Dictionary of the Literary, Political and Religious History, the Archæology, Geography and Natural History of the Bible.**

*Edited by the Rev. T. K. Cheyne, M.A., D.D., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture at Oxford, and formerly Fellow of Balliol College, Canon of Rochester, and J. Sutherland Black, M.A., LL.D., formerly Assistant-Editor of the "Encyclopædia Britannica". Vol. I. A to D. London : Adam & Charles Black, 1899. 4to, pp. xxviii. + 572. Price 20s. net, cloth ; 25s. net, half-leather.*

THIS latest addition to the number of our Bible dictionaries is appropriately dedicated to the memory of Professor Robertson Smith. It is in some respects his book. It contains a good deal of his work. But this is but one thing. The *Encyclopædia* is his idea. He projected it on the completion of the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. He gave much thought to the choice and distribution of subjects, the preparation of minor articles, and the working scheme of the whole undertaking. And when it became evident, alas ! that he was not to be spared to proceed with the task himself, he passed it on to the two friends whose names appear on the title-page of this volume. It professes to be carried on as its originator would have had it, in consistency with his principles and methods, and in the spirit of his scholarship, which was always a growing scholarship.

It is doubtful, however, whether in some things it has not gone beyond what Professor Robertson Smith would have regarded as wise or scientifically valid. It is a question whether it does not carry to an extreme not contemplated by himself those critical principles and methods which in his case were always used in ways characterised as much by sober sense and self-restraint as by thoroughness and courage, and whether it has not allowed a much larger place

to the hypothetical than he would have considered justifiable in a book of this kind. It is always hazardous to calculate the probabilities of how one might have written and what his opinions might have been if his life had been prolonged. It is vastly hazardous to undertake to represent the views which a scholar like Professor Robertson Smith would have embodied in a Bible dictionary prepared years after his decease and in circumstances by no means identical with those in which he thought and wrote in his time. The editors no doubt have done their best to be true to the spirit of his work, and certainly no one would be more careful in this matter than Dr. Sutherland Black, who was so long and so intimately associated with him in official duty as well as in friendship. We must express the opinion, nevertheless, that there are not a few things in this volume which would have had small chance of admission had the control been in Professor Robertson Smith's hands. This is the impression, we believe, that the careful perusal of a certain class of articles will make on many readers who know well what scientific method means, and have no fear of the Higher Criticism. And we say this not only of certain articles dealing with Old Testament questions, but also of some on New Testament subjects of the first importance.

Professor Robertson Smith when he came to certain conclusions on the Old Testament literature, now a good many years ago, was certainly "in the vanguard of critics," as the editors say, and as they justly add, "there is no reason to think that, if he had lived and devoted much of his time to Biblical criticism, his ardour would have waned and his precedence passed to others". To say this is one thing. It is a very different thing to assume that he would have given up those patient, cautious methods and those wide inductions, without which he never committed himself to an opinion, and surrendered himself to those flighty theorisings, one thing to-day and another to-morrow, which are characteristic of an extreme left-wing, and which go far to damage the claims of criticism with men of ordinary sense.

Apart from this, and discounting at present other things



to which we shall have to refer as doubtful or disappointing, it is a pleasure to speak of the great and distinctive merits of this new encyclopædia. In type, form and handiness, it is about all that one could wish. By its system of cross-references it saves valuable space, and at the same time greatly facilitates our use of it. It is singularly free from misprints or mistakes in statements of fact. It has been edited with the most scrupulous care, and in this we owe most, no doubt, to the experienced and painstaking hand of Dr. Sutherland Black. It has the valuable quality of admitting only what is unmistakably relevant or even indispensable for the purposes of a dictionary. Its pages are never burdened with matter that may in any degree be regarded as superfluous. It carries this severe abstention, indeed, to an extreme. There are things that might have been included with advantage. Much more space place should have been given to the *ideas* of the Bible. The exclusion of many terms that come within the scope of "Biblical Theology" is a serious disadvantage. It means that those who consult this *Encyclopædia* will find nothing in it on many questions which have a special interest for them and on which they particularly desire instruction.

The main object of the book, however, is a very definite one. It is to give us, we are told, "no mere collection of useful miscellanea, but a survey of the contents of the Bible as illuminated by criticism—a criticism which identifies the cause of religion with that of historical truth, and, without neglecting the historical and archæological setting of religion, loves best to trace the growth of high conceptions, the flashing forth of new intuitions, and the development of noble personalities, under local and temporal conditions that may often be to human eyes most adverse". Its purpose as thus explained is certainly made good, with the weighty exception, however, that the "conceptions" of the Bible have a much smaller place and scantier treatment than the personalities, localities, customs and events. As the preface states, the sympathies of the editors are "upon the whole with what is commonly known as 'advanced'

criticism". They are good enough, however, to assure us that they have "no desire to 'boycott' moderate criticism when applied by a critic who, either in the form or in the substance of his criticism, has something original to say," and "that an 'advanced' critic cannot possibly feel any arrogance towards his 'moderate' colleague," because he himself "probably held not very long ago views resembling those which the 'moderate' critic holds now". Here is condescension indeed. It is difficult for ordinary men to accommodate themselves to such heights. How thankful should they be for the gracious attitude to the feebleness and slowness of their movements which is expressed in these sentences.

Be that as it may, the *Encyclopædia* does ample justice to its declared aim. It is no small service to furnish us with a compact and reliable account of the critical view of the Bible in the stage which it has reached at present, and in the form which it has received from the hands of the most "advanced" scholars of to-day and yesterday. That service is so well discharged in this book that no one need remain ignorant of the very latest findings of criticism, the most recent historical and archæological results, the very newest speculations which have been urged upon our attention by Professor Duhm, Schmiedel, and a score of other fertile and ingenious minds.

Two abatements, however, must be made to the satisfaction with which this service will be generally regarded. In the first place, it would have been better, we think, for most readers if the regard paid to one school of criticism had been less exclusive. What one wishes to get in a Bible dictionary is a complete, however compressed, statement of the data that go to the making of a question as well as of the answers given to it, so that the reader, having both sides before him, may be in a position to form his own judgment and understand the reasonableness of the position affirmed in the article. But in the case of many of the articles of this *Encyclopædia*, the reader might have difficulty in discovering that there is another side at all. In the second place, too much is made of speculations which belong to the individual writer. Many of

these, no doubt, are of interest and have some reason behind them. Others are of the kind that should find a place in a journal rather than in an encyclopædia—speculations and hypotheses from which the author himself may fall away to-morrow.

But to come to particulars. There are numerous articles of marked ability full of the kind of matter we look for in an encyclopædia, scholarly, modest and trustworthy. The large articles on the Apocrypha (by Dr. M. R. James), Apocalyptic Literature (by Professor Charles), Assyria and Babylonia (by Mr. L. W. King), Arabia (by Professor Nöldeke), Babylon (by Professor Pinches), are of great value. The geographical names, animals and plants, pieces of dress and furniture, agriculture, etc., are well handled by Professor G. Adam Smith, Mr. Norman McLean, Mr. Shipley, Professor A. R. S. Kennedy, Mr. Hope Hogg, Principal Whitehouse and others. Professor Bevan writes well on the Book of Baruch and Belshazzar, Professor Buchanan Gray on Angel, Anointing and other subjects, Professor Massie on Demons, Professor Driver on Bashan, etc., Professor Kamphausen on Daniel. Less satisfactory is the long article on Creation—a composite production by Professors Zimmern and Cheyne, which produces a somewhat confused impression. The article on Aaron by Mr. Addis is remarkable only for the haze in which it leaves the subject. The same must be said of the article on Abraham by Professor Cheyne, which seems to allow little or nothing beyond a certain religious value for the reputed father of the faithful. Professor Budde's article on the Canon is far from complete, although it has much good matter. Nor is the great subject of Chronology treated so fully or so reasonably as in the *Edinburgh Dictionary of the Bible*. In particular the intricate questions of New Testament chronology fare rather poorly at the hands of Professor von Soden, whose contribution is neither quite up-to-date nor free from hasty and confident assumptions.

As to New Testament subjects, a considerable number have been entrusted to German scholars. It cannot be said that these are the most satisfactory. There is no better

article than Canon Sanday's on the Epistles to the Corinthians. It is a model of modest, learned, sure-footed inquiry. Its only fault is its brevity. Canon Armitage Robinson deals with the terms Apostle, Baptism, Bishop, Canon (of the New Testament), Church, Deacon. His articles are careful and laborious, but they are not so free of bias as could have been wished. They make too much of inferences from what existed in the Post-Apostolic Church to what must have existed in the Apostolic Church. They make some very doubtful statements about the use of the term *ἐπίσκοπος*, and misapprehend Paul's view of Baptism. Colossians and Ephesians are on the whole well handled by Professor Jülicher, and Professor Bousset's articles on Antichrist and Apocalypse, though not without some doubtful theorising, are full of information. But we can express little admiration for Professor Schmiedel's article on Acts, with which must also be taken his briefer paper on Barnabas. He writes also on Barjesus, Bartimæus, Christian, Cleopas, Cornelius. He is in a perpetual attitude of doubt. He doubts whether Cleopas (Luke xxiv. 18) is "an historical person at all". He thinks it "permissible to doubt whether our Lord used in their present forms such expressions as we now find in Mark ix. 37, 41; xiii. 13—that is to say, with the emphasis on His own name". Yet he is at times singularly ready to believe. He thinks the one word *πρωτότοκος* sufficient to settle the question about the "brethren of Jesus," and he has little difficulty in believing that the author of Acts was acquainted with Josephus. The "we" sections of Acts are, according to him, the only thoroughly reliable parts, and the discourses of Paul in Acts "embody a theology quite different from that of the epistles". The whole article is a relapse into the ways of the older Tübingen criticism. It is dogmatic in tone, and, disregarding the labours of men like Lightfoot and Ramsay and all that has occurred of late to favour an early date, dismisses the book with magnificent assurance into somewhere between A.D. 105 and 130.

S. D. F. SALMOND

**A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel,  
in Judaism, and in Christianity, or Hebrew, Jewish,  
and Christian Eschatology from pre-Prophetic Times  
till the close of the New Testament Canon.**

*Being the Jowett Lectures for 1898-99.*

*By R. H. Charles, D.D., Professor of Biblical Greek, Trinity  
College, Dublin. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1899.  
8vo, pp. x. + 428. Price 15s.*

PROFESSOR CHARLES enjoys a well-earned reputation among students of the pseudepigraphic literature of Judaism. In that interesting and comparatively novel line of inquiry he has made important additions to our knowledge. We owe him much for what he has done for the Book of Enoch, the Book of the Secrets of Enoch, the Book of Baruch, the Apocalypse of Baruch, the Book of Jubilees, and the Assumption of Moses. This is a field he has made peculiarly his own, and one on which he has a better warrant to speak than most English scholars. In the present volume he ventures far beyond the province which is most familiar to him, and penetrates into territories to which many scholars of the highest rank have given their entire attention, and in which they have been long at work. He embraces in the sweep of his inquiry the whole range of thought on the great questions of the end from the earliest days of Israel to Peter, Paul and John.

It is a large and difficult undertaking, but undoubtedly one of great interest. Professor Charles expresses the hope that in carrying his investigations "backward into the Old Testament and forward into the New," he has done so "in both cases . . . with fresh and fruitful results". He has certainly produced a learned book, and has placed a number of things in new relations. It is a book from which much can be gathered, and to which we are indebted for not a little that is enlightening and suggestive. No great novelty, however, can be claimed for its main results. They are sufficiently familiar to us, and have been urged upon our acceptance by others, although Dr. Charles has come to them by a way that is in some respects his own. Nor can it be said that they

are all equally well founded, or that Dr. Charles is equally successful in all the different sections of his inquiry. It is given to few to excel in three distinct, though related, departments of scholarship, and it soon appears that Professor Charles's work is of greatest value in the chapters devoted to the Apocryphal and Apocalyptic literature.

These chapters contain much that Professor Charles has given us elsewhere in a somewhat different form. But they show the author at his best, and students will be grateful for them. In these we feel that we are in contact with one who knows the ground thoroughly, and has much to open up to our view. Opinions are expressed, it is true, and methods of interpretation followed which will not gain general consent. There is sometimes a disposition to get rid of awkward passages by the ready expedient of excision or by adopting non-natural interpretations. That the phrase חַיִּי עוֹלָם, *e.g.*, in Daniel xii. 2 (which book is introduced among the Apocalypses) cannot mean more than "an aeonian life" is held to "follow from the general presuppositions of the writer". The "extension of the prerogative of resurrection from the righteous to the wicked" is dealt with as a "declension in religious thought"—a view of things due to the author's particular reading of the course of development ascribed to the ideas of Israel. The judgments which Professor Charles has expressed elsewhere on the construction and dates of the more disputable writings are repeated here, although little is given in the way of argument. Chapters i.-xxxvi. of the Ethiopic Enoch are referred to about B.C. 170; chapters lxxxiii.-xc. of the same are assigned to B.C. 166-161, and are regarded as a considerable advance upon the former section, though so nearly related to it in point of time, in the spirituality of their ideas. Chapters xci.-civ. are referred to B.C. 134-95 or more nearly B.C. 104-95; and the section known as the "Similitudes" (chaps. xxxvii.-lxx.) is regarded as pre-Christian, being placed at B.C. 94-64. The Slavonic Enoch is assigned to A.D. 1-50, the Book of Jubilees to some time before A.D. 10, and the Assumption of Moses to A.D. 7-29. In the case of 4 Esdras the critical results of Kabisch are provisionally accepted, and the book is held to consist of five independent writings, two belonging

to the period before the fall of Jerusalem and making an "Ezra Apocalypse," and three belonging to some time after that catastrophe and forming a "Son of Man Vision". As to the Apocalypse of Baruch, which belongs to the latter half of the first century of our era, Professor Charles abides by the conclusions stated in his useful edition of the book. In his view this Apocalypse is so composite a work that we have to recognise in it no less than six independent constituents—three fragmentary Messiah Apocalypses, all written before A.D. 70, and three later sections B<sub>1</sub>, B<sub>2</sub>, B<sub>3</sub>. Of these latter B<sub>1</sub> is thought to stand by itself and to be made up of these several portions—i.-ix. 1; xliii.-xliv. 7; xlv.-xlvi. 6; lxxvii.-lxxxii.; lxxxvi.; lxxxvii.

In all this there is much ingenuity—too much of it indeed. On such questions we give a great deal for Professor Charles's opinion. But we feel that we are yet a long way from anything like certain results, and that the critical faculty would be all the better of a little more restraint. Conclusions drawn from critical positions of so hypothetical a kind, and so provisional a value with regard to the rise, order and development of religious ideas, have to be taken with a very strong *caveat*.

But to come to the substance of these chapters. We get an excellent account of the Apocalyptic literature as a whole—how it arose and grew, how it had its point of issue and its stimulus in unfulfilled prophecy, especially in those unrealised prophecies which bore upon the date of the Messianic kingdom; how it differed from prophecy in its transference of interest from the present to the future, in its adoption of pseudonymity of authorship, in its mechanical view of history, etc. The detailed analysis of the various writings, the description of the groups into which they fall along the course of the three centuries B.C. 200-A.D. 100, the statement of the points of distinction between the groups, and the general view given of the line of development—all this is done with marked ability and brings up many points of interest. The progress in the doctrine of retribution; the effect of the dualism that made itself increasingly felt in Judaism; the way in which the conceptions of soul, spirit, sheol, etc., were modified; the senses attaching at different stages and in

different schools to such terms as Paradise, Gehenna, etc. ; the changes in the ideas of Messiah's Kingdom, and in the conception of Messiah himself—on these and other subjects akin to them the book will bear to be read more than once. The conclusions in some cases may not appear to others so certain as Professor Charles takes them to be. But they deserve the consideration due to the results of careful and prolonged study.

A number of incidental questions which are of much interest are also dealt with in this section of the volume. Among these is the force of the title "the Son of Man" in the "Similitudes" of the Book of Enoch. Professor Charles contests the attempts made by Wellhausen, Eerdmans and Lietzmann to strip the term "the Son of Man," as used there, of its Messianic force, and to reduce it to the rank of a simple synonym for "man". He notices particularly the argument drawn from the fact that the term is almost always accompanied by a demonstrative pronoun; whence it is concluded that it cannot be a distinctive title of Messiah. This brings out the fact that in the Ethiopic Enoch the demonstratives used with the title are renderings not of the Greek demonstrative but of the Greek article. The proof which he offers is stated with admirable precision. It seems to us to be convincing, and amply to justify Professor Charles in claiming that the title "the Son of Man" represents in the Ethiopic Enoch the Greek *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, that it is Messianic, and that in the "Similitudes," therefore, we have the source or, as we should rather say, the *nearest* source, of the New Testament designation—always provided of course that this section of the Book of Enoch is pre-Christian.

But we must return to the earlier section of the book, and to the way in which the Old Testament doctrine is handled. There are many things here with which we are in cordial agreement. There is, for example, the recognition of the fact that the Old Testament ideas of the future life must be studied in the light of the Old Testament doctrine of God. There is the fundamental position that the Old Testament faith cannot be explained as a merely natural development. There is the further affirmation that from the beginning the



history and the religion were interwoven in Israel. There is the rejection of Gunkel's notion that the rise of the doctrine of the resurrection in Israel cannot be traced in the Old Testament, but was "borrowed in its fully developed form from the East". And on the broader aspects of this doctrine of the resurrection we are glad to find that Professor Charles expresses surprise that some scholars attempt to affiliate it on that of Mazdeism, and fail to see that in its earliest form it is essentially different from the Zoroastrian. The most important declarations of the old Testament on questions of the end, *e.g.*, Ps. xlix., Isaiah xxvi., Job xix., are also, at least for the most part, worthily and adequately interpreted. We cannot agree with Professor Charles, however, in placing Ps. xvi. and Ps. xvii. out of relation to the hope of a future life, least of all on the ground that they are Psalms of the community, not of the individual. Nor can we follow him in some other things. Too often a passage that presents difficulty is got rid of as an interpolation. Professor Charles goes too easily with those who would treat the various references to judgment in Ecclesiastes, and the passages in Amos, Isaiah, Hosea and Micah, which look to the advent of Messiah and the Messianic kingdom, as intrusions into the text. Too much space, too, is given to a discussion of the theory of ancestor worship. Professor Charles is of opinion that, the dominion of Yahvism being a circumscribed dominion, Yahvism had no definite eschatology except in respect of the nation till long after the return from the exile, and that the "primitive eschatology of the individual in Israel is derived from heathen sources, *i.e.*, from ancestor worship". But this whole theory of ancestor worship in Israel, on which Professor Charles's reading of the Old Testament ideas so largely depends, is far from being the established thing which it is taken here to be.

His whole treatment of these Old Testament conceptions is open to serious question in another direction. That is the way in which he arrives at his view of their historical development. He proposes to follow the historical method, in which of course he is right. But he claims the distinction of abandoning the "beaten track," and tells us that this is

"due in part to the method pursued". He speaks as if "very few" scholars have seen it to be necessary to study a passage in anything but its "textual context," and as if he were himself the opener of new paths in the respect he pays to the historical context. This sounds strange; no recognised scholar thinks of adopting any other methods surely than those of historical exegesis and historical criticism. But there may be great differences in the application of these methods. They are used in one way by scholars like Mommsen and Hort, in a very different way by others who need not be named. And the question is: What is the measure of Professor Charles's scientific care in the matter of his foundations? Now when we turn to his treatment of the Old Testament idea of the "Day of the Lord," with which the Old Testament doctrines of Judgment and Resurrection are connected, we find that he takes a certain historical order of the writings as the basis of his exposition of the historical development of the ideas. The historical order is this: Amos, *circa* B.C. 760; Hosea, 746-734; Isaiah, 740-701; Micah, *circa* 723-700; Nahum, 664-607, and Habakkuk, 605-600; Zephaniah, before 621; Jeremiah, 626-586, and Ezekiel, 593-571; the Second Isaiah xl.-lv., 545-539; (Psalms xxii., lxxv., lxxxvi., lxxxviii.); Malachi, before 458; Isaiah xix. 16-25, *circa* 275; some Post-Exilic Fragments of Isaiah, *e.g.*, xiv. 1-3, lxvi. 12-16, 18<sup>a</sup>-20, xxxiv., xxxv., etc.; Haggai, 520; Zechariah i.-viii., 520-518; Joel, before 400; Zechariah xii.-xiv., before B.C. 300; Daniel, 168-167; Isaiah lxx., lxvi., before B.C. 400, these "composite chapters" being taken last "in defiance of historical sequence".

That is the basis, but can any one say it is assured? The dates and relative positions assigned to some of these writings are fairly well established, but in the case of others they are quite hypothetical. If the arrangement is changed, the construction of the historical order and progress of the ideas is changed. Even as it is, retrogression has to be acknowledged as well as advance, and writers lying very near each other in time have to be regarded as teaching very different doctrine. All is too precise and too confident. It is also forgotten that the place of an idea in the actual life and

thought of a people may not be quite the same as the place it has in their literature.

When we come to the New Testament, we find the same highly hypothetical methods followed and large conclusions attached to them. These conclusions are adverse to certain doctrines as they have been generally understood, especially those of the Second Advent, the Resurrection, and the perpetuity of future awards. How are they reached? By an extensive use of the knife for one thing. The view of the Second Advent, *e.g.*, which is given in Mark xiii., is pronounced "suspicious," and verses 7, 8, 14-20, 24-27, 30, 31, are declared to call for "removal". Such passages again as Matthew xxiv. 6-8, 15-22, 29-31, 34-35; Luke xxi. 9-11, 20-28, 32, 33, are discounted as forming parts of a Jewish-Christian Apocalypse introduced there. The doctrine of a resurrection of the unrighteous as well as the righteous is held not to have been taught by our Lord Himself, and to be no part of the genuine teaching of the New Testament. Such passages, it is true, as Luke xx. 27-40, are inconsistent with that. But then such passages must go, and the Lucan account is not to be accepted. It is not to be supposed that John taught anything but a "spiritual" doctrine of the resurrection. Such very definite passages, it is true, as John v. 28, 29, speak against this, but such passages also must go, and at the same time all these (vi. 39, 40, 44, 54; xiii. 48) which use the words "at the last day" in this connection must be held to be interpolations. There remains St. Paul, and there is much in his Epistles that is difficult to fit in with all this. But his doctrine is inconsistent. His eschatology passed through no less than four stages, and in the last of these it was very different from what it was when he began to write. His ideas were at first rude and Judaic, but at last they became spiritual. He thought no doubt that when he was writing his Epistles to the Thessalonians and Corinthians he was rightly interpreting Christ's mind. But in this he was mistaken. There are modern theologians by the round dozen who know far better than he.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

## Notices.

It was a matter of course that a *Life of Edward White Benson*<sup>1</sup> should be undertaken. The task was committed to competent hands, and it has been completed with remarkable despatch. The good fortune that attended the late Archbishop and brought him one great prize after another during his life-time, seems to have pursued him even after his decease. Men of highest distinction in their time have been left without *Life* or *Memoirs* till the recollection of their work has well nigh faded out of the public mind. Dr. Benson has had the record of his life written when the impression of his personality and position is yet fresh and strong. And on the whole the book is a worthy tribute to the man. When one takes it up, indeed, he feels overwhelmed by its vast bulk. To spin out the story even of the career of an English archbishop to the extent of some fifteen hundred big pages does not appear either very wise or very defensible. If so much is spent on Dr. Benson, of how many volumes might not Bishop Butler, Bishop Lightfoot, or Dr. Hort be judged worthy? It would require a devotee to read through all this mass of matter with anything like care. The book would be much the better of extensive reductions. The controversies in which the Archbishop became involved might be told with less detail. A smaller number of his own letters might suffice. The space given to appreciations from the pens of friends might with great advantage be diminished. Nor would it be a serious loss if we had less of the Archbishop's poetical efforts. He had something of the feeling of a poet, but he had not the gift of poetical expression in any remarkable degree. When all is said, however, the *Life* remains a good one. Mr. Benson has the art of putting things well. He carries us on through this long, long story much better

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Edward White Benson*, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury. By his son, Arthur Christopher Benson, of Eton College. In two volumes. London: Macmillan & Co., 1899. 8vo, pp. xv. + 648; viii. + 851. Price 36s. net.

than we expect when we start. He writes also with discretion and fairness. Filial feeling is not allowed to disturb the true proportions of things. We get a very just idea of what the Archbishop was from these well written and honest volumes.

Among other things we see that, if Dr. Benson was fortunate above most men, and attained a rank to which some of greater parts than can be claimed for him seemed to have a prior claim, he did unquestionably fill each position that fell to him, in Wellington College, in Lincoln, in Truro, in Canterbury, with great ability and honour. In none of the promotions that came to him could it be said that a mistake had been made, or that expectations had not been fulfilled and even more than fulfilled. He had the qualities that suited high ecclesiastical position, and made him a good guide in Church policy. He had not those, however, that could make him an effective director of the thought of his time. As far as one can judge from these volumes, he had little insight into the great intellectual movements of the day even on their religious side. He dwelt apart from the influences which were set at work by the theory of evolution and the methods of the Higher Criticism, and had little idea of their force or their meaning. But he was by nature an ecclesiastic, we might even say a mediævalist, with a strong Churchly instinct, a great value for the pomp and grandeur of the English Communion, a distinctively liturgical mind, a courtly manner, a happy way of commending himself to dignitaries, and with it all good practical sense and great powers of application. He studied to be fair also to those outside his own Church, though it is too obvious that he did not understand them. His devoutness, too, could not be mistaken, and the severe, passionate, imperious note that characterised him in his earlier life gradually subsided into a sympathy and graciousness that won him favour and a warmer regard. He was happy also in his friends, above all in the life-long attachment and esteem of Bishop Lightfoot. Had he been differently placed, he might have made some considerable contribution to the scholarship and literature of his time. But in this he did not succeed. His

published writings, while sensible enough, have nothing remarkable in them, and do not appeal to those beyond a particular circle. His most important work—his book on *Cyprian*—shows much conscientious care, and bears witness to a most diligent use of the occasional snatches of leisure allowed by a busy life. It is a useful book, but it is written in a difficult style, and leaves much yet to do for its subject. It is as a devoted Churchman, a sagacious Church leader, a strong and imposing figure in the world of Church administration and Church ceremonial, that Dr. Benson will be best remembered. In these volumes Mr. Benson helps us to see this and much else. He has done his work, too, with such good judgment that only one thing occurs to us as matter of regret. That is the introduction of the Queen's name and opinions in connection with the Archbishop's views on the relations of Church and State.

We expected something from Dr. Robert Wallace's *George Buchanan*.<sup>1</sup> The book, however, is a great disappointment. In saying this we do not forget that the author unfortunately died before he was able to finish his work. But when every allowance is made for the fact that the book is not what it might have been if Dr. Wallace had lived to complete it and revise it, it must still be said that it is no great contribution to the series of which it forms a part. It reads easily, and has not a few piquant passages; but, as an appreciation of Buchanan, or an estimate of his place in Scottish literature and in the history of the Reformation movement, it is of small value. It is given over to the manufacture of smart sayings and pronouncements that are meant to startle or dazzle. It misunderstands or misjudges Knox in a singular way. Dr. Wallace speaks, *e.g.*, of Knox's letters to Mrs. Bowes and others as written in "phraseology that was absolutely *unctuous*". He tells us that when Buchanan "narrates the hanging of a priest, according to statute, for saying Mass a third time, he does not exult," and then throws

<sup>1</sup> *George Buchanan*. By Robert Wallace. Completed by J. Campbell Smith. Famous Scots Series. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Pp. vi. + 146. Price 1s. 6d.

in a sentence of hypothesis and innuendo like this about the *exultation*—"as was no doubt done by the men of the 'Congregation,' and possibly by Knox himself, when they heard of the happy event". But if the book has been unfortunate in missing the finishing touch of its author, it has been doubly unfortunate in falling into the hands of Mr. Campbell Smith as editor. He completes the story, and in doing so he takes the opportunity of enriching us with his own opinions on Mary and Elizabeth and others. He commands "the modest and honest muse of History" to "cease howling and canting" about the crimes of the former, and has not a little to say of "her royal cousin and rival, flaunting her fictitious moral and physical beauties at the head" of the world in which Mary had to live, and so forth. We do not grudge him all this, however superfluous it may be, but he might at least have regard to good taste and the Queen's English. Here is what seems to be meant for wit: "It is not likely that Buchanan ever asked the Town Council of Edinburgh for bread, but it is believed that they gave him a stone, without any inscription, however, to show for what it was intended, so that by 1701 it was lost or stolen". And how the English language fares at the hands of such an adept in fine writing as Mr. Campbell Smith, may be judged by the closing sentence of the book; it is the wind up of what he calls his "Epilogistic" chapter. The sentence is too long to give in full, for it sprawls over six and twenty lines, but here is the conclusion, interpret it who can: "Nevertheless he holds a title to lasting remembrance as sure as the story of the Reformation and the era of the never-to-be-forgotten Mary Stuart can give; also the unique distinction of being the greatest master of the Latin language since it died as a vernacular, and became the immortal medium of intercommunication for the wide, high and cold republic of scholars and thinkers, scattered through realms of ether and cloudland, and lit by volcanic fire and spiritual aurora fitfully lifting the night from the peaks of rock and ice". We are tempted to say that this is next door to rant; but it might not be lawful to speak thus of a sheriff.

The English translation of Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte*<sup>1</sup> is now completed by the publication of the seventh volume. The translation follows the third German edition. The translator is William Gilchrist, B.D., who has acquitted himself in a difficult task with a very fair measure of success. This volume is equal in interest to any of its predecessors. It deals, among other things, with the issues of dogma in Roman Catholicism, Antitrinitarianism, Socinianism, and Protestantism. Its characterisation of Luther and its criticism of Luther's theology are of special importance. A high claim is preferred in behalf of Ritschl, as we might expect. Harnack says of Ritschl, whom he describes as "the most disdainfully treated theologian of the age," that he has "given expression in a powerful way . . . to the outcome of two hundred years' work on the part of evangelical theology in endeavouring to understand the Reformation, and to the products of criticism of doctrinaire Lutheranism". Many of Harnack's judgments provoke dissent. But all students of theology will be grateful for the book and for the copious and most helpful index to the seven volumes which is given in this closing volume.

The tenth volume of *The Expository Times*<sup>2</sup> is before us. The magazine has established itself far and wide in the homes of the clergy as a trusted guide. Subjects of different kinds, old and new, popular and scientific, are dealt with in this volume, so that there is in each monthly part something for readers of the most various tastes and needs. The editor has the help of scholars of all kinds, home and foreign, and is himself always quick to make his readers acquainted with matters of the most novel interest in Biblical study. Professor Ramsay contributes a series of valuable papers on "The Greek of the Early Church and the Pagan Ritual". Subjects like the "Hebrew Ecclesiasticus," the "Hittite Inscriptions," and the results of "Recent Biblical Archæology," receive

<sup>1</sup> *History of Dogma*. By Dr. Adolph Harnack. Vol. vii. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. x.+328. Price 10s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 568. Price 7s. 6d.



due attention. There are numerous notes on the criticism and interpretation of difficult passages both in the Old Testament and in the New, sketches of theologians, discussions of Biblical ideas, ecclesiastical usages and institutions, and much else that will be of use to the working minister and others.

The latest volume of *Good Words*<sup>1</sup> will stand comparison with the issues of former years. It is a goodly volume, full of profitable and readable matter of many different kinds. It has stories for those who like these best, and no doubt they are the great majority. But it has also its poems, its essays, its narratives, its scientific papers, its sketches of great men, and many other things that are well told. It is also richly illustrated. No magazine deserves a heartier welcome to our homes. It maintains the high standard which it set before itself when it was started, and continues to be very ably edited.

The first issue of the *American Journal of Theology* for the year has some important articles. Professor C. A. Briggs of New York deals with the "New Testament Doctrine of the Church". He limits himself to the biblical idea of the Church, and starts with the just principle that the New Testament doctrine must be studied in the light of its Old Testament foundations. He proceeds to investigate the use of the term *ἐκκλησία* itself, and having done this he examines other terms, "Kingdom of God," "people," "vine," "flock," "city of God," "house or temple of God," "household" or "family," "wife" or "bride," "body," which appear in association with the same idea. He leaves to others to construct a doctrine which shall do justice to all these elements. The Rev. John Macpherson writes on the question, "Was there a Second Imprisonment of Paul in Rome?" His argument is that there is nothing outside the Pastoral Epistles to favour the idea of a release at the end of the two years' imprisonment, and that the historical relations, local allusions, etc., of these Epistles may be explained quite fairly from the standpoint of a single

<sup>1</sup> Edited by the Very Rev. Donald Macleod, D.D. London: Isbister & Co. Pp. 860. Price 7s. 6d.

imprisonment. Professor C. R. Henderson of Chicago has a very readable paper on "A Half Century after Thomas Chalmers," most appreciative of the great Scottish divine. Dr. Julius A. Brewer of New York contributes a learned and very valuable statement on the "History of the New Testament Canon in the Syrian Church" showing how the case has been affected by the discovery of the Codex Syrus Sinaiticus.

The second number of the *Journal of Theological Studies* contains some notes on St. Mark xv. 34, in Codex Bobiensis, on the text of Codex Ψ in St. Mark, on the baptismal Rite in the Canons of Hippolytus, etc., which will be of interest to scholars. Mr. Brightman gives his second paper on "The Sacramentary of Serapion of Thmuis," Mr. C. H. Turner begins a learned study of the "Early Episcopal Lists," which promises to be of value; the present paper is introductory, dealing with questions necessary to the appreciation of Eusebius and his *Chronicle*. Mr. G. Buchanan Gray gives a short but careful and suggestive survey of what is known, or supposed to be known, of the institution of the *Nazirite*, with the special object of raising the question whether "the connexion between the permanent Nazirite and the temporary Nazirite was more than nominal and external". Students of the New Testament will read with special interest Professor Sanday's article on "A New Work on the Parables"—a criticism of Jülicher's *Gleichnissreden Jesu*. Professor Sanday criticises very forcibly various things in Jülicher's critical position and method—his rejection of the explanations which our Lord Himself gave of certain parables, according to the Gospels; his rejection also of the account which is given of our Lord's object in speaking in parables; his general disposition to throw much overboard as the mistaken interpretations of the disciples and evangelists, etc. With all this we agree, and not less with the cordial recognition of the exegetical merits of the book. In the latter, indeed, we should go further than Professor Sanday, if we understand him aright. For perhaps the most outstanding quality of Jülicher's exposition is the consistency with which he keeps by the particular truth which each parable, studied in the light of its occasion,

is found to be intended to teach, and his refusal to turn away to side-lessons. Professor Sanday thinks it a curious mind which allows itself no "side-glances". Such "side-glances," he thinks, occur in the parables, and are not to be ignored. This is a position which might easily lead the exegete far afield. Jülicher's principle is surely the right one—that the parable is meant to "illustrate a single thought by means of an ὁμοιον". Nor do we know any parable to which that principle is not obviously applicable. The Prodigal Son may seem an exception, but the question even there is whether we have a parable in two parts, or whether the figure of the elder brother is simply a further contribution to the idea embodied in the picture of the father and the prodigal.

In the second last number of the *Homiletic Review* for 1899, Professor J. F. McCurdy of Toronto gives us his ideas of "Method in the Biblical Study of the Monuments". He points out how biblical archæology has quite recently "enlarged its scope and changed its methods," and reminds us of certain things which have to be considered in the use we make of the "finds" of archæology. He calls attention, *e.g.*, to the facts that "Egyptian history was never brought into vital and organic connexion with that of Israel"; that the Egyptians were "only very remotely connected by race with the Hebrews"; and that they made "very inaccurate historical records". He gives some instances of the "incertitude and confusion" which arise from hasty acceptance of "discoveries" and from the want of proper *criteria* of the historical or literary value of the announcements that are often made. In the first number for the current year Professor W. M. Ramsay has a paper on "The Acts of the Apostles," in which he puts very clearly the effect which the better understanding of Roman imperial history must have on the interpretation of the New Testament writings, and tells us how he was himself driven out of his original "confident assumption" that the book of Acts was a fabrication of the middle of the second century.

The current number of *Mind* opens with a brief paper by the editor, Dr. G. F. Stout, on "Perception of Change and

Duration," prepared originally as a presidential address before the Aristotelian Society. It deals with the question how far and in what sense it is necessary, when we perceive a temporal process, that "representations of prior parts of the time-series should be present to our consciousness in the perception of succeeding parts". It gives an acute criticism of Meinong's contention that the "memory images of previous stages of a successive process" must be held to be in consciousness although they cannot be detected. Mrs. Bosanquet concludes her translation of Ferdinand Tönnies on *Philosophical Terminology*, and Mr. Hugh MacColl gives his third paper on "Symbolic Reasoning". Mr. Howard V. Knox examines Green's *Refutation of Empiricism*, and comes to the conclusion that the doctrine that thought is not in time makes psychology, knowledge of nature, and philosophy all three alike impossible. Mr. F. H. Bradley writes in "Defence of Phenomenalism in Psychology," holding that "phenomenalism," while it is "senseless" in metaphysics, is the "one rational attitude" in psychology, and that what is needed to make this plain is mainly to fix the true sense of the term and clear it from mistakes and perversions. A paper by Professor Henry Sidgwick on "Criteria of Truth and Error" deserves special attention for its just and balanced estimates of the Cartesian, Empirical, and Spencerian criteria. Mr. Spencer's universal postulate is declared "inadequate to guarantee even the primordial datum of his own philosophy". Each of these criteria is admitted to be of some use or to have some value. But each is inadequate, and all three fail, though in different degrees, to provide the required bulwark against scepticism.

The *Churchman* for the current year opens with a paper by Canon Benham on Archbishops Juxon and Sheldon. The Rev. W. B. Russell-Caley writes pointedly on certain "Landmarks of the English Church," to wit, her great evangelical doctrines of justification, ministry, etc., the removal of which cannot be suffered.

The *Bibliotheca Sacra* for the first quarter of 1900 is a very good number. Dr. Hugh M. Scott contributes an instructive article on "Modern Theology in Relation to Personal Piety and

Christian Work," in which he contrasts, in respect of their practical character and effects, three great types of present day theology, *viz.*, the conservative or evangelical, the rationalist or Unitarian, and the "mediating" represented by the school of Schleiermacher and Coleridge, as also, though in a different way, by Ritschlianism. Dr. T. W. Hunt writes in a very interesting way of "Edmund Spenser and the English Reformation," exhibiting the attitude of the great English poet to the classical Paganism of his time, his strong Protestantism and his "mitigated Puritanism" (to borrow Dean Church's phrase)—a Puritanism not identical with that of Milton or Baxter, but which was not only antagonistic to Rome but opposed to elaborate ceremonial and to the Papal tendencies of the prelacy. Sociological questions also have, as usual, considerable attention given to them.

The *Antiquary* for January continues Mr. Haverfield's "Notes on Roman Britain," and Mr. Feasey's interesting series of papers on "Curiosities of and in our Ancient Churches". There are also good articles on "Old Genoa" by the Rev P. H. Ditchfield, and the "British Section of Antonine's Itinerary" by Canon Raven, etc.

The *Revue de Théologie et des Questions religieuses* for January 1900 contains among other things an appreciative estimate of the late Professor A. B. Bruce by G. Roux, a paper on "Original Sin" by C. Combe, and an article by C. Bruston calling attention to certain things in the opening verses of the epistle to the Hebrews which he thinks have not been sufficiently regarded. He claims also that the reading *φέρων τε τὰ πάντα* in the third verse should give place to *φανερῶν τε τὰ πάντα*, on the ground that it is given in the Vatican MS. (by a third hand) and is supported by the treatise *περὶ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ* discovered in a monastery of Mount Athos, attributed to Bishop Serapion of Thmuis, and edited by Dr. G. Wobberman in *Texte und Untersuchungen der altchristlichen Literatur*, 1899.

Archdeacon Wilson publishes *Two Sermons on Some of the Mutual Influences of Theology and the Natural Sciences*.<sup>1</sup> They

<sup>1</sup> London : Macmillan & Co., 1899. 8vo, pp. 36. Price 6d. net.

were delivered at the special service for members of the British Association in Dover last autumn. They were worthy of the occasion, and it is well that they are given to a larger public. They are closely reasoned and lucidly written. Their special value lies in the testimony of their author, a man who knows science and has an interest in theology, to certain fundamental analogies between science and theology, certain notable influences of science on theology and of theology on science, and the probable course which the process of change in the attitude of faith to science, philosophy and criticism will take in the future.

The tenth volume of the fifth series of the *Expositor*<sup>1</sup> contains some notable articles, such as Dr. Bacon's "Criticism of the New Chronology of Paul," and Professor A. B. Davidson's study of "The Word *Atone* in Extra-ritual Literature". Dr. John Watson continues his papers on the great points of Evangelical Doctrine, and there are other articles which will appeal to a wider audience than students of theology or Christian preachers. There is all the old variety of contents in the most recent volume. Nor is there any diminution of the strong qualities which have made the magazine welcome in many a house.

We have also to notice the charge delivered by the Bishop of Rochester on the occasion of his primary visitation of his diocese, discoursing under the title of *The Vocation and Dangers of the Church*<sup>2</sup> in a sensible and candid way on the forces of the Church, the due discharge of her duties in missionary enterprise, education, worship, etc., and the conditions under which progress may be looked for hereafter; a series of sermons by Jenkin Lloyd Jones bearing the curious title of *Jess, Bits of Wayside Gospel*,<sup>3</sup> on subjects found out of doors in which a lover of nature and science discovers "near beauties and high duties"—discourses or meditations in which many good remarks are made

<sup>1</sup> Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 476. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> London: Macmillan & Co., 1899. 8vo, pp. 115. Price 2s. net.

<sup>3</sup> New York: Macmillan & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 313. Price 6s.

on such topics as "Realising Life," "A Dinner of Herbs," "Earth's Fulness," "The Religion of the Bird's Nest," "The Uplands of the Spirit," etc. ; *The Atonement*,<sup>1</sup> by the Rev. A. Ernest Simms, M.A., B.D., late Scholar of Trinity College, Dublin, a series of four simple but thoughtful addresses, in which the objective efficacy of Christ's Sacrifice is expounded and defended in a clear and telling way ; *The Minister's Ward*,<sup>2</sup> a healthy and interesting temperance story by V. Brown-Patterson, one of several recent volumes of instructive and well-written tales published at a very low price by the Sunday School Union ; a second issue, carefully revised and enlarged, of the tasteful and scholarly edition, in Greek and Latin, of the *Devotions of Bishop Andrewes*,<sup>3</sup> published four years ago by the Rev. Henry Veale, B.A., of University College, Durham—a book on which great pains have been spent and which has been a labour of love on the part of the editor ; the annual volume of *The Sunday Magazine*,<sup>4</sup> one of the best of our religious serials, conducted with as much vigour and discretion as ever, a mine of interesting and elevating reading into which one may dip at any point and be sure to find what will attract and profit him ; *The Children's Pace*,<sup>5</sup> a collection of twenty addresses to children, by the Rev. J. S. Maver, M.A., which takes its title from Genesis, xxiii. 14, in the Revised Version—brief, pointed addresses, prepared by one who has the art required for success in such compositions ; four further parts of Holtzmann and Krüger's *Theologischer Jahresbericht*,<sup>6</sup> giving the literature of 1898 on Historical,

<sup>1</sup> London : Elliot Stock, 1899. Small cr. 8vo, pp. iv.+87. Price 1s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> London : The Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 256. Price 2s.

<sup>3</sup> Cambridge : Deighton Bell & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxii.+468.

<sup>4</sup> London : Isbister & Co. Royal 8vo, pp. viii.+856. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>5</sup> London : James Clarke & Co., 1899. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 175. Price 2s. 6d.

<sup>6</sup> Achtzehnter Band. Zweite Abtheilung, Historische Theologie. Bearbeitet von Lüdemann, etc. 8vo, pp. 191-464 c. ; dritte Abtheilung. Systematische Theologie. Bearbeitet von Mayer, Troeltsch, etc. 8vo, pp. 465-615. Vierte Abtheilung. Praktische Theologie und kirchliche Kunst. Bearbeitet von Marbach, etc. Ergänzung zur zweiten Abthei-

Systematic and Practical Theology, with a supplement on Church History, prepared as usual with the most painstaking care and of the greatest value to students; *Comfort and Help for Common Days*,<sup>1</sup> a series of daily readings well suited for their purpose, prepared by the skilled hand of the Rev. J. R. Miller and printed in a very attractive form; a scholarly study of the Word "Selah,"<sup>2</sup> in which Dr. Emilie Grace Briggs of New York reviews the various conjectures as to the meaning and use of the term, and concludes that it was a "liturgical direction, providing for the *lifting up* of the voices in a doxology at the close of a liturgical section and indicating the proper division of psalm or prayer in liturgical usage"; *Psychiatrie und Seelsorge*,<sup>3</sup> a treatise by Dr. A. Römer of Stuttgart, carefully constructed and giving the results of his experience on the nature and treatment of many forms of mental ailment, the relations between the psychical and the physical, and the application of all to the work of the pastor as the healer of souls; a timely and pleasantly-written volume by David Williamson on *The Life Story of D. L. Moody*; <sup>4</sup> another edition of Professor Alexander Campbell Fraser's *Berkeley*,<sup>5</sup> one of the most fascinating volumes in the well-known series of *Philosophical Classics*, made still more interesting by the careful revision to which it has been subjected in the light of new material acquired since 1871; another and no less welcome edition also of Professor Fraser's *Selections from Berkeley Annotated*,<sup>6</sup> a book of estab-

lung. Kirchengeschichte von 1648 an. Bearbeitet von Alfred Hegler. 1899. Berlin: Schwetzke und Sohn; London: Williams & Norgate, Price M.10., M.7., M.8., M.2.

<sup>1</sup> London: Sunday School Union. Price 1s.

<sup>2</sup> Reprinted from the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Oct. 1899.

<sup>3</sup> Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1899. 8vo, pp. viii. + 343. Price M.5.

<sup>4</sup> London: Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 141. Price 1s.

<sup>5</sup> A new edition, amended. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. + 228. Price 3s. 6d.

<sup>6</sup> By Alexander Campbell Fraser, D.C.L. Oxon. Fifth edition, emended. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xlviii. + 336. Price 8s. 6d.



lished reputation and recognised worth, valued both for its admirable Introduction and its lucid Notes, an important help and attractive guide to students of philosophy; *Can I believe in God the Father?*<sup>1</sup>—a series of fair, lucid, effective lectures by Professor William Newton Clarke, on the Being of God, Divine Personality, the relation between God and man, and the moral effect of the doctrine of God, excellent examples of popular Apologetics; *The Christian Use of the Psalms*,<sup>2</sup> an interesting volume by Professor Cheyne, dealing with certain Psalms appointed in the English Prayer Book for use on certain high days, showing how they must be taken in the light of modern Criticism and Exegesis, and addressing itself in particular to the question whether the retention of the public and special use of these Psalms can be justified “from the point of view of critics who are attached members of our broad and truly Catholic National Church”.

The most notable contribution to the *Biblical World* for February is a long and appreciative notice of the late lamented Professor A. B. Bruce of Glasgow, by Professor John E. McFadyen of Knox College, Toronto. Professors Burton and Shailer Matthews continue their valuable *Constructive Studies in the Life of Christ*.

In the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for the first quarter of the year we have a criticism of Professor McGiffert's *Historical Methods*, by Dr. William P. Dickson; an instructive and suggestive paper by Professor W. Brenton Greene of Princeton Seminary on “Academic Preparation for the Seminary”; and an important paper by Professor B. B. Warfield on “God-inspired Scripture,” a learned and elaborate study of the phrase *γραφὴ θεόπνευστος* (2 Tim. iii. 16), upholding the old interpretation, and refuting the explanation offered by Ewald and Cremer, which makes the term *θεόπνευστος* define Scripture “not according to its nature, but according to its effect—not as ‘inspired of God’ but as inspiring its readers”.

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 214. Price 3s.

<sup>2</sup> London: Isbister & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 273. Price 5s.

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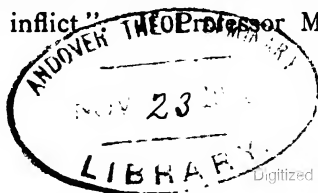
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## A Short History of the Church in Great Britain.

*By the Rev. W. H. Hutton, B.D., Fellow and Tutor of S. John's College, Oxford. Rivingtons. Pp. xi. + 300. Price 4s. 6d.*

MR. HUTTON'S subject is restricted to "the story of the Church of England, . . . and the story of the Church in Scotland in communion therewith". His book is entitled *A Short History of the Church in Great Britain*. The reader is thus fully prepared to find in the *History* a distinctly *ex parte* statement, but without anything distinctly offensive to the "other religious bodies both in England and Scotland," which, Mr. Hutton assures us, he has no desire to disparage. It may be well to say, at the outset, that, although we shall have to make some criticisms upon Mr. Hutton's treatment of the "bodies," we wish unreservedly to accept his assurance. Mr Hutton is well known as a learned historian who has adopted strongly defined views and has not hesitated to state them, but who has by graciousness of personality and charm of style, said unpleasant things so pleasantly that the sting is scarcely felt.

The book will appeal very strongly to the modern Anglican Catholic. The style is lucid and simple; as a party pamphlet, it is singularly attractive. Mr. Hutton knows how far modern research has modified the earlier position of his party, and he rarely commits himself to an exploded view, while he, nevertheless, contrives to adapt the new data to the old conclusion. There are, however, one or two passages which we find it difficult to understand. On p. 72, Mr. Hutton adopts Professor Maitland's explanation of the real differences that existed between Becket and Henry II.—the king's claim that a guilty clerk should receive "a civil punishment besides the ecclesiastical one which the Church court might have thought fit to inflict."



is right, as this sentence implies and as has been generally admitted, then Henry II. did not make any such revolutionary claim as that of lay jurisdiction over criminal clerks. The guilty person was, *ex hypothesi*, no longer a clerk, for he had been degraded, and the king made no attempt to interfere with the court of the Church. Yet Mr. Hutton proceeds to incorporate with this new explanation, the older and conflicting theory. "No less strongly did he [Becket] assert that the Church alone had the right to judge all clerical offenders". Doubtless, Becket would have asserted such a right, had it ever been questioned, but where is the evidence that it ever was denied? When we come to the Reformation, it is natural to look with some interest for Mr. Hutton's doctrine of continuity; but it is somewhat startling to find so bold a statement as this: "They [the Tudors] could not have stopped a reformation, for the bishops (such as Morton and Warham, Fox, and Wolsey) were determined to reform. They could not have prevented a separation, at least to a very considerable extent, from Rome, for the laity were determined to restrict the Pope's powers, and the clergy chafed under the intolerable financial burden he laid on them, and resented the constant appointment of foreigners, who never intended to be resident, to English benefices." Is there any period, between the Conquest and the Reformation, when the State was not attempting to curb the Church or when there were not numberless complaints about Papal taxation and Papal "provisions"? Were Morton and Warham and Fox and Wolsey the first English bishops who were "determined to reform"? Was the English Church in a chronic condition of pre-Reformation? Surely, Mr. Hutton's argument is singularly feeble for the task of proving that the English Church was not Roman down to the reign of Elizabeth and that Henry VIII. was the assertor of a national feeling. "A Reformation in England was absolutely certain, though few Englishmen and no foreigners foresaw it." It is proverbially easy to be wise after the event, and yet how few are the historians who see it even now! Once more, (for we cannot keep the "bodies" waiting), Mr. Hutton, in

dealing with the Elizabethan settlement does not give any hint that all the bishops who were present voted against the Act of Uniformity or that the Lower House of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury left on record decisions which were unquestionably Papalist.

The most important of Mr. Hutton's "bodies" is probably that which is known to the law (though not to Mr. Hutton) as the Church of Scotland. In dealing with the Scottish Church from the Reformation to the Revolution, Mr. Hutton's Episcopalian sympathies have led him into making what we cannot but regard as serious misrepresentations. But, before proceeding to these, we may point out a few slips of minor importance in the Scottish sections of the book. The points are usually of slight interest, but it is well to be precise even in small matters, and to mention a few *errata* may be useful for Mr. Hutton's next edition. The University of St. Andrews was founded in 1413, and not between 1424 and 1437 (p. 111), nor do we see why the usual regnal dates should not have been given for James I. It is somewhat confusing to give two different dates for the foundation of the University of Aberdeen (pp. 128, 130), even although both might conceivably be defended. After the death of Archbishop James Stewart in 1502-3, the See of St. Andrews was not vacant for six years (p. 130), but only till 1505; and the new Archbishop was not sixteen years of age, but only about twelve (*Exchequer Rolls*, xii and xiii; *Peerage of Scotland*, i., 51, 52). King James V. died on December 14th, not on December 13th (p. 163); Cardinal Beaton did not "succeed" his uncle in 1538 (p. 163); he was only appointed coadjutor in that year. Mr. Hutton refers familiarly to Knox as "John" on p. 167, but he fails to make it quite clear that the Reformer had no share in the murder of Cardinal Beaton. It is by no means certain that Hamilton's Catechism "was the work of Archbishop Hamilton himself" (p. 168); it was only published under his auspices. Mary, Queen of Scots was married to Darnley on July 28th, not "in the spring" of 1565 (p. 171). Mr. Hutton allows an interval of only one day, instead of a month, between Mary's marriage with Bothwell and her

imprisonment in Lochleven Castle (p. 172), and gives the date of her execution as February 18th, instead of February 8th, 1587. We scarcely think that Mr. Hutton has given the British Solomon sufficient credit as one of the first Anglican Catholics, but when he tells us, on p. 197, that "in 1599, James published his *Basilikon Doron*, in which he expressed his opinion candidly" of the Presbyterian clergy, we are compelled to remind him that the candour was restricted to seven copies, privately printed, and carefully concealed. These, of course, are all small points; but they might as well be correctly stated.

Mr. Hutton is anxious to be fair to his opponents, and he avoids making any positive remark calculated to offend their susceptibilities. But his sins of omission are such that certain sections of his book go to show how far ecclesiastical prejudice may carry even a writer who desires to be just. The Scottish Reformation is thus described: "Holy orders were replaced by a 'call' from a congregation and admission to office by the neighbouring minister. The laying on of hands was declared unnecessary". The statement about the laying on of hands is strictly true, and yet nothing could be more misleading. It is undeniable that Knox, in the *First Book of Discipline*, declared the laying on of hands not to be necessary. But the *First Book of Discipline* was a purely tentative piece of work, compiled by Knox in a very short time. It was never properly ratified, and it underwent constant change. The *Second Book of Discipline*, published in 1581, says that: "The Ceremonies of Ordination are Fasting, earnest Prayer, and Imposition of Hands of the Eldership," and, in point of fact, the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery has always been an integral part of the ceremony of Ordination. This, certainly, is not the impression which Mr. Hutton's words are fitted to produce.

In dealing with the events of the reign of Charles I., Mr. Hutton speaks somewhat loosely of the real cause of the trouble. "When he [Charles] came to Scotland in 1633, his fixed intention was to introduce a service-book." A service-book (the Book of Common Order) was one of the



standards of the Church; and the Scots did not object to a service-book, but to this particular service-book. Mr. Hutton adds: "that it might not seem to have been dictated from England, it was in many points taken more directly from the early liturgies, and 'more agreeable to the use in the primitive Church';" but he does not point out how the real force of the Scottish objection to Laud's book lay in just these alterations. The most notable of them was the omission of the words "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee . . . thanksgiving" from the Communion Service, which seemed indicative of a tendency Rome-wards. Mr. Hutton's method of stating the facts obscures the real issue and fails to appreciate the continuity of Scottish Church policy since the Reformation. This misunderstanding is confirmed by the statement that "A National Covenant was drawn up by the nobles and was offered to the people for signature . . . on February 28th, 1638". In point of fact, the Covenant was "drawn up" in the preceding century and all that was done in 1638 was to re-affirm the Reformation covenant and to add a postscript.

There are two further statements to which we must take exception. "The battle of Bothwell Brig, 1679, in which the Covenanters were defeated, was followed by an attempt to pacify the Dissenters by an Indemnity Act." The statement is quite correct; but could it be better devised for the misrepresentation of the facts? The battle of Bothwell Bridge was followed by only two executions (exclusive of the five who were put to death because the Government could not discover the actual assassins of Archbishop Sharpe). But it was followed by an imprisonment of twelve hundred captives in Greyfriars Churchyard, in circumstances of hideous cruelty; by the sale of the greater portion of them as slaves for the plantations; by the executions of Cargill and Hackston of Rathillet (the latter accompanied by revolting torture). It was followed by the administration of the Duke of York, with its methods of thumbscrew and rack, by the expeditions of Claverhouse, and by such examples of indemnity as the case of the Wigtown Martyrs. Is it fair to pass over the history

of Scotland from 1679 to 1688 with the pleasant reflection that the Government passed an Indemnity Act? Once more, Mr. Hutton says of the Revolution Settlement in Scotland: "In July, 1689, Episcopacy was disestablished, mainly, it would seem, because the bishops and many of the clergy refused to take the oaths to the new Government" (p. 222). "It would seem" also that, in April, 1689, the Scottish Estates offered the Crown of Scotland to William and Mary on condition that "Prelacy is a great and insupportable grievance, and ought to be abolished". Mr. Hutton's statement can scarcely be accepted seeing that "the new Government" existed only on condition of the disestablishment of the Episcopal Church.

We have felt bound to discuss Mr. Hutton's book from a point of view very far removed from his own, and to draw attention to some statements, the precise effect of which he cannot have suspected. But the fact that there are two sides to some questions and that Mr. Hutton has, unwittingly, done scanty justice to the side that is not his own, need not blind us to the merits of his book. Mr. Hutton is never dull, and like all that he has written, this *Short History* is pleasant reading; it has a due sense of proportion where controversy has not distorted the relative importance of fact; and it is only due to Mr. Hutton to say that the slight slips in dates which we have pointed out in his treatment of Scottish affairs are not characteristic of the rest of the book. For those who look at religious questions from Mr. Hutton's standpoint, the book is admirable; it is the presence, throughout, of the sentiment *pro ara et focis* that renders it less useful to the world at large.

ROBERT S. RAIT.

## **A System of Ethics.**

*By Friedrich Paulsen, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Berlin. Edited and Translated with the Author's sanction from the fourth revised and enlarged Edition, by Frank Thilly, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Missouri. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd. 8vo, pp. xviii. + 723. Price 18s. net.*

## **Geschichte der neueren deutschen Philosophie seit Hegel. Ein Handbuch zur Einführung in das philosophische Studium der neuesten Zeit.**

*Von Dr. Phil. Otto Siebert. Göttingen: Vandenhæck und Ruprecht. London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. vii. + 496. Price M. 7.*

ONE cannot help making a remark on the unusual excellence of the translation. It is one of the best we have ever seen. It does justice to the vigour and subtlety of the thought of the original, and expresses that thought in pure and fluent English. It reads as if it were written in English, and bears few marks of a translation. It has been a labour of love on the part of Professor Thilly, but no amount of labour could have achieved this result if he had not a competent knowledge of philosophy, and of the two languages with which he had to deal. So much we felt constrained to say; for a satisfaction of this kind we experience so seldom that we must make a note of it.

The book itself deserved to be brought before the English reader in the way it has been done by Professor Thilly. It is in every way a noteworthy book. The author has had in view, not the expert or the professional philosopher, but the educated layman who may take an interest in the moral life of himself and others, and desires to know something of its

nature and its working. The book deals with the questions which are moving our age. In the preface to the second German edition he says: "I have been unwilling to ignore the questions which are moving our age; the books that have nothing to say to their times, and therefore fill their pages with untimely logical quibbles, or with endless historical-critical discussions, are plentiful enough as it is, and there has thus far never been a lack of tiresome books in Germany. There are books which are timeless because they are written for all times; but there are also timeless books which are written for no time. This book does not belong to the first class nor would it like to belong to the second" (Preface, pp. 9-10). His aim is to bring the old truth into living touch with the questions which preoccupy our age, and he has succeeded in his aim. It is a book full of living interest; there is not a dull page in it, and he has been able to write in a style which can be understood by the man in the street.

After an introduction which sets forth the nature and function of ethics, he deals in the first book with the history of his science. It is really an outline of the history of ethical conceptions from the beginning of Greek thought, on through the Middle Ages and down to Schopenhauer. The second book deals with the fundamental concepts and questions of principles of ethics. The third book contains the detailed exposition of the doctrine of virtues and duties. We rather regret that the fourth book, which deals with the theory of the state and society, is not included in the present translation. We hope that it may yet be brought within the reach of the English reader. It is needed for the completeness of the discussion, and would be helpful to the student of social philosophy. Perhaps the translator may yet publish this part of the treatise in a separate form. The publication would be a great boon to the student.

It is such a rich and fruitful book that we are at a loss on what parts we are to lay stress. We are tempted to linger over the historical part in which the author traces the history of the evolution of ethical ideas. It is a masterly piece of work. We hardly know anything of equal value, certainly

not within the same space. He begins with a statement of the popular Greek ideal of a perfect life, which is set forth with admirable clearness and justified with ample reference to the relevant literature. Then Greek moral philosophy is shown to be the analysis and conceptual formulation of the popular Greek ideal of a perfect life. Moral philosophy is thus based on experience, and is shown to be deeply rooted in the life of the people. The real scientific treatment of moral philosophy dates from Socrates. He saw the problem, stated it, and saw the necessity of a science of right conduct and right government ; but he could only state the problem and did not solve it. The successive attempts at a solution made by Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics and the Epicureans are graphically described, and this section ends with a description of the common characteristics of Greek ethics. We quote a paragraph : " Summarising the main features of Greek ethics we may say : it agrees with the popular Greek view that the highest good consists in the perfection of man as a natural being. Special stress is laid upon the development of the intellectual side. Even the popular conception recognises the great importance of the intellect for human perfection. The philosophers, the specific types of the Greek people, as the prophets are of the Israelites, go still farther, and make reason the root and crown of all human excellence. For them wisdom or philosophy is both the means and the content of eudaemonia—the former, in so far as it acquaints us with the highest good and regulates practical life to the end of realising it ; the latter, in so far as philosophy, or the scientific contemplation of the universe, is the highest, freest function of human nature, one that is desired solely for its own sake. It is said that Anaxagoras, being once asked for what end he had been born, answered : ' For the contemplation of the sun and moon and heaven, and the order governing the entire universe ' . This is really the answer which the entire Greek philosophy and the Greek mind in general gives to the question " (pp. 58-59).

Having summarised the Greek view of ethics, the Christian conception is set forth. We do not think that the Christian

view of life is set forth in an adequate way. True, the author says: "My main purpose here was to contrast it sharply with the Greek conception of life and morality, and hence I first considered Christianity from its negative side, the side which distinguishes it as something entirely new in the world" (Note, p. 66). This note was written in answer to a criticism that he had represented Christianity as a weak, meek, world-weary, down-trodden, ascetic affair. He says that he did not mean to make this impression. But the impression was made notwithstanding. Even with the note of explanation the impression remains, and must remain so long as Christian ethics is described in mere contrast to Greek ethics. Professor Paulsen lays stress on the supernaturalism of Christianity, its contempt for learning, for the natural virtues, and describes its relation to the State, to enjoyment and art, to wealth and honour mainly in a negative way, and lays little stress on the peace, the joy, the purity of Christianity. We cannot but consider this a defect in his treatment of such a great theme. For Christianity is positive in its view of life, and of the conduct that springs out of Christian life.

The chapter which tells of the conversion of the world to Christianity is more satisfactory. But even here there are some explanations which we take leave to doubt. "Perhaps the conversion of the Greek and Roman world to Christianity also admits of a further explanation. We may regard the conversion of a people to a religion of redemption as the final stage in the development of its entire spiritual life. I venture to suggest this view, for a knowledge of the laws of the evolution of a popular life similar to that which we have of the development of an individual life is, of course, utterly out of the question. Let us say, then, that the religion of redemption is the product of a nation's senility: it produces mythology and the tales of heroes in its youth, philosophy and science in its manhood, a philosophy of consolation and a religion of redemption in its old age. We might compare the stages of development in the world of ideas with parallel stages of development in the practical world: youth yearns

for action in the chase and war; manhood turns to work and acquisition; old age lays aside its tasks and feeds on the products of its former achievements; it yearns for rest, and withdraws from the present; it lives in the memory of the past and in the thought of the hereafter. The new religion, therefore, offers itself as a substitute for poetry and science, for work and conflict, hopefully transfiguring the evening of life as with a soft twilight" (pp. 114-115). This poetic statement assumes many things. It assumes that the Greek and Roman world was in a state of senility, and it forgets the conversion of the Teutonic peoples. It assumes that in a religion of redemption there is no scope for the adventurous spirit of youth, nor for the acquisitive tendency of manhood; it has no message save that of rest for the weary. Now we submit that all these assumptions are contrary to fact and are utterly subverted by history. On the contrary, we may say that the higher the ideal of any man, the stronger his character, and the wider his view of the possibility and the responsibility of life, the deeper will be his feeling of the need of a religion of redemption. We have not space to argue the question—we simply state it.

The historical part deals further with the Middle Ages and their conception of life, with the modern conception of life, and with mediæval and modern Moral Philosophy. In this last chapter we find a brief and luminous account of many writers and their systems; the only defective part in it is the treatment given to Hegel and his school.

When we remember that a great part of recent ethical work in our own country and in America has been done under the influence of Hegel, a paragraph like the following strikes us as curious. "Take Hegel's *Naturrecht* and its empty juggling with concepts: the investigation of institutions and forms from the standpoint of their effects upon human life is ridiculed as a shallow argumentation of the understanding; instead, the reader receives the simple assurance: it follows from the concept of the state, or of the right, or of the monarchy. And with this is connected the extreme reverence which these thinkers have for the forms of

historical life, for the state, for the right: as though these forms, and not the concrete life which thrives in them, were the thing of absolute worth!" (p. 205). This is certainly not a sufficient account of the work of Hegel and his school. When Hegel remarks that the maxim of abstract right is: "Be a person and respect others as persons," he is not merely stating an abstract maxim. He is laying stress on the obligation to fulfil in one's own person all that is implied in the idea of personality. Only he who discharges the duties of personality has any rights at all. The charge made against Hegel in the foregoing quotation cannot be made good against him, and certainly cannot be made good against his followers here and in America.

It is time, however, to look at the theory of ethics set forth in this volume. The function of ethics set forth here is a practical one. "Ethics bears the same relation to general anthropology as medicine to physical anthropology. Based on the knowledge of corporeal nature, medicine instructs us to solve the problems of corporeal life, to the end that the body may perform all its functions in a healthy manner during its natural existence; while ethics, basing itself on the knowledge of human nature in general, especially of its spiritual and social side, aims to solve all the problems of life so that it may reach its fullest, most beautiful, and most perfect development. We might therefore call ethics universal dietetics, to which medicine and all the other technologies, like pedagogy, politics, etc., are related as special parts, or as auxiliary sciences" (p. 2). The highest good, according to our author, is a perfect life, that is, a life leading to the complete development of the bodily and mental powers and to their full exercise in all the spheres of human existence, in close communion with other closely-related persons, and fully participating in the historical and spiritual life of society at large. Good is not to be identified with pleasure, for the feeling is not the good, but the form in which the good is known and enjoyed by the subject. Thus he distinguishes his view from the utilitarian view.

How is the highest good to be realised? "The doctrine



of duties describes in general formulæ how we must conduct ourselves in order successfully to solve the problems of life, that is, attain to perfection. The doctrine of duties sets forth how we must fashion the character or the will in order to realise that goal: it makes clear to us that prudence, courage, veracity, justice are qualities which enable us correctly to solve the problems of life; while their opposites, thoughtlessness, cowardice and pleasure-seeking, inconsiderate selfishness and base mendacity hinder the realisation of the perfect life" (p. 5).

All this is very true and very beautiful, and the detailed working out of it in the lengthened exposition of goods, duties and virtues is most instructive. But one desiderates a fuller discussion of ethical principles, and one sometimes feels that the way in which human nature is shut up into compartments is a little drastic and absolute. For instance, when we read that "The intellect as such knows absolutely nothing of values, it distinguishes between the true and false, the real and unreal, but not between the good and the bad," we are ready to ask how we can know without the exercise of the intellect, and how the will can be said to know? In his zeal for practice, the author seems to forget the need of principle. And sometimes the intellect and the will are taken in abstraction and are spoken of as if each could work by itself.

What does the author make of obligation? Briefly his account is: "in order to reach such and such a goal, such and such behaviour is necessary". We have searched the book for an account of moral obligation and can find nothing deeper than the maxim—if you desire the end you must use the means. There is no doubt that the word obligation often has this meaning, but is this its only meaning? It seems as if Professor Paulsen recognises no other meaning. But this meaning of moral necessity is only hypothetical. We may forego the ends and the necessity vanishes. If I desire to be a physician, it is necessary for me to submit to the necessary training and win the needed diploma. But I may avoid the necessity of such a training by ceasing to wish to be a doctor.

I may escape the obligation by declining the ends themselves. If there is an end we are not at liberty to forego, some good we are bound to seek, a law we may never transgress, we have no longer a hypothetical necessity, but a categorical and absolute necessity. The end is unconditional, and thus the use of means becomes unconditional also. It seems also that our author does not lay stress on the fiduciary aspect of life, and without the recognition of this aspect a full and adequate account of moral obligation can never be given. We are not our own, we cannot live to please ourselves, even to live a perfect life will not from this point of view exhaust our moral obligation. The use of life is a trust which we must account for to the satisfaction of Another, and this is also the key to the demand for a religion of redemption. But the question is too large for discussion here.

We have perhaps laid too much stress on points of difference. Certainly we have not given adequate expression to the admiration we have for the author and his book. He has made the discussion interesting to the highest degree. He has written a book intelligible to the man in the street. He has invested the whole subject with such abiding interest that the reader cannot stop till he has read it through. Difficult questions have become luminous in his hands, and the most commonplace topics are seen in a new light, and are recognised to be fraught with the deepest issues. While we differ in some degree from the method and results of the author, we gladly recognise that a more fruitful and stimulating book on ethics has not come within our hands. We trust it will be widely read, and that the reading of it will not be confined to the professional student. It discusses topics in which all men have an interest, and it discusses them in such a way as all men can understand.

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A history of the main movements of German philosophic thought since Hegel was a great desideratum, and it is now supplied by Dr. Siebert. The mere literature is so great, the various movements and reactions of system on system are

so intricate that the service of a competent guide is indispensable. We do not read far in the volume till we find that we are led by a man who knows the ground and can show us how one system leads on to another, and the various movements of German philosophy are not without a meaning and connection. As told by Dr. Siebert, it is a story of dramatic interest and of great spiritual and intellectual activity.

The author begins with a luminous account of the history of philosophy from Kant to Hegel. Then another account follows of the philosophic movements from Hegel onwards to the present time. These two accounts are preliminary to the detailed statement which follows. It helps a student wonderfully to have a brief yet lucid statement of the general movement, before he is called on to master a detailed analysis of the various systems which are to be brought under review. A full statement is given of the character and tendency of the different schools of recent German philosophy. The school of Hegel comes first, as is natural, when we consider the influence, positive and negative, which it wielded. So wide was the influence of Hegel that no one set of his followers was able to use the whole system of the master. The description of how it broke up into three sects and became inevitably a right, a left, and a centre party is set forth in quite a dramatic manner. We refer readers to the book, and shall not even enumerate the names and the systems patiently and sufficiently described in these pages. The school of speculative theism is next described, some of the works of which school have not been without influence on ourselves. The schools of Herbart and of Schleiermacher next occupy our attention; their systems, their character, their outlook and their relation to Hegel are set forth in a most luminous manner. Fries, Baader, Beneke, Schopenhauer, Trendelenburg are passed under review, their systems estimated, their influence measured, and what they have contributed to thought appraised. This section of the history ends with a description of the reappearance of Thomism and of the attempt to rehabilitate other ancient philosophies.

Speculative tendencies did not reign unopposed in German thought. There were reactions against them, and these were of various kinds. There was a recrudescence of materialism, and the various forms which this reaction took are set forth. Then the influence of the progress of the positive sciences has to be measured and characterised. This is sufficiently done, and then positivism has its turn. This section does not take up so much space as was occupied by the former section, mainly because it is not so important in itself, but the account given of these reactions is of the highest value.

The third section of the history contains a luminous account of the movement which has for its watchword "Back to Kant". Neo-Kantianism has for us a special interest, for it has stimulated the philosophic activity of our own country in no ordinary degree. A part of the third section is given to a description of the tendencies which can be traced towards the building of a new system which shall conserve the gain of the past and lead the philosophic mind into fresh fields and pastures new. Dr. Siebert is hopeful of the future of German philosophy. The book ends with a retrospective and prospective outlook. The author is proud of the achievements of his country in the field of philosophy, and not without reason. Their work has been great, and the full significance of it had not been grasped by us till we read this book. It is a book full of interest, and to read it is most instructive. It is of value to theologians also. It is of great interest to find Strauss, Baur, Schleiermacher, Ritschl, Hermann, Biedermann (we take the names in no fixed order), names we were wont to find in our theological reading, lifted out of the theological setting, placed in a philosophic framework, and their work tested from a new point of view. Philosophy helps the theologian, and theological thought in its nature and sequence cannot be adequately measured by one who neglects philosophy. No movement of the human mind is isolated, and the philosophic problems of an age are also its theological problems. We attach the highest value to this excellent history.

JAMES IVERACH.

**A Textual Commentary upon the Holy Gospels, largely from the use of materials, and mainly on the text, left by the late J. W. Burgon, B.D.**

*By Edward Miller, M.A. Part I. St. Matthew i-xiv. Bell & Sons. 8½ + 5½ ins. Pp. xxiv. + 118. Price 5s.*

AMONGST the many opponents of the late Dean of Chichester an opinion has prevailed that John William Burgon was a mere combatant. Certainly in wielding his pen, as an Anglican theologian, against what he regarded as unorthodox views in Biblical criticism and exegesis, he dealt shattering blows at opposing strongholds; but his work on the last twelve verses of St. Mark showed that his wish was to build up, as well as pull down; for his argument there is not a simple refutation of objections, but rests on the history of the text. His personal friends knew that in the days of his controversies with the Revisers of the Authorised Version, he was hard at work constructing his own Revised Greek Text. Death stayed the hand that would have presented the new Text to the world, supported by the enthusiasm of an inimitable advocacy; but a sympathising editor has been found in Prebendary Miller, who offers to scholars, in a small volume, the first fruits of a great undertaking. The 118 pages are filled to overflowing with references to MSS. and Fathers in support of the readings adopted, or in justification of the rejection of the readings of other editors. The Patristic citations constitute a mass of evidence, such as has never before been presented to students of the sacred Text. Well may the editor exclaim (p. xxiv.): "I despair of accomplishing all my task if the means do not come of securing assistance both in the clerical part and in examination of the references supplied by the prolific indexes compiled by Dean Burgon!" We note with satisfaction, in the

list of subscribers, the names of many who do not accept the views of Dean Burgon and Prebendary Miller, and we trust that love of truth will result in such support to the editor's labours that his monumental work may be carried out to completion.

The writer of the present review heard a distinguished Oxford tutor assert, on a recent occasion, that Dean Burgon believed in the inspiration of every word of the Bible, and regarded the Textus Receptus of the Greek Testament as faultless. The former statement was an exaggeration of the Dean's high regard for the authority of the Word of God; the latter finds its contradiction in the pages of Mr. Miller's volume. Although only fourteen chapters of one Gospel are treated, several instances occur of departure from the Textus Receptus. In some cases the Dean agrees with other editors in changing the text, in others he prefers an independent reading, with the support of the majority of the witnesses. He is never a slave to the Textus Receptus. If he is often on its side, it is because that form of Text sides, for the most part, with those authorities which, in his judgment, were the most faithful witnesses to the true Text. In illustration we may refer to Matt. iv. 10. There Recept. Tisch. W.-Hort. Revisers read only *"Τπαγε, Get thee hence*, but Burgon, with the support of many MSS. and Fathers, some Latin MSS. and the Curetonian, adds *ὀπίσω μου, behind me*. In verse 18 of the same chapter *Jesus*, which is inserted by the Receptus, with slight support, is omitted by Burgon, with Tisch. W.-Hort. Revisers. In Matt. v. 28, there are three readings: (1) *ἐπιθ. αὐτήν*, Burgon, with considerable support of MSS. and Fathers; (2) *ἐπ. αὐτῆς*, Recept. Revisers, also well supported; (3) om. the pronoun, Tisch. W.-Hort (brackets), with *ⲛ* and many Fathers. At verse 23 we find the comparatively trivial variation of *κακεῖ* for *καὶ ἐκεῖ*. The former is the reading of Recept. Tisch. W.-Hort. Revisers, the latter of Burgon; but Mr. Miller considers that there is no need to alter the received reading. The case is interesting as showing the care which has been devoted to even the minutiae of the text. At the end of vi. 18 Recept. adds *ἐν τῷ φανερωῷ*,

*openly*, but Burgon omits, with Tisch. W.-Hort Revisers. On these departures from the Textus Receptus the editor says: "Burgon and myself present results which are printed in spaced type, and are accounted for in the notes. We present them upon a position in some degree analogous to a Court of First Instance, pending appeal to the superior judgments of Universal Christendom."

Mr. Miller starts with the results reached by Tischendorf in his eighth edition of 1869, but he advances far beyond the position reached thirty years ago. The Apparatus Criticus is largely augmented, while the evidence of the Fathers is presented with an exuberance of citation to be found in no other edition of the Greek Testament. Another advantage is the luminous arrangement of the Greek Text and the editorial notes, by which the study of a passage is greatly facilitated. The evidence for or against a reading appears to be stated with the utmost fairness in every case, and is given in such abundance of detail, that the scholar can always form his own independent opinion, and is not hampered by the views of the editor. Mr. Miller's book contains facts connected with the transmission of the text of the Greek New Testament which no other book provides in such fullness. It will be indispensable for every student of New Testament Criticism.

G. H. GWILLIAM.

## Philosophy of Theism.

*(The Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of  
Edinburgh in 1894-96.)*

*By Alexander Campbell Fraser, LL.D., Hon. D.C.L., Oxford.  
Second edition, amended. Edinburgh and London: Wm.  
Blackwood & Sons, 1899. Post 8vo, pp. xviii. + 338.  
Price 6s. 6d. net.*

WE have already noticed in the pages of this review (vol. vi., p. 167; vol. vii., p. 195) the first edition of these admirable lectures. As the present edition, though revised and very considerably altered in point of form, is still substantially the same book, there is no need to repeat here the *résumé* of the argument and the estimate of the general result which were there given. It may be said, however, in general terms that Professor Fraser's statement of the theistic position (and his coincident refutation of positions antagonistic to or inconsistent with theism) still strikes us as one of the sanest and most persuasive with which we are acquainted—all the more persuasive because it does not aim at too much, and appeals to enlightened common sense and the moral reason rather than to metaphysical subtleties.

The new edition, as we have just remarked, differs very considerably in point of form from its predecessor. An immense amount of labour, only to be appreciated by a minute comparison of the two, has been expended upon its revision. The result may be expressed by saying that Professor Fraser now presents us with a text book of the subject instead of a report of his lectures as they were delivered. We are not sure that for the general reader and the thoughtful inquirer, for whom these lectures are especially well suited, the first edition, with its more open print and superior paper,



and in spite of—even, we might say, because of—the redundancies and expansions which were inseparable from the exigencies of oral delivery, will not still prove the better and favourite form. Such readers require explanation and recapitulation, but the new edition makes it possible to use the lectures in the class-room as well as in the study.

The main object of the author has been condensation, and his alterations have been made so as to achieve this condensation without the sacrifice of clearness. There is scarcely a paragraph or a sentence which does not betray the reviser's hand, and those who know the difficulty of the operation, especially when applied to one's own MS., will best understand the courage as well as patience which has been brought to the task. Most often the process has been one of excision; here and there are instances of addition; but almost everywhere alterations have been made in what is left to make the excisions possible.

The work has been reduced from two volumes to one, with a corresponding reduction in price—itself, from the student's point of view, no mean advantage. The earlier division of the lectures into two parts, necessitated by their delivery in successive sessions, not coinciding with the natural distribution of the subject, is in the new edition replaced by a division into three parts: (1) Untheistic Speculation and Final Scepticism; (2) Final Reason in Theistic Faith; and (3) The Great Enigma of Theistic Faith. These are preceded by two lectures of an introductory character, and the whole is closed by a retrospect, or summary of the argument. The titles of many of the lectures, particularly in the second part, have been changed. Thus for "Man Supernatural," we have "Ideal Man an Image of God"; for "Moral Foundation of Theism" we have "Perfect Goodness Personified"; for "Causation Theistically Interpreted" we have "Omnipotent Goodness". It may be questioned whether some of the alterations are really improvements. The same remark applies to many of the changes of expression in the body of the book; *e.g.*, the substitution of "the mystery of ultimately incognisable yet revealed Deity is the nourishment

of religious adoration " (new ed., p. 160) for "the mystery of an unknown and yet known God is the fountain of true reverential devotion" (1st ed., vol. i., p. 288); but there can be no question that the majority of them have been carefully considered and judiciously adopted having regard to the end in view. The dropping of whole sentences is a frequent phenomenon; quotations are omitted and abbreviated; and, we are glad to see, references to Lord Gifford's will and intentions (not perhaps the same thing) are occasionally and properly passed over.

Altogether we can congratulate Professor Fraser on having done a very great deal to secure for his Gifford lectures a permanent place in the literature of the subject with which he has so ably dealt.

ALEXANDER STEWART.

## Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament.

*Lieferung 9. Deuteronomium erklärt von Lic. Alfred Bertholet, Ausserord. Professor der Theologie in Basel. Freiburg i. B., Leipzig & Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. Crown 8vo, pp. xxx. + 119. Price M.2.50.*

## Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament.

1. *Abtheilung, Die historischen Bücher, 3. Band, 2. Theil. Das Buch Josua übersetzt und erklärt von Lic. Dr. Carl Steuernagel, Privatdozent d. Theol. in Halle a/S. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. Crown 8vo, pp. 131-248. Price M.2.20.*

IN a well-written Introduction, Bertholet treats first, briefly, of the name, and secondly, at considerable length, of the origin of Deuteronomy. Assuming that the traditional view is erroneous, he discusses "the historical conditions under which it [*i.e.* 'original Deuteronomy'] originated," holding that it proceeded out of prophetic circles, being indeed a crystallisation of prophetic thoughts. As sources from which they drew their material, the authors of this new legislation not only used the prophets, but also the older Decalogue in Exod. xxxiv. and the Book of the Covenant, Exod. xxi.-xxiii. 16; seeing that chap. v. is not an original part of Deut., their use of the younger Decalogue, Exod. xx., must remain an open question. The manner in which these sources were used was conditioned by the purpose which the new law was meant to serve. A people was to be created holy enough to escape the impending judgment. Such a people, however, could be created, only if its religious life, so far as it was capable of external control, was placed under

constant oversight. This demanded the centralisation of worship in Jerusalem, which necessarily led to the ignoring or modification of earlier laws, and the making of new ones. Deuteronomy in its original form is the result of all this labour spent on the law. It was composed by an anonymous author, who cannot justly be accused of a pious fraud, shortly before its discovery in the temple (B.C. 623). This original form embraced not only chaps. xii.-xxvi. (with a few interpolations), but also xxvii. 9f. xxviii. 1-25, 38-46, xxx. 15-20, and the introductory discourse, chaps. vi.-xi. (with a few interpolations), written later than, and with constant reference to, chaps. xii.-xxvi. Chap. iv. 45-v. is the beginning of an independent edition of the Deuteronomic law; this edition contained xii. 1-7, and possibly also xxviii. 69-xxix.; the author is probably exilic. The introductory discourse, chaps. i-iv. (with many interpolations), is also by the author of a separate edition of the law; to him belong also xii. 8-12, several additions within the concluding discourses, and perhaps ix. 7b-x. 5, 8f., which very probably stood originally before i. 6. This latter author (D<sup>2</sup>) seems to have known J E, as united together into one work; it is by no means improbable that he also knew E as a separate document; but he was unacquainted with P. He lived about the beginning of the sixth century B.C. The remaining portions of our present Book of Deuteronomy were drawn from several sources, some of them late-exilic and even post-exilic. The final editor probably belonged to the fifth century.

A section on the language and style of Deuteronomy is followed by one on its theological and religious significance, in which the current view is clearly expounded. The commentary, though without anything specially distinctive, is thoroughly satisfactory. At the head of each section of the Book there is an analysis of the sources, and due attention is paid to the more important religious ideas. Too little notice is taken of grammatical difficulties; more frequent reference to Gesenius-Kautzsch would have greatly enhanced the value of the book, without appreciably increasing its size. Bertholet is well acquainted with the literature of his sub-

ject ; he has carefully selected his material, and has spared no pains to produce an easily read and very instructive work.

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Steuernagel's *Josua*, which is a continuation of his commentary on Deuteronomy, is from beginning to end an excellent bit of work. In an Introduction of twenty-two pages he treats of the connection of Joshua with the Pentateuch ; the sources of which it is composed ; the character of these sources and their combination into the present book ; also of the value of the book as an historical source. He maintains that the Book of Joshua, at least in c. i-xii., is essentially the work of a Deuteronomic author, D<sup>2</sup>, who is not merely the editor and expander of J E ; he follows E rather than J in the account that he gives of the history ; but is nevertheless, as numerous deviations in details show, an independent writer. In c. xiii<sup>ff</sup>. the description of the territories assigned to the various tribes is drawn almost entirely from P ; but P's matter is rearranged so as to fit into the framework of D<sup>2</sup>. The present Book of Joshua is accordingly the book composed by D<sup>2</sup>, enlarged by R through additions from other sources.

The commentary is a good example of condensation combined with fulness and lucidity. The different sections of the Book are carefully analysed into their sources ; no grammatical difficulty is overlooked ; textual matters are carefully attended to, the Sept. being generally preferred ; and the geographical notes, though necessarily brief, are adequate for all ordinary purposes. An excellent translation, by means of type of different size and shape, etc., makes it more easy to follow the frequently difficult analysis of the sources, and to form a judgment for oneself.

D. EATON.

## Die Bücher der Könige.

*Von D. Rudolf Kittel, Professor der Theologie in Leipzig.  
Nowack's Hand-Kommentar zum Alten Testament. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1900. Pp. xvi. + 312.  
Price, in paper, 6s. 6d; bound 8s.*

PROFESSOR KITTEL has increased the debt which all students of his *History of the Hebrews* acknowledge. His new commentary, though betraying occasional signs of haste, is learned and careful. The volume contains a new translation based on the author's reconstructed Hebrew text. The sources from which successive accounts are judged to be taken are marked by the use of different types; and, where type is insufficient, by the name in the margin. In its measure then the volume is not only a commentary, but forms prolegomena to the *History*. Partly because of this, partly because of the interest taken in such work to-day, a good deal of attention is devoted to the analysis of sources, and to discussion of the method in which the book came into its present form.

I give a sketch of this. In general Kittel agrees with those who detect a double revision, which selected and arranged the original sources and gave its present form to the history. A Deuteronomic editor (Rd.) writing under Jehoiakim soon after B.C. 600 worked over the whole material. To him, besides notes in the text and exhortations in the spirit of Deuteronomy, is due the formula at the beginning and end of each king's reign. He refers his readers for further details to the "book of the royal chronicles" and uses that even in reference to Jehoiakim. A later editor (R.) brought the unfinished history down to the exile, and must have written after 561. Probably however he wrote in exile, since he makes no mention directly or indirectly of

return. To him, besides that final history, we owe the attempt at a synchronistic system. The sources from which Rd. drew his materials are a book of the history of Solomon (So.) and the books of the history of the kings of Judah and Israel (K.). These last were no mere state-annals, but real works of history which incorporated yet older sources. As the K. of Judah is mentioned, 2 Kings xxiv. 5, the book must have described Jehoiakim's reign who died 597. The K. of Israel may have been written soon after the fall of Samaria 722; but Kittel counts it more likely that it was written at the same time and by the same author as the K. of Judah.

Had these been mere state-annals, it would be easy to conceive that they might be continued by the mazkir even while Rd. was compiling his history from his own standpoint. But, when one realises the condition to which Assyria had then reduced Jerusalem, one finds it difficult to believe that during those wild nine years of terror one historian wrote his volume and a second used it as the basis for another history from a wholly different standpoint. It seems more possible and more likely that the two owe their origin, if not to the same hand, then to the same school. No one can fail to notice that the book as we have it is specially interested in the religious history of the nation. It may view that history from a somewhat narrow standpoint. But it is religious movements which it relates at greatest length. It omits the large political and social changes under such names as Omri and Jeroboam II. I count it not impossible that what we have is but the history of the religion and of the forms of religion in Israel, that the author so meant it, and that he refers for all other matters to a book by himself or by one of his school, in which the political history of Israel and Judah was more amply recorded, in which larger extracts were incorporated from the older annals—a book which unfortunately the nation which came to value everything from the same side as Rd. did not retain.

A further question is that of the sources from which these "books of royal chronicles" (K.) were compiled. Kittel

names 10, and acknowledges his inability to "place" two sections. The chief are the following. He assigns the two opening chapters to the history of David (Da.). Certain brief, arid, historical facts inserted throughout the history are extracted from the royal annals (A.). Our full account of Solomon's reign we owe to two chief sources—a history of Solomon (So.) and a temple history (T.). The latter as described is so brief, so indefinite in its character, so strongly worked over by later hands that I doubt its existence. The same reasons which make Kittel refuse to see in the story of Athaliah a temple history are valid to make us refer the short sections he gives to T. to the same source which gave an account of Solomon's other buildings. There were two long accounts of Elijah (El.) and Elisha, the latter by two hands which can still be distinguished (Els. and Els.<sup>2</sup>). From a history of Isaiah (Jes.) came the account of Sennacherib's invasion. And towards the end of 1 Kings and throughout 2 Kings emerge two royal histories of Judean and Ephraimite origin (J. and E.), "beide in ihrer Art die Vorstufen von K.". The scheme has the appearance of being complicated—is in reality not unnatural. Within his own framework which expresses his judgment of the king, Rd. has set down from the royal annals and the royal chronicle such facts as specially interest him. Where however he would recount some circumstance of outstanding importance, he borrows from the original record of the event and incorporates that with more or less dexterity into his narrative.

The analysis of some of these sections is a marvel of care and knowledge and sound judgment. The study of I. i-III, 3, is beautifully carried out. Others, I venture to think, betray signs of haste.

Thus the judgment the author passes on the sin of the son of Nebat is alike sympathetic and clear. "His action might have been politically clever, had it not contained a dangerous surrender to the lower instincts of the masses of the people, which in the later development of the northern kingdom was bitterly avenged. He surrenders religion to politics, and



commits in fact a sin—no matter how many followers he may have found among later rulers" (1, xii. 29 f). But, when he concludes that the judgment of the king which those verses contain must therefore be late, he surely mistakes. The very mildness with which that is stated (contrast the virulence of xii. 33, -xiii. 10) points to its being the verdict of one nearer the king's own date, who was not insensible to the temptation which produced the sin. And when Kittel urges further that in its present position the judgment disturbs the connection, he only falls into that common habit of imagining one has explained a difficulty by referring to a later editor sentences which seem to us to disturb the connection. Further Kittel translates v. 30 b as meaning that Jeroboam is in Bethel, has founded a cult there, sends messengers to do the like at Dan, and that a part of the people who belong to the north accompany the messengers. This is surely the kind of clause which no late editor would ever insert and which has no meaning out of its context. Yet again v. 32 declares that Jeroboam followed Jerusalem in the date of his harvest festival, placing it in the 8th month. We know that Jerusalem at a later date changed to the 7th month. That makes it more likely that the verse was written some time before the change was made. May not the special reason for Jeroboam's building Penuel (v. 25) have been to overawe Mahanaim, a place which maintained so unaccountable a loyalty to the Davidic house during Absalom's rebellion?

Again in 1, xx., the account of Benhadad's assault on Samaria, Kittel would assign to a late date vv. 13 f., which represent a prophet as inciting Ahab to a sortie. Now, besides the fact that the text will not read when the verses are excised (connect v. 15 with v. 12, and it is Benhadad who musters the princes of the provinces), this idea of the prophet's work agrees with an early date. And that a prophet is represented as guiding Ahab to victory rather than denouncing his sins, as delivering Samaria rather than condemning would seem to show the account to be early.

Still more difficult is it to think vv. 35-43 of this chapter

late. Kittel believes that the bandage over the eyes of the prophet was meant to hide the mark on eyes or brow which distinguished the prophetic school, a kind of caste-mark. So soon as the man tore it off, Ahab knew him for a prophet. The custom is wholly unknown to us in any later period of Judaism; and that it is mentioned here without explanation would seem to prove that the section was written at a period when the custom was still well known. Contrast *e.g.* in 2, iii. how it is carefully explained that the use of music was meant to bring the spirit of God upon the prophet.

The discussion of 2, xvi. 10-18 (Ahaz's new altar from Damascus) is unsatisfactory. The corruption of the text, the many errors in grammar, the confusion of the account are enough to make one doubtful of the wisdom of calling it homogeneous and assigning it to J. And I doubt whether Kittel has succeeded in making sense of v. 14. He understands that to mean that Uriah the priest had set the new altar in front of the old, which still held its post of honour at the entrance to the temple. Ahaz orders the latter to be removed, "northwards to the side of the new altar". As the temple stood north and south, it is a little difficult to understand how a shifting of the old northwards could bring it to one side of the new.

In his treatment of the text Kittel has boldly departed from the M. T. And some of his emendations are luminous. Especially brilliant is his reconstruction of the original text in 1, vii with the sketch of the "house of the forest of Lebanon" which he has built on that. The result cannot be called sure, but is the most likely representation which has been attempted. Yet I venture to beg for a more scientific use of the LXX. The introduction contains some notes on the relative value of the MSS. of that translation. One cannot acknowledge that that has had much influence on their after use in the text criticism. Those readings would seem at times to be chosen which give a satisfactory sense, rather than those which can be proved to be oldest—subjective criticism has not been abolished here. In view of the liberal use he makes of Lucian's recension, Kittel might in

his identification of Aphek (1, xx) have noted the witness of LXX at 2, xiii., 22, where that version adds that Hazael took the Philistine out of his hand from the western sea to Aphek. That lends a certain support to those who seek the site of the Aphek of the Syrian story westwards rather than eastwards. And though the king was directed to shoot eastwards, his shot may have been meant not against the town itself but in the direction of his enemy's main strength.

One recognises gratefully Kittel's position in reference to O. T. religion. He is willing to recognise that that had a character of its own; which, while influenced by its surroundings, was always able to influence them in turn and even to transform them. Hence Kittel is not always ready to conclude from the existence of certain rites or practices in Israel the existence of the ideas on religion which those rites are known to imply in other nations. A rite may be practised in almost identical form by two peoples with very different meaning and purpose. Not only do old practices survive, out of which all meaning has long departed. But alien practices can be employed with impunity when the nation has an intention of its own in connection with them and has filled them with new content. Kittel is careful to note at several places how to label one form as totemism and another as Phœnician sun worship is only to deaden the mind with phrases, so long as we are ignorant what significance Israel attached to these forms. A wholesome corrective to over readiness to dogmatise about early religions may be found in the treatment of the meaning of Baalzebub. Here Kittel in spite of the want of analogy holds to the old translation "god of flies," and pronounces Baalzebul to mean "god of dung" and to be the "Verketzerung" or name of contempt used by a later age. Cheyne holds to Baalzebul as the original form meaning "god of the high place," and calls Baalzebub a later generation's insult.

To re-read this history is to regret anew the fact that the Israelite historian took so limited a view of what was meant by religious history. That he meant chiefly to write such a history there can be little doubt. The large space he gives

to matters connected with the temple, to the work of Elijah and Elisha, to the activity of Jehu and to the reform of Josiah proves this. It would be much to know all he knew of Omri and Jeroboam II., not merely because of the men in themselves, but still more because the aims they followed and the work they did reacted on the religion. The historian recognised how strong a force religion had been in his nation's history. He did not realise how largely the new social, material, intellectual conditions of the nation helped to determine the lines along which that religion developed. Yet the single fact that the religion grew into and through prophecy, not in the cramped world of Jerusalem but in the wider interests of the northern kingdom, with the other that Isaiah's activity dates from the period when Jerusalem entered that wider political world, might have taught him a larger truth. But Israel's religion is not the only one which has suffered from a narrow view of how God reveals Himself to men.

ADAM C. WELCH.

**The Sacred Books of the Old Testament, A Critical  
Edition of the Hebrew Text: Ezekiel.**

*Edited by C. H. Toy, LL.D. Leipzig, 1899. 8vo. Price  
7s. 6d. net.*

THE announcement of Professor Haupt's great undertaking marked an epoch in the history of the textual criticism of the Old Testament. For long years Hebrew scholars were content to introduce into their commentaries occasional corrections of the Hebrew text drawn generally from the LXX., but occasionally also from other versions. If ever they ventured outside these limits, it was only to suggest some change of the vowel points, not of the consonantal text.

It became clear, however, in the course of experience, that the textual critic could not arrest his criticism at such a point. Parallel passages suggest certain probabilities of error in transcription which have to be considered, even in cases in which there is no confirmatory evidence to be derived from the versions. Indeed, as we know that most of the Biblical books were written some centuries before they were translated, we must allow for the existence of textual errors more ancient than any version.

Professor Toy's *Ezekiel* is a full and modern textual study of great value. But just because Professor Toy's work is good, it is possible for the reviewer, without being thought to pass mere personal criticisms, to enter a protest—which is badly needed—against regarding the Polychrome Bible as anything more than a series of studies. There is a danger lest younger scholars, inexperienced in the past history of the textual criticism of the Old Testament, may take this critical edition to be *final*, at least as against the Masoretic text. Complaints are sometimes heard that such and such a scholar has not quoted from "the corrected text".

It is, however, important to remember that the M.T. is not necessarily always wrong when it is called in question, nor, where the M.T. is wrong, is the last correction always right. It is unlikely that any scholar of to-day would have produced a "critical edition" of Ezekiel better than Professor Toy's, but it must still be remembered that much of the work is subjective in its character, and offers room for a wide divergence of educated opinion. It may be doubted, *e.g.*, whether scholars generally will accept Dr. Toy's correction of chap. viii., 17 (*they put the branch to their nose*), in accordance with *tiqqun sopherim*. Again, is the corrected text of chap. xxi. 27 [22 E.V.] better than the M.T.? Dr. Toy, in common with most scholars (including King James' translators), finds a difficulty in the repetition "to set battering rams . . . to set battering rams" (So R.V.). But repetitions are not always "vain repetitions". Here the M.T. repeats what is worth repeating. The prophet sees the events of the siege crowded into two brief glimpses, and in each glimpse the terrible battering ram is at work. The first indeed is of the ram alone :—

- (1) "To set battering rams :—
- (2) "To open a breach with breaking,  
(*To open the mouth with shouting* : Toy)
- (3) "To lift up the voice with the war cry."

The second glimpse takes in all the operations of the siege :—

- (4) "To set battering rams even against the gates,
- (5) "To cast up mounts,
- (6) "To build forts."

Professor Toy wishes to omit (1), with the result that the *thunder* is put before the *lightning* (quite a mistake in war), and the siege begins with *shouting*.

Cannon to right of them,  
Cannon to left of them,—

(For "cannon" 1<sup>mo</sup> read "shouting".)

W. EMERY BARNES.

## **Theism in the Light of Present Science and Philosophy.**

*By James Iverach, M.A., D.D. London; Hodder & Stoughton,  
1900. Cr. 8vo., pp. 330. Price 6s.*

THE Charles F. Deems' trustees have been fortunate in securing such an excellent course of lectures as this to inaugurate the new foundation. In such series, the first course, to some extent, sets the standard for succeeding lectures; and certainly Professor Iverach has set this at a sufficiently high level. It is open to question whether courses of lectures of this sort are of sufficient permanent utility to compensate for the trouble of their composition. It is given to very few to gain permanent profit by hearing a discourse on a profound philosophical theme such as that of these lectures; and, with respect to their subsequent publication, the form in which such lectures must necessarily be cast is not the most appropriate for the thorough and satisfactory discussion of the questions with which the author deals. He must divide his subject in a somewhat Procrustean method to fit the number of lectures in the course, and there is a strong temptation to adopt a rhetorical style, and to endeavour to "score points," thereby interfering with the dispassionate tone which is desirable in a treatise upon philosophical subjects. These considerations are to some extent forced on the readers of Professor Iverach's lectures, as it is chiefly in these respects that they are at all open to criticism. The scheme of the course is well conceived, and the development of his successive propositions is excellently planned, and carried out with an originality which is surprising when one remembers the extensive literature of the subject; but the lectures, while approximately equal in length are unequal in importance, and the argument is here and there a little clouded by the rhetorical style of the

composition. On the whole, however, it is a masterly treatise, deserving of a longer life than that which usually falls to the lot of such courses of lectures.

Throughout these lectures Professor Iverach demonstrates the failure of the analytic method to give adequate conceptions of the truth regarding nature, ourselves and God. Analysis proceeds by abstraction, taking certain attributes from their surroundings, and making these the basis of reasoning. In the real world existences are not abstract nor isolated, but are in contact with their whole environment, influencing and being influenced by all that are related to them. This central principle of the solidarity of the Universe he shows in the case of the inorganic world, which must be studied in its relation, not only to its own components, but also to living beings. These latter must, in turn, be considered not as units but as parts of the cosmos, and also in reference to the highest forms of life which are manifested in man. Man himself cannot be taken apart from the objects of his reason and the sources of his emotions, and especially that which is the highest of all such objects and sources.

This is undoubtedly true. A great philosopher has called the Universe "a many of things which condition each other reciprocally"; but with our finite faculties the analytic method is the only one possible for us if we wish to have clear understanding of the details in nature, and knowledge of the particular must here precede knowledge of the general. By all means let us aim at making the concrete whole of nature the goal to which our studies tend, but the reaching of this goal would be an impossibility if each department of nature had not been previously studied part by part and section by section. Philosophers like Professor Iverach find ready to their hands the results of the labours of those who have worked analytically, and who, although they naturally describe their results in terms of their abstractions, yet do not thereby mean to ignore the larger truth which lies beyond. It is true that some of these "cannot see the forest for the trees," and the criticism lies against such; but it can scarcely be upheld as an indictment against all investigators in the



field of nature. Professor Iverach himself admits this (p. 5), indeed the instance given on p. 13 of the discovery of Argon was a triumph of the analytic method in the endeavour to account for the difference between the density of atmospheric nitrogen and the pure gas obtained from other sources.

Throughout these lectures Professor Iverach adopts to the full the evolution hypothesis, not only in inorganic and the lower organic world, but also in regard to the origin of man. This however he seems to do to some extent under protest, at least it is difficult otherwise to understand certain passages (see pp. 35, 89, 98, etc.).

In dealing with the relations of life to the forces of nature, the Professor himself gives us an example of the evil of logical abstraction. He has made certain abstractions which he calls physical forces, and argues that they are incompetent to account for vital phenomena. In order, however, to establish the unity of nature, he has to assume that life was implicit in the nature of existence as a whole. It is certainly necessary to widen the definition of force to allow of such implication, and this enlargement he says can be made "without drawing on any physical force unknown or unused in physics". Yet, after admitting this, he proceeds at once to postulate a *deus ex machina*, a master which makes the elements assume new combinations, enter on new forms, obey new laws and begin a new course of evolution. If the metaphor be valid, this is certainly the introduction of a new force unknown and unused in physics. These two statements can only be harmonised by the use of an abstract definition, limiting the extension of the word physical, but against such abstraction he has warned us in an earlier section.

The error of the crude evolutionism which regards the cell as a simple unit is very properly pointed out. It is known now that a cell is a highly complex organisation, whose several parts have definite functions in the processes of nutrition and reproduction. Within itself are manifested those differentiations which, on a larger scale are seen in the complex being made of many cells; the difference is that

each of these processes, which takes place in the single cell, becomes distributed when that cell divides and gives rise to a compound multicellular organism, becoming respectively the specific properties of some of the cellular elements produced by the division. Whatever difficulty there is in understanding the division of labour in a multicellular organism, the same has to be faced by the student of the single cell. Professor Iverach makes a good point of the unity of the organism. In a healthy multicellular life of the complex living being there is no schism in the body; but occasionally schisms do arise, and with these the science of pathology is concerned.

Some of the terms which have passed into common use in connection with Darwinian evolution come in for severe criticism, but the things expressed by these terms are for the most part admitted by the Professor. Survival of the fittest is simply what he himself predicates, that everything that survives is the fittest. There is no connotation of progress in the term, and if the lingula of the palæozoic age survives to-day, co-existing with the highest molluscan products of evolution, it simply means that it is still perfectly accommodated to its environment, while some of its congeners with changing environment have undergone correlative changes of structure. Struggle for life he is inclined to minimise, yet when he comes to the region whereof he has more perfect knowledge, he admits it to the full (see p. 133). He is perfectly right in condemning the personification of Natural Selection as if it were a kind of Demiurge. There is no doubt that one school of biologists is accustomed to speak of Natural Selection as though it were a single power compelling the differentiation of species. It is a pity that the force of this portion of his argument is weakened by the rhetorical passage on p. 78. In a later lecture he criticises Mr. Kidd's use of the phrase "survival of the fittest," as being inconsistent with degeneration, but every biologist knows that, in certain conditions, a degenerate form is the fittest, as in parasitic animals like *Pentastomum*.

These are however, criticisms on minor points of detail.

The main argument is well expressed and cogent, that evolution has proceeded along orderly lines, and there is nothing in the facts to exclude, and much that directly involves, predetermination and supervision. Weismann's theories are summarily dismissed by Professor Iverach as if they were contrary to the weight of evidence. They concern some of the most involved parts of biological science; and, despite assertions to the contrary, the cases in which there is any evidence that acquired characters have been hereditarily transmitted are few and obscure, and in all it is impossible to demonstrate that such has taken place. The instance, which in the classical controversy between Spencer and Weismann was claimed by the former as conclusive, has hopelessly broken down on further investigation.

In the fourth lecture "On rational life and its complications" the most noteworthy part is the recognition of the change which human intelligence produces in the relationship of the individual to his environment. He is no longer only dependent on his corporeal resources; but the use of tools, the discovery of fire and the power of co-operating with his fellows by speech have given him the mastery over all other animals and indeed over to some extent the forces of nature. These conditions whereby man bends his environments to his own purposes, and the consequences of this superiority, are excellently well discussed and shown to be far-reaching.

Professor Iverach admits the derivative theory of the origin of man, although he guards himself by saying that it is confessedly difficult to choose a form from which man may be said to have been descended. This is not a matter of choice, for obviously man cannot be descended from any existing anthropoid. They are each one, as he is, terminal branches of the genealogical tree. It is rather a question of discovery of the fossil remains in whatever subtropical land was the cradle of the race.

The fifth lecture "On the making of man" is one of the best of the course, the central thoughts being the effects of the struggle for life on human development, and the solidarity of humanity.

In the sixth lecture the Professor subjects the works of Benjamin Kidd and Arthur Balfour to a searching criticism, especially from the standpoint of the unity of human life and thought, and he comes to the conclusion that both are fundamentally wrong in regarding religion as extra rational. This lecture is a digression from the main argument, but is interesting and forcible.

The discussion of personality in the seventh lecture is a sequel to the preceding studies of the unity of nature and of mankind in the concrete. He follows Lotze in discriminating the ontological distinction of the self and the not-self, from the metaphysical distinction between subject and object; the former being one of fixed boundaries, the latter a mental function continually changing in content. He also discriminates individuality from personality. The former is the self which is characteristic of every living being capable of instinctive or voluntary action. The latter is that which man wins by a mental effort, reflecting on the phenomena of his manifold life. This definition is practically the same as that given by Lotze, that a spirit is a "person so soon as ever it knows itself as unitary subject in opposition to its own states and to its own ideas; these states and ideas, it recognises itself as uniting in itself, as the subject of them, while they are only dependent states in it." Thus personality ascribed to God does not require us to assume a reality outside Him and limiting Him, but only the production in Him of a world of ideas to which He finds Himself in contrast as to His own states. God's personality is therefore the only perfected personality, for the finite can only become acquainted with the world outside itself gradually, through a series of interactions with it; while with God's personality there is no becoming and no limits save those set by Himself.

In the eighth lecture the relations which Religion bears to the whole man are admirably set forth. It is not merely dependent on feeling or upon reason, but is rational, emotional and volitional, and is therefore more than a philosophy. As to its origin he rejects the ghost-theory, dream-theory and animistic-theory but formulates none of his own. He regards

religion and ethics as fundamentally associated, and accounts for the disjunction noted in the history of some races as due to the preservation of earlier forms of religion, even after mankind has risen to higher grades of culture in which his moral sense has developed until it is out of harmony with surviving religious notions.

The last two lectures deal with the relations of the agnostic and idealistic philosophy to Theism. In the discussion of the former he travels over the ground dealt with in his well-known earlier work, *Is God Knowable?* In dealing with the latter he postulates that religion is possible only when there is what Lotze calls a living "relation of piety," between God and man, and when man realises that God is no abstraction but is the All-in-All of the whole system of qualities and properties which may belong to things in the world. While adopting the idealist position in general, he hesitates to follow some of the leaders of thought of this school, because the unity which he seeks, and in which he believes the truth to consist, is not to be reached by the methods of abstraction which they employ, but must be one which leaves room for individuality, in which each spirit has the faculty of being-for-itself and not merely a thought in the minds of another.

The interrelations of the elements of this greatest of unities leads to the inquiry as to the meaning of the cosmos, which he surmises may be a mode of communion between beings who can think, reason and feel. History likewise, "the drama in which God's own being unfolds itself" is the record of a living God striving to persuade an intelligent rational creature of the kind of life he ought to live, and to win him to surrender himself to the higher guidance. The highest realisation of the unity which has thus been found to run throughout all nature is in the unique figure of Christ, and mankind participates in that unity when by surrender to Christ the individual believer becomes united to Him, and through Him to the Godhead.

There is much force in the thought with which the lectures end. In view of the progress of scientific investigation in these and other fields, there is need to re-examine the dog-

matic position of Christian Theology, and probably to recast the forms in which some of its propositions are stated. It is well for the Christian Church that it has leaders in theological science such as Professor Iverach, alive to the changing conditions of human knowledge, and capable of realising their bearings on the formulation of religious truth.

ALEX. MACALISTER.

**1. Michael: Eine Darstellung und Vergleichung der jüdischen und der morgenländisch-christlichen Tradition vom Erzengel Michael.**

*Von Wilhelm Lueken, Lic. Theol. in Oldenburg. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. x. + 186. Price M.4.80.*

**2. Der vorchristliche jüdische Gnosticismus.**

*Von M. Friedländer. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. ix. + 123. Price 3s.*

**3. A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel; designed especially for students of the English Bible.**

*By J. Dyneley Prince, Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Languages in the New York University. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. viii. + 270. Price 9s.*

1. THE study of Jewish Apocalyptic literature has made rapid progress in recent years, as its importance for the understanding of Christian theology becomes increasingly apparent. Amongst other branches of inquiry, that relating to Jewish angelology has assumed great significance, and the present monograph by Dr. Lueken will be welcomed as a valuable contribution to the literature on this subject. The monograph deals with the views that have prevailed regarding Michael, the guardian angel of the Jewish people, the saint of the Christian Church. Dr. Lueken sets out with citing and examining the abundant evidence that goes to establish the existence of angel-worship among the Jews, and adduces specimens of prayers to angels, and to Michael in particular. Next he deals with the doctrine of guardian angels for the different nations, which (*cf.* Dan. x. 13, 21; xii. 1) assigned Michael to Israel as its guardian. Interesting details are

quoted as to the part that Michael was held to have played at the giving of the law, the institution of the priesthood, etc., his office as Israel's advocate before God's tribunal, his relation to the Antichrist, his conquest of the dragon and the powers hostile to God. Michael appears, further, as high priest in the ideal temple in heaven, and as pre-eminent among the angels. Special functions are attributed to him also in Jewish eschatology, in connection with the souls of individuals, the keeping of the heavenly gates, the presenting of the souls of the righteous as offerings, the resurrection of the dead, the admittance of the righteous to paradise and the release of the condemned from hell. As a nature angel, Michael is the angel of water (and snow), as Gabriel is of fire, or of silver, as Gabriel is of gold.

Passing from Judaism to Christianity, we find many of the above notions reappearing. St. Paul (in Col. ii. 18) has to warn his readers against the worship of angels, but in spite of this, a belief in the efficacy of angelic intercession and consequently the practice of offering prayer to these beings evidently persisted in many circles. So with the notions about the high priesthood of Michael and his office of guardian, which was transferred from Jews to Christians, his war with the dragon, the part to be played by him at the resurrection, etc. Of special interest is the section of the monograph which deals with the influence exercised upon Christology by the Jewish angelology. For instance, the idea of Christ as a pre-existent heavenly Being who appeared on earth and then returned to God in order to remain at His right hand as Lord of the heavenly hosts and of Christians, and as High Priest who presents the petitions of His people, and makes at once intercession and propitiation for them—all this has not only an external resemblance to the Jewish beliefs about Michael and other angels, but direct relations between the two conceptions can be traced. Special importance is attached by Dr. Lueken to the Jewish angelology in its bearing upon the conception in the New Testament and elsewhere of the exalted and glorified Christ. The somewhat doubtful exegesis our author is disposed to adopt for Phil. ii. 6-11, would find



in this passage a reflection of the Jewish teaching about the fidelity of Michael when Satan rebelled. In any case, it is held, features which originally belonged to Michael, the heavenly lord of the Jewish community, are applied to the exalted Lord of Christians. In Him was seen a heavenly High Priest more eminent than the angels, nay, even than the high-priestly archangel Michael, and One of whose intercession with God the Christian may feel assured.

From the above sketch of some of our author's conclusions, all of which are supported by weighty evidence, it will be evident that Dr. Lueken's monograph is of extreme importance. It will have henceforth to be reckoned with, like Bousset's *Antichrist*, by all students of the obscure but interesting subject with which it deals.

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2. The present work by Dr. Friedländer follows up his *Judenthum in der vorchristlichen griechischen Welt*, which was published in 1897. The main contention of that work was that amongst the Jews of the Diaspora, even in pre-Christian times, there were a "conservative" school and a "radical," and that the two tendencies represented by these transplanted themselves into the Christian Church, where they showed themselves respectively in the form of legalism, and of the claim to freedom from the law. This position is reasserted in the work before us, and defended against the objections of Schürer (*Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1897, p. 326) and others. It is to the "radical" school, we are told, that we must ascribe the founding of the gnosticism with some forms of which we make acquaintance in the New Testament. Dr. Friedländer seeks, further, to prove that wherever in the Rabbinical literature *Minim* are spoken of, it is these Jewish gnostics that are in view. He disagrees entirely with a widely current explanation of the Talmudical passage (*Shabb. 116a*), "the *Gilyonim* and the writings of the *Minim* one does not save from a fire on the Sabbath day". The *Gilyonim* are frequently said to stand for the gospels, being a corruption of *εὐαγγέλια*, and the *Minim* for the (Jewish)

Christians. This explanation does not appear to our author, even assuming that the gospels were current by the end of the first century, to account for the intense and seemingly long-rooted hate for the *Minim* which is exhibited in the Talmud. Accordingly he seeks for them amongst the Jews themselves, and considers that light is thrown upon their identity by a passage in Philo (*de migrat. Abrah.*, ed. Mangey, i., 450), where a class of allegorising Jews is held up to reprobation because, from the supposed necessity of understanding the Mosaic law in a philosophical sense, they set themselves above all the religious and national ceremonies prescribed in it and held inviolable by orthodox Israelites—such as the Sabbath, the Festivals, Circumcision, and the Temple worship. Dr. Friedländer tells us that these marks disposed him at first to identify the sect alluded to with the Essenes and Therapeutae, but here again the hatred expressed by the Talmudical writers would be inexplicable as directed against the Essenes. Turning, however, once more to Philo (*de posteritate Caini*, ed. Mangey, i., 226 ff.), our author finds in the “Cainites” the precursors of the Christian sects of the Ophites, Cainites, Sethites and Melchizedekians. In this way he succeeds in filling in his picture of antinomian Jewish gnostics, who, starting from the allegorising exegesis of Scripture which characterised the Jewish-Alexandrian school, came to depreciate and finally to abrogate the ceremonial law, and, further, to regard the God who created the world as a different Being from, and far inferior to, the supreme God recognised by the gnostics. In the *Gilyonim* Dr. Friedländer finds the diagram of the Ophites.

In view of these results, the evidence for which is presented with a wealth of knowledge and an argumentative skill which awaken admiration if they do not compel assent, Dr. Friedländer argues that the current way of speaking of Paul as the founder of Gentile Christianity, and in fact the whole notion of a Jewish *versus* a Gentile Christianity must be given up, and that the real factors we must recognise in the early history of the Church are a “conservative” and a “radical” Jewish Christianity.

It will scarcely be denied that there is a large measure of truth in Dr. Friedländer's contentions. An incipient Jewish gnosticism in the pre-Christian period has, in fact, been widely admitted, but it may well be questioned if this gnosticism was such a full-blown and highly-developed product as he would have us believe. The objections of Schürer, which are repeated by him in a review of the present work (*Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1899, p. 167 f.), will still be felt by many to possess much force. In particular his contention that *Minim* denotes neither (Jewish) Christians alone nor "antinomian (Jewish) gnostics" alone, but all unbelievers or heretics, appears to be established beyond all reasonable doubt. In spite of this, however, it will be universally conceded that in this erudite work Dr. Friedländer has materially enriched our knowledge of the influence exerted by pre-Christian Jewish currents of thought upon the theology and the history of the Church of the New Testament.

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3. Good commentaries on the Book of Daniel are still few. We are, indeed, fortunate in possessing in English the excellent work of Prof. Bevan, which, it is needless to say, is thoroughly up to date in philology, archæology, and other branches of expert study. But, as its title page declares, it is "for the use of students," and hence not a few who wish for a commentary that shall be reliable and scholarly, and at the same time somewhat more popular, will welcome the appearance of Dr. Prince's book, which is "designed especially for students of the *English Bible*". The work is divided into three parts: a General Introduction (pp. 1-56), a Critical Commentary (pp. 57-193), and a Philological Commentary (pp. 195-259), and the author has incorporated in it his dissertation on "Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin". Prof. Prince arrives at the same conclusions as the great majority of modern critics, regarding the date of the Book of Daniel (which he holds to be a unity), the question of Darius the Mede, and in general regarding the authenticity of the book, whose contents, as a whole, cannot, he thinks, be held to

possess historical authority. At the same time he concedes more than some would be prepared to do, as to a historical basis for some of the legends, *e.g.*, the strange insanity of Nebuchadnezzar, while in regard to the name and the character of Daniel he declares it to be hardly probable that the author "invented these out of whole cloth". The Vision of the Four Beasts in chap. vii. is interpreted, we believe correctly, to refer to the following four empires: (1) the Babylonian, (2) the Median, (3) the Persian, (4) the Grecian.

We have the fullest confidence, after somewhat careful testing, in recommending this commentary as one that admirably fulfils its purpose. The student who is provided with it will discover the real meaning of the Book of Daniel, whose contents have hitherto been too often regarded as an insoluble enigma or used as an exercise for the fancy.

J. A. SELBIE.

## **The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges. (1) The Proverbs.**

*Edited by the Ven. T.T. Perowne, B.D., Archdeacon of Norwich.  
Cambridge University Press, 1899. pp. 106. Price 3s.*

### **(2) The Book of Chronicles.**

*Edited by William Emery Barnes, D.D., Fellow and Chaplain  
of Peterhouse. Cambridge University Press, 1899. pp.  
xxxvi + 303. Price 4s.*

1. Two additions have been made to the series of the Cambridge Bible for schools and colleges. The Ven. T. T. Perowne, who edits the Proverbs, discusses in a well-written introduction the literary character, the authorship, the moral and religious teaching, and analyses of the contents of the book. He brings out the fact that the Hebrew wisdom or philosophy is not speculative but practical, and not national but human. A proverb is literally a *likeness*, a statement of any kind strengthened and enlivened by the aid of a comparison; then a representative statement, a common truth or principle by virtue of which a group of varying facts or phenomena are expressed; finally a short sententious saying in general. Proverbs, as Wordsworth says, are

Shrewd remarks  
Of moral prudence, clothed in images  
Lively and beautiful.

Regarding the authorship of the Book, Mr. Perowne takes up a position which is now regarded as very conservative. "Without presuming to dogmatise" he thinks that "speaking generally, the authorship of the main collection of proverbs proper and of the introduction which precedes it (in other words of the present Book as far as xxii. 16) may reasonably be ascribed to Solomon." The proverbs in the central part

of the Book are proverbs of Solomon in the strict sense of the word. "Their common authorship is rendered probable by the recurrence of favourite words and phrases." While Mr. Perowne clings to this position, he does not seriously attempt to meet the objections of historical and literary critics. He simply takes one instance of subjective criticism as a type. Dr. Horton finds in the proverb, "As a bird that wanders from her nest, so is a man that wanders from his place," an allusion to the exile. Mr. Perowne playfully asks whether the proverb "might not be just as well relegated, on such grounds, to the age of Cain, the first and most notorious wanderer from his home." Probably Dr. Toy's recently published volume on the Proverbs will convince Mr. Perowne that the mass of evidence for a later date cannot be so lightly brushed aside. Under the head of moral and religious teaching, the writer has some very suggestive remarks on "prophecy by ideals," with special reference, of course, to the splendid conception of personified Wisdom. But when he finds in the Proverbs "clear and forcible testimony to a belief in a future life," he is easily satisfied. The one saying which seems to refer to the future—"the righteous hath hope in his death"—is of doubtful authority, and differs entirely in the LXX. The Notes which form the main part of the volume are in many respects excellent. The numerous classical allusions are very interesting. But it seems to us a pity that so much space is taken up with the comparison of the A.V. and the R.V. The process of collating verse after verse becomes extremely tiresome and distracting to the reader. If the R.V. is here invariably better than the A.V.—and we have not observed in Mr. Perowne's notes a single case to the contrary—why burden the memory with the A.V. at all? It would be far better—if it be permissible—to print the R.V. as the basis of the notes, and get down to the contents of the Book without more ado. In general, Mr. Perowne's attention is so much taken up with what is external, grammatical and textual, that instead of getting at the inner meaning of a passage we are left just on the threshold. A commentary to be helpful in the highest sense should be an appreciation;

the writer should communicate to his readers the glow of admiration with which he himself reads his author. The Book of Proverbs is so amazingly wise and clever that one is always inclined to question J. P. Robinson's famous saying:

They didn't know everythin' down in Judee.

On practical ethics and religion the wise Hebrews knew most things, and the expositor should concentrate our attention upon their ideals of faith and character and duty. To give an instance of the kind of commenting which appears to us to mar Mr. Perowne's excellent work: why should he devote a long paragraph to the anatomy of the coney? It is no doubt interesting to know that this creature of God has "long plantigrade feet, no tail, nails instead of claws, weak teeth and short incisors," but the Bible was not written to tell us about plantigrade feet. Agar the son of Jakeh looked at the "feeble folk" in a different light. Mr. Perowne's references to parallel scriptures are usually accurate and well-chosen, though among so many passages slips are almost inevitable. The proverb, "A wise servant shall have rule over a son that causeth shame," is said to be "exemplified in Eliezer of Damascus." But Eliezer and Ishmael are never once mentioned together. The reference is given to Gen. xv., 2, but the son that caused shame in Abraham's household is not born till a later chapter.

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2. Dr. Barnes, who writes on the Chronicles, agrees with most scholars in thinking that this Book cannot have been completed till *circ.* 300-250 B.C. The sources which the chronicler used, in addition to the Book of Kings, were family or tribal songs or traditions, local traditions, and prophetic or priestly writings now lost to us. The narratives which are peculiar to Chronicles—such as the wonderful victories of Abijah, Asa and Jehoshaphat, Uzziah's leprosy, Manasseh's repentance—have often been regarded as of the nature of *haggadah*, that is, as tales or parables enforcing moral and religious lessons. Mr. Barnes regards them as, on the whole, historical as well as edifying. He admits, how-

ever, that in this Book "the great men of Israel are idealised," that the numbers are exaggerated, that there are "many anachronisms," that "the one main purpose of the Chronicler was to impress on his people the importance of the Temple worship," and he believes that the Priestly Code as a whole was not, as the Chronicler assumes, pre-exilic.

Dr. Barnes indicates all the passages in which the *Kings* and the *Chronicles* agree. But what the thoughtful reader rather wants is a key to the acknowledged discrepancies between the two Books. To take an instance: in the *Kings* Abijah walks in all the sins of his father, and nothing is mentioned to his credit; in the *Chronicles*, the unfavourable judgment is omitted, and he is represented as a brave and pious prince. Dr. Barnes does not accept the theory of the sacred *haggadah*, but as a rule he offers no other. In one striking instance, however, he does essay to reconstruct history. It is the case of Elijah's mysterious letter to Jehoram. "Even in Jehoshaphat's reign," says the expositor, "Elijah seems to have been no longer among the living. A prophecy of Elijah against Jehoram of Judah is an unlikely event. May it be that some adaptation of words of Elijah to suit Jehoram's case was placarded by some unknown hand outside Jehoram's palace?" If this, however, is the modicum of historical truth that underlies the narrative, we do not know that there is much to choose between the myth and the *haggadah* pure and simple.

One of the most characteristic chapters in the *Chronicles* is the narrative of the invasion of Judah by an immense host from the east of Jordan and the march of the congregation against them, not with weapons of war but with musical instruments (2 Chr. xx.) The whole story as told by the *Chronicles* is extremely impressive and edifying. But it is entirely omitted from the *Kings*, and many scholars are inclined to regard it as a parable. Dr. Barnes accepts its historicity, but instead of giving us his reasons for doing so, he refers us to Prof. G. A. Smith's *Historical Geography* for "a discussion of the historical probabilities of the following account" (p. 212). It is an easy way of settling difficulties.



Now on referring to Prof. Smith's book we find some remarks as to the geographical features of the narrative, but as for a "discussion" of its historicity, there is really none. On the contrary the story is evidently as great a puzzle to Prof. Smith as to other scholars, for he remarks that the narrative is very obscure, and that "all the places are as unknown as the authors of the mysterious slaughter."

On questions of language and topography Dr. Barnes' Notes are very full. No authority is quoted so often as Bädeler. But the Biblical theology is defective on some important points. How does the earlier historian say that God moved David to number Israel, and the later that Satan stood up and moved David to number Israel? Nothing is said as to the development of the new doctrine of the Satan or accuser. And one might expect something regarding the *ethical* difficulties which puzzle ordinary readers. When, for example, it is said that Jehoshaphat and his holy army took three days to plunder the dead bodies of enemies whom *others* had slain (2 Chr. xx., 25), is it right that the expositor should pass the matter over in complete silence?

JAS. STRACHAN.

## **A History of New Testament Times in Palestine.**

*By Professor Shailer Mathews, A.M., Chicago. Published by the MacMillan Co. of New York. Pp. 218. Price 3s. 6d.*

## **Studies of the Portrait of Christ.**

*By the Rev. George Matheson D.D., F.R.S.E. Hodder & Stoughton. Pp. 326. Price 6s.*

THIS volume is one of a promised series of New Testament Handbooks. Professor Mathews is general editor. One volume has been published, a History of New Testament Textual Criticism by Professor Vincent.

The work before us is printed on good paper, well bound and pleasant to handle. The author allows himself considerable freedom in delimiting his subject. He goes back to B.C. 175, working over the century and three-quarters for an effective background. The plan is open to criticism; for it is not till we have turned the rooth page that we come to what may be specifically termed New Testament times.

With this little exception, however, criticism is satisfied. The book is an outcome of excellent historical work. Valuable footnotes afford practical guidance for further study; and there are additional evidences of the author's thorough equipment for the work which he has so successfully completed. This is not dry-as-dust history. There is movement and life in the story. There are pages that stir the blood. The writer approaches his varied material with sympathy, and is by no means indiscriminating where he cannot approve. The remark is apropos of his sympathetic statement of the better side in Scribism (p. 161). The same attitude is evident in his account of the Messianic hope.

"It is naturally difficult to reproduce exactly and in detail this national expectation as it appeared among so many

groups of men. The literature which has survived was probably that of but one or two schools of religionists, *and the hope of the masses has to be reconstructed from incidental statements and allusions.* Speaking generally, however, the hope took two directions—that of literature and that of popular feeling” (p. 165).

The italics are ours : the clause we emphasize reveals the keen human sympathy with which the whole inquiry is prosecuted.

If sympathy is anywhere absent, or at least suppressed, it is with what is surely a too impartial historical spirit in the setting of Jesus in the circumstances of His times. The picture is accurately limned, but is wanting in the expression of life. No doubt the author has his reply, that here especially the historian must be scrupulously impartial. We shall not quarrel. Certain it is the student sees the facts, if he sees them through the cold light of science. We look with interest and anticipated pleasure to the issue of this useful and valuable series.

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The purport of Dr. Matheson's work is made clear by the title. The idea of the portrait runs through the whole volume, yet without being overworked.

The work is happily characterised by the various qualities which belong to Dr. Matheson's writings, imaginative though not to excess, original and germinative, at once devout and strong. The work is to be described as semi-devotional. The epithet, of course, casts no doubt upon the element of devotion but suggests the presence of a strong intellectual element as well, combining with the devotional. This is a welcome presence in such a volume. The work is in fact a systematic study of the human development of Jesus and is deserving of a most hearty welcome as a stimulating manual of devotion.

Many a terse sententious saying is to be found in the book. “Teach me that the burial of self is the road to resurrection.” “The measure of a man is not his experience but his hope.” “There is as much narrowness in the inability to contract as in the inability to expand.”

The expositions are generally concrete, always clear, and often marked by insight and vision. It is embarrassing to select: we give one instance of happy suggestive exposition.

*"Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus, who though in the form of God —"*

"This is Paul's philosophy of the life of Jesus. What is it? It is the description of a ladder of descent. You observe that it goes systematically from the top to the bottom. It begins by delineating the height, and it ends by depicting the vale.

"Every step of the ladder of Jesus is described as a step downwards. We see Him first 'in the form of God'—in the enjoyment of the Divine Communion. Here comes the first interruption to the Communion. It is a thought—the thought of those who share not the privilege. This thought will not let Him rest satisfied with a personal Communion; He will not snatch it for Himself alone. He puts Himself in the place of those outside; He begins by doing so in thought. He empties Himself in imagination, of His own beatific vision—tries to conceive what life would be without it. Then He passes from imagination into act. Step by step he comes down. He takes the servant's form—lofty yet subordinate. He comes down lower to the likeness of ordinary men; He participates a common experience. He descends further still; He loses His first fame; He is recognised only 'in the fashion of a man'. He stoops still lower; He humbles Himself—gives up His just ideal of an immediate kingdom. Then comes the schooling of His mind to a more dismal ideal: He becomes obedient unto death.

"At last the foot of the ladder is reached in the most repulsive form of death—the form which separated the ordinary man from the despised man—the death of the cross" (pp. 71, 72).

This is a really helpful popular exposition, and many such passages occur through the work. We hope Dr. Mathe-son will be encouraged by the reception of this volume to "pursue the narrative to the close" in a later volume.

W. B. COOPER.

## Das Verhältniß der Römischen Kirche zu den Kleinasiatischen vor dem Nicaenischen Konzil.

*Antrittsvorlesung von Mag. Theol. A. Berendts, Dozent an der Universität in Dorpat. Leipzig: A. Deichert; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 26. Price M.o.6o.*

IT is the purpose of the author of this lecture to discover the primary causes of the separation between the Eastern and Western Churches. It is not enough to say that the violent insertion of the *Filioque* in the symbol by the Western Church violated the principle of love by which Christendom was bound together. Herr Berendts believes that we must go much farther back to find the true causes of separation. He goes back into the Ante-Nicene period to find the beginning of differences which could have no other issue than the schism of the ninth century. The thesis which he seeks to prove is, that the germs of such a divergence are to be seen in elements existing in the ecclesiastical life of the East and West during the Old Catholic and Post-Apostolic periods.

The *sources* are extremely meagre. Eusebius is the only historian who deals with the whole of the Ante-Nicene period; but he concentrates his attention upon Alexandria and Rome, and has scarcely anything to say about Asia Minor, Greece and Antioch. The writers of the Old Catholic Age, whose works have come down to us—Justin, Irenaeus, Methodius—deal for the most part with other questions than those with which we are concerned. And of Post-Apostolic writers only Clement of Rome and Ignatius of Antioch afford us any help.

There were two controversies which began early to divide East and West, and which early laid the foundations of the ultimate schism: these were the Easter controversy and the question about heretic baptism. The Church of Asia Minor,

and originally also other Churches of the East, were Quarto-deciman, and their views were opposed and rejected by Roman bishops from Xystus to Anicetus, though fellowship with those of such opinions residing in Rome were not broken. The story of the controversy between Polycarp of Smyrna and Anicetus of Rome in A.D. 154 is well known. Berendts traces in an interesting way the gradual establishment of Roman authority in the decision of controversies. Victor, in A.D. 196, decided against Polycrates, and would have broken off church fellowship with the Church of Asia, but for the opposition shown to such extreme measures. Still more serious were the disputes which arose over the question of heretic baptism in A.D. 255. The Decian persecution and the Novatian schism had greatly thinned the ranks of the Roman Church, and so it was in the interest of the Roman bishops not to make the return of the sectaries needlessly difficult. The Church of Asia Minor denied the validity of heretic baptism, but the Roman Church acknowledged its validity. Cyprian of Carthage and Firmilian of Caesarea in Cappadocia opposed the Roman doctrine, which, however, through Augustine's anti-Donatist writings at last gained general ascendancy. The concluding portion of the lecture deals generally with the question of the unity of the Church.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

## **The Apostolic Age : Its life, doctrine, worship and polity-**

*By James Vernon Bartlet, M.A.; Lecturer on Church History in Mansfield College, Oxford. Edinburgh; T. & T. Clark, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xliv. + 542. Price 6s.*

THE Apostolic Age is taken by Mr. Bartlet in the larger sense in which it covers the whole of the first century. After an introduction treating of the scope, sources and chronology of the history, of the old soil and the new seed which was sown in it, he proceeds to the history itself. It is distributed into three books. The first covers the period from A.D. 29 to 62, and includes the whole work of Paul. The second, entitled "The Age of Transition," extends from 62 to 70, and though it includes the first epistle of Peter to the churches of Asia Minor, is mainly occupied with events in Palestine, and in Syria generally. The third, which is headed "The Second Generation : Trials and Consolidation", continues the history from the fall of Jerusalem to the death of St. John, and the epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians. In a fourth book, under the title of "Church Life and Doctrine," Mr. Bartlet summarises some of the results which have been reached in the other three. Unlike some others which have appeared in the same series—*Eras of the Christian Church*—Mr. Bartlet's work is an original and most interesting contribution to the study of the period with which it deals. He is acquainted with the literature; he knows the nature of the problems which he has in hand; he makes a happy use of analogies—for example, those of modern missionary experience—to elucidate difficulties for which learning alone has no key; and under the influence of scholars like Hort, Zahn and Ramsay, he frames such hypotheses as he needs, with a combination of real knowledge and of ingenious and scrupulous discretion which commands admiration if not always conviction.

The first period, which may be said to be co-extensive with the lives of Paul and James, is naturally treated at greatest length. Its general character is given, if we say that throughout it Acts is regarded as a historical authority of the highest value. It is admitted that the author "makes no use of the Pauline epistles" (p. 511), but means are devised to keep him in complete harmony with them. Mr. Bartlet accepts the South Galatian theory, and agrees with Professor Ramsay that Gal. ii. and Acts xv. cannot refer to the same visit of Paul to Jerusalem. But neither can he admit that Paul would pass by the visit of Acts xi. 30, xii. 25, or that Luke may have been mistaken in recording a visit then. He saves everything by making the visit of Gal. ii. a visit of which there is no trace in Acts, and by putting it *before* the famine visit. Thus it enables Paul to demonstrate to the Galatians that he was independent of the twelve Apostles *before he set out to evangelise them* (p. 62). Mr. Bartlet argues that the expression *κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν*, in Gal. ii. 2, falls in with this. The revelation in question is the Christian truth, at that time borne in upon Paul's mind, that in Christ Jesus there is neither Greek nor Jew; it is with this truth, which is the presupposition of a universal gospel, in his mind, that he goes to Jerusalem; and it is after he has won for it the recognition of the "pillars" that he starts on his Gentile mission. There is something in this not quite natural. The context rather suggests that by *κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν* Paul means that he went to Jerusalem under a divine impulse, as opposed to going because he was summoned by his superiors. But in this case the divine impulse itself would be the content of the revelation, not the great Christian truth for which Paul is supposed to bespeak recognition at head quarters. And this suggests that the visit of Gal. ii. was one in which it might plausibly be asserted that Paul *had* been officially summoned to Jerusalem: in other words, that it was a visit of the same character as that described in Acts xv. After all that has been written, one may see no insuperable difficulty in taking Acts xv. and Gal. ii. as records of the same proceedings. Here, too, modern analogies are abundant,



and Acts xi. 30 may be a slip of Luke's, or an occasion when Paul saw no Apostles at all. Mr. Bartlet, of course, makes Galatians the earliest of the epistles ; it may have been written when Paul was *en route* for Jerusalem, and, much as he wished to revisit his converts, could not desert the key of the situation.

For the rest of the Apostle's life, Mr. Bartlet follows Acts closely. He brings out more clearly than was once customary how much of Jewish piety was natural to Paul and could be practised by him in spite of his spiritual emancipation, and he follows Dr. Hort in emphasising his desire to maintain the spiritual unity of Christendom by keeping up constant and charitable relations between his Gentile converts and the mother church at Jerusalem. The treatment of the Corinthian troubles is an excellent example of Mr. Bartlet's candid and delicate manipulation of difficulties. He thinks Paul wrote a passionate letter to Corinth after our first epistle, but that it is not to be identified with cc. x-xiii of our second. He thinks the sinner of 1 Cor. v., and the man who outraged Paul, may be one and the same, though the sin of 1 Cor. v. and the offence or wounding of Paul were not the same thing. Mr. Bartlet holds strongly that Paul's first imprisonment terminated fatally, and that the Book of Acts is expressly intended to suggest this. He puts his case here with unusual impressiveness, but by means of a partition theory he succeeds in eking out our imperfect knowledge of the Apostle's later days with scraps from the pastoral epistles. "A *large* Pauline basis *at least*," he holds, underlies each of these letters, "including all the personal matter". The hypotheses by which he provides situations for 1 Timothy and Titus are neither better nor worse than such things usually are (pp. 180 *ff.*) ; their weakness is that they take no account of the unknown. Mr. Bartlet has a sympathetic appreciation of Paul's religious experience and of his theology, in chapter iii. of his fourth book ; but it may be questioned whether there is not in it both an excess and a defect. Is it not excessive to say that "before his (Paul's) advent there is no sign that any one had learned to see glory in the Cross?" Paul says

that he himself received as the common tradition of Christianity what he also preached—that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures (1 Cor. xv. 3): is there any other glory in the Cross than this? And if we observe in the earliest pre-Pauline Christian preaching the constant reference of Isaiah liii. to Jesus, can we doubt that this glory was well enough understood by the first Christians? The defect has reference to Paul's doctrine of the law. "Both his (Paul's) experience of the Law as a code of divine injunctions—unable to inspire and justify, able only to condemn—and *the lot of Messiah Himself at the hands of the guardians of the law as a letter* (italics ours) converged on one point—death by it, and so to it." When Paul defines the death of Christ in relation to the law, it is not in relation to the law as a letter administered or rather abused by bad men; it is in relation to the law as the holy will of God under which the doom of sin is death. "The hands of the guardians of the law as a letter" have no significance for Paul; nothing bad men could do could ever change his relation to the law of God. We cannot imagine him saying, I am done with the law, for it has had its inevitable issue in the greatest crime of history; what he does say is, Right has been done to the law at last by the Son of God, in that He has borne our sins by dying for them; He has fulfilled the law as it was binding not only on men but on sinful men, and therefore those who are in Him are under law no more. It was not the act of the Sanhedrim, any more than of the centurion and his men, it was the act of God and of Christ by which Paul was redeemed from the law. It is possibly a misapprehension of the same sort as the first when Mr. Bartlet gives Paul the exclusive credit of the deep mystical thoughts which he attaches to baptism in Rom. vi. Paul no doubt loads the Sacraments, so to speak, with his gospel; each of them is a symbol or vehicle of the whole of Christianity as he understood it; but the words about the Supper in Mark and Matthew indicate an apprehension of it in wide circles, to which he can hardly have contributed, and which is essentially one with his own.

The second book opens with an excellent and most useful chapter on Judaism and the empire, and then reviews Christianity generally, from 62 to 70, using as sources the epistle to the Hebrews, 1 Peter, the *Didaché* (the early part of which Mr. Bartlet refers to *circa* A.D. 50), Jude and 2 Peter (which may be genuine except ii. 1—iii. 13), and the *Logia*. The epistle of James, assigned to the Lord's brother, and dated between A.D. 44 and 49 has been utilised in the previous book, with a confidence somewhat surprising to a reader familiar with the arguments for a much later date. With regard to this second book, which abounds in isolated points of interest, one is conscious of a certain want of proportion. Reference is indeed made to early written Gospels, and to the origin of our Mark and Matthew, but surely the Synoptic Gospels, even as we have them, throw a much steadier and more certain light upon the period than the *Didaché* and the Oxyrhynchus *Logia*. No doubt for some of those who will use this book, the *Didaché* and the *Logia* are much less accessible than the evangelists; but to devote some forty pages to them in a work on the Apostolic Age, in which the canonical Gospels are hardly utilised at all, strikes one as almost an intellectual perversity. When every critical abatement has been made, the substance of our synoptic Gospels must have been the substance of all Christian teaching; and, therefore, of all Christian intelligence in the Apostolic Age; and it is perhaps the chief defect of Mr. Bartlet's admirable work, that a preoccupation with new but inconsiderable facts, and novel but insecure combinations of them, has led him to do less than justice to this obvious but fundamental truth.

The sources for the third period, extending from A.D. 70 to about 100 are the epistle of Barnabas, which Mr. Bartlet puts confidently between A.D. 70 and 79; the Apocalypse, on which he has a suggestive essay; the writings of Luke, which are interpreted in this connection from the political point of view—Acts (to put it briefly) being a protest, based on an appeal to the primitive history of Christianity, against such mutual relations of the Church and the Empire

as are revealed in the Apocalypse ; the epistles and the Gospel of John, all of which are regarded as of the same authorship with the Apocalypse ; and, as already mentioned, the epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians. All of this is instructive, but what will be read with the liveliest interest is the chapter on "The Churches of Asia" and the writings of John. "John's position at Ephesus in the closing decade of the first century, and this alone, seems to clear up the innumerable problems of the fourth Gospel" (p. 525). The great difficulty in the way of ascribing such a book to an immediate follower of Jesus is met in the sentence, "The Johannine mode of thought, then, is not speculative but mystical". This distinction is relevant in regard to the epistles and to the body of the Gospel ; but it may be questioned whether it is relevant in regard to the prologue. The idea of the Logos is certainly speculative rather than mystical ; and the use which is made of it in the prologue, to define the relation of the revelation of God made in Christ to all earlier revelations in nature, conscience and history, and to subordinate all being and life to the Word Incarnate, is certainly a speculative use. John's Logos is not that of Philo or of the Stoics, but unless he had felt that there were points of contact and affinity between the truth as he had it in Jesus and the truth which Philo and the Stoics were reaching out to in this term, he could never have used it in the intellectual environment of his time. Christianity had to become speculative if it was to coalesce with human intelligence ; what harm is there in supposing that the process was initiated in the Apostolic Age, and even by an Apostle ?

The only regret one has about the fourth book is its brevity. It is in treating of the Sacraments, the organisation and discipline of the Church, and types of doctrine, that the fruit of study in this period is gathered—especially for the present distress. Mr. Bartlet's results seem to the present writer entirely sound : even more emphasis might have been laid on the idea that words like "ordination" are an anachronism in the Apostolic Age. The earlier books,

however, ought to put the reader in a position to appreciate his New Testament with a zest and precision unknown before; and no one could do a more genuine service to the Church. In the dogmatic sense, of course, there was no New Testament then, and Mr. Bartlet shows great skill in conveying a distinct impression of this without once asserting it; but it is through the New Testament, nevertheless, that primitive Christianity must ever be known, and propagate itself in the world; and it is the signal merit of this book that it is an enlightening and stimulating companion to the New Testament, which every one may read.

JAMES DENNEY.

### **Gleanings in Holy Fields.**

*By Hugh Macmillan, D.D., LL.D. London : Macmillan & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 252. Price 3s. 6d.*

### **Leaves from the Tree of Life.**

*By Alexander Maclaren, D.D. London : Isbister & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 293. Price 5s.*

### **The History of the English Bible, and how it has come down to us.**

*By Rev. W. Burnet Thomson, M.A., B.D. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 1900. Pp. 104. Price 6d. ; cloth 8d.*

DR. MACMILLAN modestly describes his book as "gleanings even among the sheaves," but readers will find this harvest of a quiet and observant eye, both abundant and well saved. The book consists of twenty-one chapters, each of which deals with some interesting by-path of Bible study. The teaching of these is admirably gathered up into direct and striking applications.

The aim of the book is to take "the fifth gospel"—the scenery, manners and customs of the Holy Land—as the interpreter of the obscurer parts of scripture. An unfamiliar, perhaps an unprofitable, looking text is taken, and replaced in its appropriate setting—topographical or archæological, and all with so much deftness and grace, that one feels, here at last is the perfect example of Biblical illustration. It is apt and unhackneyed.

Most of the topics lie out of the ordinary beaten track of the Biblical expositor, and they possess an intrinsic interest quite apart from the practical reflections they invite. These are suggestive in the highest degree, and are set forth with

the charm of diction and imagination that makes the author's style not only luminous but fascinating.

"The Shells of the Sea of Galilee" introduces a paper on the historical and religious significance of the Lake as the cradle of Christianity. "The shell is held to the ear, and we hear the murmur of all the centuries of Christian civilisation in its depths." "The Dew of Hermon" is a devotional study in aspiration and sacrifice, and "The Mistletoe of Bethlehem" points the warning against parasitism in religion. "The Kiblah Point"—the direction of Mecca—which is used to illustrate the significance of Daniel praying with his face towards Jerusalem, gives occasion for a fine discourse on what one might call the "orientation" of the soul in prayer. "The Golden Wedge of Achan" and "The Bells of the Horses" are studies in Old Testament archæology.

There are chapters on Damascus, Capernaum and Shiloh, and a vivid description of a visit to Jericho. Dr. Macmillan found the shadow of "the unspeakable Turk" resting heavy on the old frontier town, but were that shadow dispelled, he ventures to prophesy that "'Go to Jericho' would be the most benignant advice that a man could proffer to his friend". The book concludes with a sketch of the convent of Mar Saba, in the heart of the desert of Judea. Its contributions to hymnody, and its famous men—Cosmas, John of Damascus and St. Stephen the Sabaite, author of "Art thou weary"—are appreciatively described. Dr. Macmillan has been very successful in reproducing the local colour and associations of the place, and leaves a very distinct and vivid impression of the little community of ecclesiastical Socialists, for whom, ultimately, alas! "the Sin of Accidie" proved too strong. This is a delightful book, interesting to the scholar and full of points for the preacher. It sets a standard for books of Biblical illustration.

Those who have long wished for a book of selections, giving the gems of Dr. Maclaren's sermons, will find their wish realised in this volume. There are forty-nine of them here; not bald extracts, but fully-developed passages, giving,

and often very felicitously, the exegesis, plan and development of sermons that need no commendation. "Demetrius hath the witness of all men and of the truth itself."

All the old favourites that live in the memory—apt title and memorable phrasing—the delight and despair of the preacher, are here. It is a distinct service to have in this convenient and seemly form the gist of a great preacher's message to his age. Those who have former volumes will get this one also, for one feels it does for Maclaren of Manchester what Arnold aimed at for Wordsworth, "to exhibit the body of his best work, to clear away obstructions from around it, and to let it speak for itself".

There are, besides, many busy men who feel it a matter of some difficulty to find a book, at once devotional and *thoughtful*, for the quiet moments of a too occupied life. Let them lay this book and their heart together. It will give them leisure from themselves, and the practice of the presence of God.

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This scholarly primer will be warmly welcomed. It is the cheapest and most complete guide to the story of the Bible hitherto published. There have been in recent years several histories of the English Bible, but this book is better than its modest title, for it is a thoroughly up-to-date and remarkably lucid introduction both to the history and the textual criticism of Scripture.

One has often wished to find a book that might usefully be put into the hands of young people for private study and as the basis of class instruction, giving the salient points in the growth and making of the Bible. This primer supplies the long felt want.

In successive chapters, it deals with the Hebrew Bible under Scribes and Massorettes, with the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the LXX. The sections on the Greek Testament, the various readings, and the canons of criticism affecting them are models of well-informed and careful exposition. The history of the English Bible from Caedmon to the Revised Version is told with taste and discrimination, and leaves



nothing to be desired in interest and accuracy. A frontispiece gives a remarkably clear facsimile of the Codex Sinaiticus, of a palimpsest of the Codex Porphyrianus, and a facsimile of Matt. xii. 10-15 in Tyndale's first Testament.

This book will be a great acquisition to those who wish to find a fresh and stimulating course of study for Bible Classes. Its arrangement and teachable style will commend it alike to teacher and to pupil.

W. M. GRANT.

**Aus Posens und Polens kirchlicher Vergangenheit.**

*Dr. Eugen Borgius. Berlin, 1898. 8vo, pp. iv. + 129.*

**Lasciana nebst den ältesten Evang. Synodalprotokollen  
Polens 1555-61.**

*Herausgegeben und erläutert von D. Hermann Dalton. Berlin,  
1898. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 575.*

**History of the Christian Church, A.D. 1517-1648. Third  
volume. Reformation and Counter-reformation.**

*By the late Dr. Wilhelm Moeller. Edited by Dr. G. Kawerau.  
Translated from the German by J. H. Freese, M.A., Late  
Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. London: Swan  
Sonnenschein & Co., 1900. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 476. Price  
15s.*

THESE first two volumes, of which Dalton's is much the larger, form a noteworthy contribution to the history of the Church in Poland. The first travels over a considerable amount of well-known ground in connection with the Church in Poland. Christianity came to Poland through Bohemia as far back as the latter half of the tenth century. We are reminded in this volume, among much that is interesting, that the Reformation also came to Poland through Bohemia. Further, the Bohemian brethren, driven into exile in 1548, found a home in Poland, and in return brought the doctrines of Luther and the well-grounded principles of the Reformation. In its first days in Poland, the Church was bitterly persecuted, as by Sigismund I.; but the truth spread. Many of the younger Poles had come under the personal and magnetic influence of Luther. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the Reformation was established in Poland. Of the

later history of the Polish Church, it is sufficient to refer to the troubles of the Protestants in the first half of the seventeenth century. Not till 1772 was religious toleration afforded them.

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Dr. Dalton's volume is the third of a history of the evangelical churches in Russia. Two parts have already appeared: one in 1887 and the other in 1889. The present volume deals with the Polish Church in Reformation times, and specially with the remarkable figure of John à Lasco. Students of the life of Lasco have already been deeply indebted to the labours of Hermann Dalton. They are here presented with a number of fresh and interesting details, prefixed to a collection of Lasco's correspondence. The career of John à Lasco deserves such minute detail as is here lavished on it. It was a career of the most varied character. John à Lasco was the Knox of Poland, and indeed both lives travel on curiously parallel lines. His evangelical faith obliged him to leave his Fatherland. In 1550 we find him in England, deep in the confidence of Cranmer. Shortly after, we find him at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, pastor to a mixed congregation of Protestant refugees. In 1556, his countrymen recalled him as the one strong man who should help them in a national crisis. He died in 1560, but not till he had seen the Reformation established in Poland, and something done to give the people the Bible in their own tongue and to bring together the Lutherans and the Reformed who in Poland, as elsewhere, by their bitter controversy did so much to retard the progress of the Reformation. A national council had been demanded in 1555, and in the second part of Dalton's volume we have the records of the synods from 1555 to 1561. There is thus in this volume a mass of reliable information which no student of the life of John à Lasco or the history of the Polish Church can overlook.

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The earlier volumes of the translation of Moeller's history have been already noticed in this review. Consequently, the

volume before us does not call for extended notice. This is the third volume of Moeller's masterly work, and deals exhaustively with the Reformation period. In a preliminary note it is pointed out that the editor of the history, Dr. G. Kawerau has to be regarded as "mainly responsible for the present instalment". The volume before us does not fall behind its predecessors. It is marked by lucidity, conciseness of statement, wealth of detail, and impartiality of judgment. The editor's motto, indeed, has been the exhortation of Luther, "intrepidly to write what is true". This is the sort of book which a student rejoices over. It is scientific and practical ; it is comprehensive, deep and clear. A comparison with Kurtz is inevitable. Both manuals are thoroughly good ; but probably the student will find Moeller's the more useful.

W. BEVERIDGE.

## Notices.

Two volumes of very special interest are added to the series of historical monographs known by the title of "Heroes of the Reformation". The series is an attractive one, and the editor, Professor Samuel Macauley Jackson of New York University, is to be congratulated on the success of his labours thus far. The two volumes now before us have *Philip Melanchthon*<sup>1</sup> and *Desiderius Erasmus*<sup>2</sup> as their subjects. They are both excellent pieces of work, which have cost care and pains at once in the matter of historical investigation and in the art of composition. They are well written, and contain many passages of vivid description or telling characterisation. They have the additional charm of numerous illustrations. There are thirty-six of these in the volume on Melanchthon, and thirty-five in that on Erasmus. Most of them are effective, not a few of them are of peculiar interest. They are representations not only of the leading personages themselves, but of their surroundings and belongings, their homes, the cities with which they were connected, the title-pages of their books, etc. Nor are these volumes mere popular reproductions of the scholarly inquiries of others. Both authors have gone to the works of the men themselves for most of their material, and furnish the authorities on which they base their statements. The picture which Professor Richard gives us of Melanchthon seems to us to be a re-

<sup>1</sup> *Philip Melanchthon, the Protestant Preceptor of Germany.* By James William Richard, D.D., Professor of Homiletics, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898. Pp. xv. + 399. Price 6s.

<sup>2</sup> *Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam.* By Ephraim Emerton, Ph.D., Winn Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Harvard University. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1899. Pp. xxvi. + 469. Price 6s.

markably faithful one. He presents Philip as he lived and moved, the clear-headed, well-balanced, keen-sighted scholar and unrivalled teacher, conciliatory and disposed to lean on stronger natures, yet capable of firmness and independence when occasion required. Professor Emerton has done equally well with Erasmus. His task is a particularly difficult one, and no one will see more clearly than himself that the ideal Life of the many-sided Dutchman has still to be written. But within the limits prescribed for him by the plan of this series he has made a considerable contribution to that. He has given us a weighty estimate of the work of the great Humanist in relation to the Reformation movement, and a picture of the man himself in which the grave defects of his character are by no means hidden. Now and again we come upon telling sentences like this: "His real, permanent and persistent interest was his own self-culture—not in any narrow or mean sense, but that he might be equal to the great demands he was preparing to make upon himself". Careful use is made of Erasmus's letters and writings, and valuable digests are given of his chief works.

The Rev. D. Butler gives an interesting sketch of *Henry Scougal*.<sup>1</sup> It is intended to follow up his volume on *John Wesley and George Whitefield in Scotland*, and was suggested by it. There the author's object was to exhibit the influence of the Oxford Methodists on Scottish religion. Here his object is to show how the leaders of the Oxford Methodist Movement were influenced by the Professor of Divinity in King's College, Aberdeen, who is best known as the author of *The Life of God in the Soul of Man*. It seems to us that Mr. Walker does more than the facts bear out when he claims for Henry Scougal the distinction of being the real inspirer of the English movement, and pronounces it to be "more than probable" that Charles Wesley got the idea of his Oxford Society from Aberdeen. Be this as it may, the fact remains

<sup>1</sup> *Henry Scougal and the Oxford Methodists, or the Influence of a Religious Teacher of the Scottish Church.* By the Rev. D. Butler, M.A., Abernethy, Perthshire. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1899. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 151. Price 2s. 6d.

that the Methodist leaders knew and valued Scougal's treatise and owed something to it. This is well brought out by Mr. Walker, who at the same time gives us an attractive picture of the man and a careful appreciation of his work. Henry Scougal is a man who deserves to be better known than he is. His place is among the notable divines of the north-east of Scotland. He did much in a very brief life, and left behind him a remarkable name for devoutness as well as for capacity. Mr. Butler's account of Scougal's career and influence is by no means too long. It is written with skill and good taste, and deserves a cordial welcome.

The *Textbibel*<sup>1</sup> which has been prepared by a number of well-known scholars under the general editorship of Professor Kautzsch of Halle, is now in the hands of the public. It appears in two different issues, one with and another without the Apocrypha. It includes Weizsäcker's admirable translation of the New Testament in its last and best edition, which also is to be had separately in the same size of volume.<sup>2</sup> The Apocryphal books of the Old Testament include only those found in Luther's Bible, and are given in the text followed by Professor Kautzsch and his colleagues in their *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*. The whole project originated in the success of the former work, *Die heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, for which also Professor Kautzsch, with the help of ten *collaborateurs*, was responsible. The object of the present volume is to give to the ordinary German reader all the benefits of the former work without any of its technicalities. It puts the German public in possession of a version of the whole Bible which

<sup>1</sup> *Textbibel des alten und neuen Testaments, in Verbindung mit zahlreichen Fachgelehrten herausgegeben.* Von Dr. E. Kautzsch, Professor der Theologie in Halle a. S.; *Das neue Testament in der Uebersetzung von Dr. C. Weizsäcker in Tübingen.* Ausgabe A, mit den *Apokryphen des alten Testaments*. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. vi. 1139+212+288. Price M.10.50. Bound M.12.

<sup>2</sup> *Das neue Testament in der Uebersetzung von Carl Weizsäcker.* Gross-octav-Ausgabe, 1899. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 282. Price M.2.40.

brings the humblest reader abreast of the results of the best scholarship of the day, so that he may feel assured that he has his Bible as it actually is. The editor and his colleagues in this important enterprise, Professors Baethgen, Guthe, Kamphausen, Kittel, Löhr, Marti, Rothstein, Rüetschi, Ryssel, Siegfried and the late Professor Socin, have done a distinguished service to the German people which deserves the most cordial and grateful acknowledgment. Most especially will the merit of their work be recognised in their rendering of the poetical and prophetical books.

The subject of the twenty-ninth Fernley Lecture, delivered in London, July, 1899, by Thos. F. Lockyer, B.A., is given as *The Evangelical Succession, or the Spiritual Lineage of the Christian Church and Ministry*.<sup>1</sup> The lecture, as it appears in published form, is an argument against the theory of Apostolical Succession. But it does not attempt any reasoned refutation of that theory, neither does it go into a detailed examination of the grounds on which it is affirmed. What it attempts is to exhibit the alternative truth in its own intrinsic reasonableness and superiority. It discourses, therefore, on such topics as law, priesthood, sacrifice, the remission of sins, the righteousness of faith, etc., bringing out their evangelical meaning and worth. There is nothing novel in the book, nor anything very profound. It is a popular statement, such as no doubt well served the purposes of a public address.

Anything that comes from the hand of the venerable Professor F. Godet, an acknowledged master in New Testament criticism and exegesis, is sure of a cordial and appreciative reception. He is one to whom all students of the New Testament owe much, and one from whom they rejoice to get the rich fruits of his honoured age. The third *livraison* of his *Introduction to the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> London: C. H. Kelley, 1899. 8vo, pp. 154. Price 2s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> *Introduction au Nouveau Testament*. Par F. Godet, Docteur en Théologie, Professeur à la Faculté de l'Église Indépendante de Neuchâtel. Introduction Particulière. II. *Les Évangiles et les Actes des Apôtres*. Première Partie. *Les Trois Premiers Évangiles*. 3<sup>me</sup> Livraison. Neuchâtel: Attinger, 1899. 8vo, pp. 325 + 442.



deals with Mark's Gospel, and examines with the author's accustomed acuteness and rare felicity of style the usual critical and historical questions. The second gospel is taken to have been written most probably at Rome, and to have been meant for Roman readers. In support of this destination particular use is made of the description of Simon of Cyrene (chap. xv. 21) as "the father of Alexander and Rufus". The question of the integrity of xvi. 9-20 is discussed at length. This, we must confess, is the least satisfactory part of the work. The reasons given on page 413 for a return to the traditional view are not of much weight. There are other things, however, that will repay consideration. The account which is offered, *e.g.*, of the sources of the gospel, is that they include the general oral apostolic tradition; this tradition also as reproduced specially by Peter; something of Mark's own; and perhaps certain recollections of the Apostle John communicated orally to Mark.

We are very glad to have an earlier portion of Professor Godet's *Introduction* in an English translation, *viz.*, the section dealing with the *Collection of the Four Gospels and the Gospel of St. Matthew*.<sup>1</sup> This part is of special interest for the early date (A.D. 60-66) to which the author assigns Matthew's Gospel, and for the way in which he reconciles the discordant traditions. He supposes that the work first composed by Matthew was a collection of discourses only; that this Aramaean writing was specially translated into Greek and completed by a narrative of the ministry of Jesus; that no Aramaean Gospel intermediate between the collection of *Logia* and our canonical Matthew is required; and that our canonical gospel was called that of *Matthew* because it contained the *Logia*, and by reason of the influence that the Apostle exercised on "the form of the apostolic narrative" in it. The translation is by the hand of Mr. Affleck and reads admirably.

We have received an edition of *The Five Theological Orations*

<sup>1</sup> Authorised Translation from the French. By William Affleck, B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1899. 8vo, pp. xii. + 272. Price 6s. net.

of *Gregory of Nazianzus*,<sup>1</sup> prepared for the series of Cambridge Patristic Texts by Professor A. T. Mason, D.D., the general editor of this useful series, a useful and welcome book, with a carefully edited text, a valuable introduction, and numerous scholarly notes; a small volume called *God's Forget-Me-Nots*,<sup>2</sup> by the Rev. A. A. Cooper, M.A., containing a series of brief, pointed, picturesque addresses to young people, attractive in style and bearing some suggestive titles—"Watching the Headline," "Half-way to Jungle," etc.; an exposition of *The First Epistle to the Thessalonians*,<sup>3</sup> by Principal G. W. Garrod, following the same plan as his former volume on the *Epistle to the Colossians*, giving a very full analysis of the epistle and a series of useful and scholarly notes—all done with conspicuous care and in a way that will make the book useful not only for college purposes, but for general reading; three sermons under the general title of *Holy Ground*,<sup>4</sup> preached by Rev. J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., in Westminster Abbey, in connection with the South African war, giving some simple but opportune and patriotic counsels on hope, consolation and responsibility, suitable to the present circumstances of the country; a volume by Prebendary Grane on the *Hard Sayings of Jesus Christ*,<sup>5</sup> which, without going very profoundly into any of the difficulties in view, deals in a practical and often helpful way with certain words of our Lord (those, *e.g.*, on hating father and mother, making friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, etc.) which a pastor sometimes finds to be misunderstood by members of his flock or a cause of trouble to them; a volume of a larger order by Dean Farrar,

<sup>1</sup> Cambridge University Press, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxiv. + 212. Price 5s. net.

<sup>2</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 61.

<sup>3</sup> London: Macmillan & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. + 164. Price 2s. 6d. net.

<sup>4</sup> London: Macmillan & Co., 1900. 8vo, pp. 39. Price 1s.

<sup>5</sup> *A Study of the Mind and Method of the Master.* By William Leighton Grane, M.A., Prebendary of Chichester and Rector of Bexhill-on-Sea. London: Macmillan & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 212. Price 5s.

*Texts Explained, or Helps to understand the New Testament*,<sup>1</sup> another testimony to the dean's wonderful diligence and versatility, a book which takes up the various New Testament writings *seriatim*, noticing every passage which calls for special remark as obscure, of difficult interpretation, or popularly misunderstood, and offering explanations—a book which, however doubtful some of the opinions expressed and interpretations offered may be, is rich in suggestive remark and helpful in a high degree to the more intelligent study of the New Testament; *A Free Inquiry into the Origin of the Fourth Gospel*,<sup>2</sup> by P. C. Sense, M.A., an elaborate but mistaken attempt to connect the Fourth Gospel with Cerinthus, defective in its scholarship, confident to the point of audacity in many of its statements, not without cleverness certainly, but proceeding on the most curious ideas of what makes historical proof (the great discovery of the true authorship, *e.g.*, turns on the discovery of the substitution of the word “dove” for “water” in John, xix. 34), and mixing up with its proper argument all kinds of incongruities about bishops' salaries, our judicial courts, companies Acts, etc.

The exhaustive study of the Greek verbal in -TEO by Mr. Charles Edward Bishop is continued in the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. xx., 2. The “philosophic” origin of the *τὸ ποιητέον* is contested, and, as against Struve, it is held that the “normal position and use of the verbal is predicative, and predicative only”.

In the fifth number of the fourth volume of the *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses*, M. J. Turmel gives the third of his elaborate series of studies on “Angelology,” dealing with the ideas regarding the creation, specific distinction and perfections of angels, that have been held since the time of Dionysius. M. Henri Margival continues his account of “Richard Simon,” taking up his last works and specially the *Defence of Tradition and the Fathers*.

<sup>1</sup> By F. W. Farrar, D.D., F.R.S., Dean of Canterbury, etc. London : Longmans, Green & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxv. + 356. Price 6s.

<sup>2</sup> London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. viii. + 456. Price 7s. 6d.

The fourth part of the second volume of the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*,<sup>1</sup> edited by Professor Achelis of Bremen, contains much good matter. Among other things we have a particularly interesting paper by Professor Kohlbach of Kaposvár on the "Mythology and Cultus of the old Hungarians".

The third part of volume xviii. of the *Analecta Bollandiana* issued by Carolus de Smedt, Josephus de Baeker and other presbyters of the Society of Jesus, is to hand. It contains among other things the "Acta Græca" of David, Symeon, and George of Mitylene, admirably printed and carefully edited; and a short paper on the birthplace of Jerome, dealing with an inscription published in 1882 and another belonging to the Museum of Spalato, by which the writer thinks we can fit the locality more exactly. The fourth part devotes a good many pages to a statement of the results of archæological research in Istria and Dalmatia in their bearings on the Hagiology of those parts.

Dr. Murray Mitchell is one of our veteran missionaries, full of years and honour. His interest in all that concerns the evangelisation of the Indian people is as intense as ever, and his pen retains its skill. A cordial reception will be given to the recollections of his early missionary life, which he gives to the public under the title of *In Western India*.<sup>2</sup> The book is full of interest and presents a very vivid picture of what things were and how the preaching of the Gospel made its way in Western India more than half a century ago. It is a record of faithful and fruitful work, honourable alike to the writer and to the wife to whom the book is appropriately dedicated.

We are indebted to Dr. Arthur H. Smith for a volume on *Village Life in China*<sup>3</sup> which is full of information. Dr. Smith is well entitled to write on such a subject. He has

<sup>1</sup> Freiburg i. B. : J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh, Williams & Norgate. Price of yearly volume, M.14.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh : David Douglas, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 405. Price 5s.

<sup>3</sup> Edinburgh and London : Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 360. Price 7s. 6d.

had long experience in China, and he has a sincere respect for the Chinese people. He tells us much about the institutions, usages and public characters of the Chinese village, the ways of the boys and men, the girls and women, the monotony and vacuity of village life, the unstable equilibrium of the Chinese family, etc. He gives his book the sub-title of *A Study in Sociology*, and in accordance with that he says much that is of interest on the marriage and funeral customs of the villagers, their shops, theatres, schools, markets, fairs, loan societies and the like. He closes with a brief chapter on the regeneration of the Chinese village, and the necessity of applying to it the spiritual forces of Christianity, in which he recognises the sole agency sufficient for the purpose. The book is one well worth reading.

From the other side of the Atlantic we have received a scholarly treatise on *The Doctrine of Saint John*.<sup>1</sup> It is a remarkably compact and precise statement. Brief as it is, it attempts to interpret the theology of St. John as a whole, and to give an exposition of it which will not only embrace all the great ideas but present them as a system. And it succeeds to a large extent in this. Mr. Lowrie does not embarrass us with details, but concentrates his strength on the task of exhibiting the unity of thought on the Johannine writings. After an introduction which explains concisely what Biblical theology is, what methods are proper to it, and what special problems belong to the Johannine theology in particular, he gives an excellent statement of the outstanding characteristics of the doctrine of St. John. Having done this he takes up his main subject and deals with it under a scheme which has the merit of simplicity, if not of scientific adequacy. He arranges all the various elements in the Johannine teaching under these four heads—"God," "The Logos with God," "The Kosmos lying in Darkness," "The Life Manifested". The most difficult questions belong to the second of these divisions, and they are well handled. There

<sup>1</sup> *An Essay on Biblical Theology*. By Walter Lowrie, M.A., Mission Priest in the City Mission, Philadelphia. Longmans, Green & Co., New York, London and Bombay, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx., 216. Price 5s.

are good statements, *e.g.*, on John's use of the term *Logos*, his motive for the choice of it, and the ideas conveyed by it. The writer thinks that what was wanted was a name that would "designate Jesus according to His nature, and a substantial identification, not only with God in the abstract, but with the God of the Old Testament". He does not think we are entitled to say that John could have met this want only in one way. But he points out that the choice of a term for such a purpose was "narrowed by certain important considerations". For if the Apostle were the author, Semitic representations and not metaphysical Greek thought would be his source, while his habit of interpreting salvation in terms of *revelation* or *manifestation* would lead to the selection of a name in which that thought would have a large place. "This we see actually realised," thinks Mr. Lowrie, "in the choice of the term *Logos* or *Word* which was suggested, not by the poetical personification of the Old Testament, but by its simplest and most ordinary employment in the formula of prophecy ('the Word of the Lord came to me'), and in the creative fiat ('And he said—and it was so') as the word of power and as the word of revelation." The affinities between John's doctrine and Paul's, on the election of God, the Covenant people, the purpose and efficacy of Christ's death, the ministry of the Spirit, etc., are admirably expounded. The book altogether is a careful study and makes a very useful guide to the subject.

There is much good and varied matter in the third number of *The Journal of Theological Studies*. The opening paper by the Bishop of Edinburgh investigates the sense of the phrase, "Our Alms and Oblations". The Rev. F. R. Tennant contributes a suggestive article on the "Theological Significance of Tendencies in Natural Philosophy". There is an appreciative estimate of Dr. Hort by the Rev. T. B. Strong, and Dr. W. E. Barnes has a paper which deserves attention on "Ancient Corrections in the Text of the Old Testament". Messrs. Crum and Kenyon have something of interest to say on "Two Chapters of John in Greek and Middle Egyptian". There are also important Notes on the "History of Latin

MSS.," on the "Italian Origin of Codex Bezae and Codex 1071," etc. Mr. Haverfield touches briefly on the *στρατηγοί* of Philippi, questioning the conjecture that the magistrates of Philippi bore the title *prætores* (= *στρατηγοί*) instead of the usual *duoviri*.

The April issue of *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review* opens with a sensible discussion of the question of "Authority in Religion," by Professor Henry Collin Minton. Then follows a very learned article by Professor Benjamin Warfield of Princeton on "The Oracles of God". Its object is to bring together all the material available for determining the sense of the term *λόγια* as it appears in the New Testament. It is a very complete and instructive study. Professor Boyd writes on the "Composition of the Book of Ezra," and Professor Day has much to the purpose to say on "Theological Seminaries and their Critics". We have also a careful account of an old "Scottish Schoolman of the Seventeenth Century," viz., Dr. Robert Baron of St. Salvador's College, St. Andrew's, by the Rev. John Macpherson, and the usual variety of excellent reviews of books.

We welcome also the first issue of the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristenthums* edited by Dr. Erwin Preuschen of Darmstadt, and published by the Rucker'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung in Giessen. The most interesting article in it is one by Professor Adolf Harnack entitled *Probabilia über die Adresse und den Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes*. It is a pleasing but somewhat fine-spun argument in behalf of Aquila and Prisca as the writers, or more exactly in behalf of Prisca's claim to be the author.

In the first part of the third volume of the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, C. Fr. Lehmann gives some valuable notes on the history of religion in the Caucasus and Armenia.

## Record of Select Literature.

### I.—OLD TESTAMENT.

- HOEKSTRA, H.** Salomo's Hooglied. Utrecht: A. Fischer. 8vo, pp. 212. F.1.80.
- KITTEL, R.** Die Bücher der Könige, übers. u. erklärt. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 312. M.6.40.
- DUHM, B.** Die poetischen u. prophetischen Bücher des alten Testaments. Uebersetzungen in den Versmassen der Urschrift. II. Die Psalmen. Uebers. von. B. Duhm. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. 8vo, pp. xxviii. + 222. M.2.50.
- DAHLE, L.** Der Heidenmissionar des Alten Bundes. Der Prophet Jona, seine Person u. Zeit, seine Aufgabe u. Sendg. Aus dem Norweg. v. W. Wendebourg. Berlin: M. Warneck. 8vo, pp. xv. + 145. M.2.
- KOK, J.** Salomo's Prediker, gerangschikt en verklaard. 1. en. 2. Kampen: J. H. Kok. 8vo, pp. x. + 345. F.2.
- DYER, A. S.** Psalm Mosaics; A Biographical and Historical Commentary on the Psalms. New Edition. London: Mowbray. 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- MÖLLER, W.** Historisch-kritische Bedenken gegen die Graf-Wellhausensche Hypothese v. e. früheren Anhänger. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann. 8vo, pp. xii. + 126. M.2.
- PRÆTORIUS, F.** Das Targum zu Josua in jemenischer Ueberlieferung. (In Hebr. Sprache). Berlin: Reuther & Reichard. 8vo, pp. xi. + 47. M.3.
- BUDDE, Karl.** Religion of Israel to the Exile. London: Putnam's Sons. Cr. 8vo, pp. 248. 6s.
- SANDERS, Frank Knight, and KENT, Charles Foster.** The Messages of the later Prophets, arranged in the Order of Time, analysed and freely rendered in Paraphrase. London: J. Clarke. 16mo, pp. 400. 3s. 6d.



- GRÜNEISEN, C. Der Ahnenkultus u. die Urreligion Israels. Halle: A. S. G. Niemeyer. 8vo, pp. xv. + 287. M.6.0.
- JEREMIAS, A. Hölle und Paradies bei den Babyloniern. Leipzig: Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. 32. M.0.60.
- KÖNIG, E. Die Originalität des neulich entdeckten hebräischen Sirachtextes. Textkritisch, exegetisch u. sprachgeschichtlich untersucht. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. 8vo, pp. vii. + 113. M.2.50.
- HAPPEL, O. Das Buch des Propheten Habackuk. Erklärt v. H. Würzburg: A. Göbel. 8vo, pp. vii. + 71. M.2.
- GREEN, W. H. General Introduction to the Old Testament: The Text. New York: C. Scribner's Sons. 8vo, pp. xv. + 190. \$1.50.

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- MOULTON, W. J. Ueber die Ueberlieferung und den textkritischen Wert des dritten Esrabuches. *Z. f. alttest. Wiss.*, I., 1900.
- HERZ, N. Some difficult passages in Job. *Z. f. alttest. Wiss.*, I., 1900.
- HONTHEIM, J. Bemerkungen zu Job 12-14. *Z. f. kath. Theol.*, I., 1900.
- NÖLDEKE, T. Bemerkungen zum hebräischen Ben Sira. *Z. f. alttest. Wiss.*, I., 1900.
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- MILLER, Herbert G. *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians.* London: Skeffington. 8vo, pp. 382. 12s.
- FEINE, P. *Das gesetzesfreie Evangelium des Paulus nach seinem Werdegange dargestellt.* Leipzig: Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. iv. + 232. M.5.
- MÜLLER, K. F. *Des Apostels Paulus Brief an die Philipper. Uebers. u. erklärt.* Freib. i. B.: Herder. 8vo, pp. vii. + 348. M.7.
- ADDERLEY, James. *The Epistle of St. James. With notes for general readers.* London: Gardner, Darton & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 204. 2s. 6d.
- BENSON, Edward White. *The Apocalypse: An Introductory Study of the Revelation of St. John the Divine. Being a presentment of the Structure of the Book and of the Fundamental Principles of its Interpretation.* London: Macmillan. Imp. 8vo, pp. 198. Net 8s. 6d.
- BIGGS, C. R. D. *The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Philippians explained.* London: Methuen. Cr. 8vo, pp. 190. Net 1s. 6d.
- BOWEN, Hon. W. E. *The Dates of the Pastoral Epistles. Two Essays.* London: Nisbet. Cr. 8vo, pp. 62. Net 2s. 6d.
- DRUMMOND, James. *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Thessalonians, Corinthians, Galatians, Romans and Philippians. (International Handbooks to the New Testament.)* London: Putnam's Sons. 8vo, pp. 402. 7s. 6d.
- GORE, Charles. *St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans: A Practical Exposition. Vol. 2, chaps. ix.-xvi.* London: J. Murray. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 241. 3s. 6d.
- SMITH, R. R. *The Epistle of St. Paul's First Trial: An Inquiry into the circumstances under which the Epistle to the Philippians was written.* London: Macmillan. Cr. 8vo. Net 1s. 6d.

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- YOUNG, Rev. Dr. F. B. Some Pauline Data. *Methodist Review*, March-April 1900.
- HOMMEL, Prof. Fritz. The Apocalyptic Origin of the Expression "Son of Man". *Expository Times*, May 1900.
- FORREST, Rev. Dr. D. W. Did Jesus pray with His Disciples? *Expository Times*, May 1900.
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- BRIGGS, Dr. Emily Grace. The Date of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians. *New World*, March 1900.

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- BRÉHIER, Louis. Le Schisme oriental du xi<sup>e</sup> Siècle. Paris : E. Leroux. 8vo, pp. xxx. + 312. F.7.50.
- THE CECUMENICAL DOCUMENTS of the Faith : The Creed of Nicæa, Three Epistles of Cyril, The Tome of Leo, The Chalcedonian Definition. Edit. with Introduction and Notes, by T. Herbert Bindley. London : Methuen. Cr. 8vo, pp. 324. 6s.
- ACTS and Decrees of the Synod of Jerusalem. Trans. from the Greek, with Notes by J. N. W. B. Robertson. London : T. Baker. Cr. 8vo, 5s. net.
- WEIGAND, F. Die Stellung des Apostolischen Symbols im kirchlichen Leben des Mittelalters. 1. Symbol u. Katechumenat. Leipzig : Dieterich. 8vo, pp. viii. + 364. M.7.50.
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## The World and the Individual.

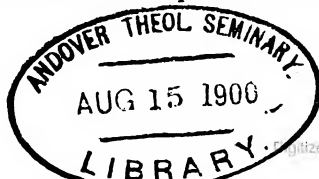
(*Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Aberdeen.  
First Series: The Four Historical Conceptions of Being.*)

By *Josiah Royce, Ph.D., Professor of the History of Philosophy  
in Harvard University.* New York and London: Mac-  
millan, 1900. Pp. xvi. + 588. Price 12s. 6d. net.

No one interested in the problem common to philosophy and theology can afford to neglect this book. From a merely literary point of view it would be difficult to speak too highly of its merits. In method of treatment it is highly original. It abounds in suggestive and often brilliant reflections both on life and on literature. And the whole work is a sustained and consecutive argument designed to establish and expound an Idealistic interpretation of the world.

The most original feature in Dr. Royce's argument is the classification and examination of what he calls the "Four Historical Conceptions of Being". The problem of Being is commonly presented as an inquiry into the nature of reality. The question is: *What is?* For this Dr. Royce substitutes at the outset another question: What is the meaning of the ontological predicate itself? What do we mean when we say of anything that it *is*? To this question he finds four possible and actual answers; and these are his four historical conceptions.

The first conception is that of Realism, and may be best described—if a single word is wanted—by the word *independence*. When we say that a thing *is*, we mean that it is not dependent for its being upon anything else, and, especially, not dependent upon our observing it, or conceiving it, or thinking about it. The second conception is said to be



characteristic of Mysticism; and if one word is wanted to describe the author's view of it, perhaps the word *indifference* might serve. When reality is reached, when we can say of anything that it *is*, or has being, our own thought or idea merges with this being and is thus absorbed or annulled in its object. Being thus becomes the devourer of all distinctions, the destroyer of all definite quality, and indescribable except in negative terms. The third conception is that ascribed to Critical Rationalism, and may be expressed in the one word *validity*, giving the formula: "Whatever is valid is". And the fourth conception, which remains when the three former have been found wanting, is that of Idealism, which, according to the author, interprets the ontological predicate as signifying *fulfilment of purpose* or meaning.

Independence, indifference, validity, fulfilment of purpose: these are the four competing explanations of what is meant by the predicate *is*. The author is thus dealing with the proposition "it is". We must not inquire into the *it*. We have an idea and we ascribe being to it, or rather to its object. The "fundamental problem," as is implied throughout, though explicitly stated only in the last lecture (p. 431), is "that of the essential relation of idea and object". And the four historical conceptions of what is meant by saying that the object *is* are: (1), that it is independent of our idea of it; (2), that it absorbs or swallows up our idea and the self that has the idea; (3), that it is valid for our idea; and (4), that it is a fulfilment of the purpose or meaning of our idea.

We must note that the two former are negative definitions; and consequently when we apply either of them to the problem of the being of the universe, we put out of existence something that is a bit of the universe, namely, our idea. If the universe is independent of the idea of it, then we are putting out of the universe, out of being, something which nevertheless in some way *is*: so that there must be a larger reality than the universe, namely, this universe *plus* the idea of it. In this way Realism is made to refute itself; the argument touches, I think, the weak spot in theories, such

as that of Leibniz, which assume a number of ultimate and completely independent existences. But Dr. Royce spreads his Realistic net much wider to the inclusion of thinkers who represent different forms of Monism, such as Spinoza and the modern Naturalists. Yet it seems to me that they have a way of escape from the snare. For Spinoza, the finite intellect of man with its true idea of Substance, is not itself outside that one Substance: it is in Substance. The Whole, indeed, is independent, because there is nothing else. The idea which conceives it is a mode, a manifestation of itself. And for the Naturalists also the universe is a connected and interdependent whole. It is true that they are often driven to set aside consciousness altogether as a phenomenon which has no influence on the cause of the universe and may therefore be disregarded. But this setting aside of consciousness is more a matter of scientific convenience than a philosophical doctrine. According to the hypothesis of Epiphenomenalism, consciousness is a sort of bye-product which appears at a certain stage of nervous organisation. Even as a bye-product, therefore, it will be something, though comparable to the shadow of a house or the smell of a flower. The naturalist might accordingly assert being, in the final sense, only of the full reality of which consciousness is a part—though it may be so slight a part as to be negligible in all scientific reasonings. The universe would thus be recognised as not independent of it, because not complete without it, any more than it is independent of the rest of the universe. This theory then would not be Realism in Dr. Royce's sense of the term, nor would it belong to any of the other divisions in his classification. Dr. Royce's refutation of Realism is accordingly less complete than he takes it to be. He has overthrown, under the name of Realism, only those theories which assert absolute independence of some bit or bits of the universe. The important objections both to Spinozism and to Naturalism, in this connexion, seem to me to be, not that they do not admit consciousness into their conceptions of the universe, but that their explanations of it are inadequate. And Dr. Royce has not satisfactorily shown this inadequacy

just because he has deliberately restricted his attention to the ontological *predicate*—to the “that” of things apart from the “what”.

As an interpretation of philosophical and religious thought, the treatment of Mysticism is in a high degree novel and suggestive. Mysticism is regarded as the antithesis of Realism. It altogether denies reality to the separate beings dear to the Realist. They are but a vain shadow in the sunshine of the invisible One; and when we look upon that One our supposed independent being vanishes in its light. In knowing we also *are*, but we have lost our seeming independence, our individuality, our finitude even. There is no longer idea *and* object—subject *and* object even: I am it; or, in the words of the Upanishad often quoted by the author, “*that art thou*”. Here then is the complete rebound from the Realist theory. Realism, asserting the many and their independence, failed by its inability to unify them. Mysticism, on the other hand, reaching the One, loses itself, and thus closes the way by which any pluralisation of that One can be conceived. It cannot explain experience—indeed, will not explain it—simply because for it experience has been absorbed in the ineffable, and there is nothing to explain.

The Third Conception of Being—that of Validity—is, unlike the two former, a positive conception. It is also the leading conception in a great deal of the most influential thought of this century. Dr. Royce calls it the conception of Critical Rationalism, and rightly traces its origin and influence to Kant. But it is more correct to say that Kant *founded* his view of Reality upon Validity than that he *identified* the two conceptions. This is clear from the part played by the validity-argument in the *Critique of Practical Reason*. There certain realities are held to be necessary for the moral life *and therefore real*. The modern statement of Critical Rationalism would omit these last words and substitute for them the words *and herein consists their reality*. The real is the valid.

In the validity conception we have J. S. Mill's doctrine of “permanent possibilities” largely extended. Mill restricted

it to our sensations. It may be extended to the whole range of our scientific conceptions, as in the theory of science put forward by Mach, and accepted by many philosophical scientists. Its application to conduct has given rise to a form of Ethical Idealism which really belongs to the validity type of theory. Finally, it has been applied with great thoroughness and applause to the religious consciousness, dismissing the old ontological theories and proofs, and substituting a doctrine of validity for religious experience.

The result of Dr. Royce's elaborate and powerful examination of this Third Conception is that it is true so far as it goes, but inadequate. What it fails to explain "is precisely the difference between the reality that is to be attributed to the valid truths that we do not get concretely verified in our experience, and the reality observed by us when we do verify ideas" (p. 260). The way is therefore left open for a fourth and final conception of Being.

If the classification of the Four Historical Conceptions of Being were a complete statement of all the views concerning the ontological predicate which are logically possible, and if the preceding argument had shown the incorrectness or inadequacy of the first three conceptions, then the establishment of the Fourth Conception as the true view of Being would result. As I have tried to point out, however, the classification and reasoning fall short of completeness, and an independent argument for the necessity of the Fourth Conception is therefore required. Fortunately such an argument can be gathered from Dr. Royce's pages. His own view is given in the words: "What is, presents the fulfilment of the whole purpose of the very idea that now seeks this Being. . . . What is, does in itself fulfil your meaning, does express in the completest logically possible measure the accomplishment and embodiment of the very will now fragmentarily embodied in your finite ideas" (p. 358). The terms of this statement may serve to bring out the way in which the Fourth Conception is arrived at and demonstrated. There is, first, the beginning made with an idea; then the notion of the meaning or purpose or will

embodied in the idea ; and, finally, the notion of the fulfilment or accomplishment of this meaning, purpose or will.

An idea then is defined as "any state of consciousness, whether simple or complex, which when present is then and there viewed as at least the partial expression or embodiment of a single conscious purpose" (pp. 22-3). An alternative definition is given as "any state of mind that has a conscious meaning" (p. 24). The term "meaning" is always used with a double significance, which may be described by the old words cognitive and volitional. "The facts of consciousness warrant, and indeed demand, this twofold interpretation. Whoever is possessed of any meaning, whoever faces truth, whoever rationally knows, has before his consciousness at once, that which *possesses the unity of a knowing process*, and that which *fulfils a purpose*, or in other words, that which constitutes what we have from the outset called an act of will as well as an act of knowledge" (pp. 433-4). Dr. Royce does well to protest against the sundering of knowing and willing, as if it were possible for knowledge to be purely passive or for volition to be entirely ignorant. His use in places of the term *purpose* rather than the term *meaning* is not meant to mark a difference, but to bring out the neglected aspect—the purposive aspect of ideas.

Ideas then involve meaning or purpose. Not merely their expressed content but their desired goal has to be taken into account. And the thesis is simply that Being is the attainment of this goal, the fulfilment of this purpose. The establishment of this thesis is carried out chiefly in the important lecture on the Internal and External Meaning of Ideas. The Internal Meaning is "the conscious inner purpose embodied in a given idea" (p. 308, *cf.* p. 25). But "finite ideas always undertake or appear to have a meaning that is not exhausted by this conscious internal meaning ; . . . They at least appear to have that other sort of meaning, that reference beyond themselves to objects, that cognitive relation to outer facts, that attempted correspondence with outer facts, which many accounts of our ideas regard as their primary, inexplicable and ultimate character" (p. 26).

This is their external meaning. The discussion starts with the antithesis; but the aim is to show that the external meaning is "strictly continuous with the internal meaning, and is inwardly involved in the latter, or else that the idea has no external meaning at all" (p. 33). "Ideas really possess truth or falsity only by virtue of their own selection of their task as ideas," and this "is essentially the same as the consideration that led Kant to regard the understanding as the Creator of the phenomenal nature over which science gradually wins conscious control, and that led Hegel to call the world the embodied idea" (p. 32).

These passages indicate both the essence and the historical connexions of the author's creed. His originality lies in his emphasis on the purposive aspect of the idea; and in this we may trace the influence of Schopenhauer. But Kant is rather airily dealt with when made to say that the understanding is the *creator* of the phenomenal world. Kant's own statement is quite precise: "The understanding *makes* nature, but does not *create* it," that is, it makes it out of a given material. Kant indeed denies all form and law to this given material; and it was therefore inevitable that, in following out his view, some thinkers should see in nature simply the realisation of the idea, while others should go back upon his denial of all law and orderliness to presented material, and should look upon our reason as having to track out and interpret the meaning of a world whose meaning was not put there by our ideas. Of these divergent developments, the former emphasises and works with universal reason, while the latter starts with the reason of the individual thinker: though it does not need to deny—may, indeed, strenuously maintain—that in knowing the world the individual thinker shares the ideas of a creative reason to which his own claims affinity because able to think its thoughts.

Now Dr. Royce begins with the finite reason or will. "Any conscious act," he says, "is an idea" (p. 23); but he works towards the thesis that reality consists simply in the fulfilment of ideas. The argument is long, and carried out

with great force and brilliancy, so that no summary could do it justice. It is besides determined by the preceding examination of the validity-conception. This leads him to lay stress, first, upon the nature of judgment, and next, upon the definition of truth as correspondence between an idea and its object. In the former regard he follows recent logicians in maintaining that universal judgments are, in existential import, merely negative, and argues that particular judgments also fall short of the definiteness of individual being. He does not consider the case of impersonals or of the singular judgment, although these would seem to call for careful treatment in this connexion. He is more successful in maintaining that (as we may put it) experience is permeated by purpose. "Experience always means *selected* experience; it is experience lighted up by ideas" (p. 285). But the *range* of selection is not determined by finite ideas; and may it not also be the case that there are certain external conditions which influence its *direction*?

A further step is taken in the argument when the definition of truth as correspondence between idea and object comes up for examination. The author shows in a most interesting way the different kinds of correspondence which may all be equally valid. Likeness is only one kind of valid correspondence; one may have a true idea of a picture, without recalling its form and colours, if able to translate into language what the artist meant to convey by his painting. Again algebraic symbols have no resemblance to the objects they stand for, and yet correspond with them in a most exact and fruitful manner. The only test, therefore, of truthful correspondence is in terms of purpose. "The idea is true if it possesses the sort of correspondence to its object that the idea itself wants to possess" (p. 306). The idea "seeks its own. It can be judged by nothing but what it intends" (p. 325). If it fulfil its own intent it is true. It selects its own object, we may say (*cf.* pp. 326-7). Though still regarded as other than itself, the object is of its own making, its own construction.

Now let us reflect. In all this expository matter which



I have set forth, the meaning or purpose of my ideas has been to represent the course of thought in Dr. Royce's book. My manuscript is not at all like his printed page. But yet it may have a true correspondence with it. Now it would appear that, according to the view just stated, the truth of that correspondence is to be tested simply by its fulfilment of my own idea and intent. For myself I should not like to adopt this line of defence for the truth of my statements. I should be willing to listen to a correction of my statement, and to weigh impartially the grounds for it, as they may be presented to me by an intelligence which is quite beyond my control, and over which my own meaning and purpose may have no appreciable influence. I recognise a standard beyond my present conscious purpose, beyond my idea. And, in truth, Dr. Royce does the same. "What the idea always aims to find in its object," he says, "is nothing whatever but the idea's own conscious purpose or will, embodied in some more determinate form *than the idea by itself alone at this instant consciously possesses*" (p. 327). Here, in the clause which I have italicised, we may, I think, mark the transition from one view of the idea to another. To begin with, the idea is a "state of consciousness" (p. 22), "any conscious act" (p. 23), even "a conscious thrill" only. Now we find that the determinate form in which the idea fulfils itself is not "consciously possessed" by the idea. In what way can it be "possessed" if not consciously? Is the "state of consciousness" also a "state of unconsciousness"? It may be so; but we must be on our guard; for in modern philosophy, the "unconscious" serves the purpose which Hegel (I think) assigned to Berkeley's Infinite: it is the sewer into which all contradictions flow. But the "unconscious" is not Dr. Royce's fetish. Consciousness, not unconsciousness, is his final solution. And the above passage has been quoted as marking the spot where he takes the leap from the finite to the absolute consciousness or purpose.

It is impossible to follow out this question here with the completeness which it deserves. But I think it might be shown that when Being is defined as the fulfilment of purpose,

the only legitimate meaning which can be given to the doctrine is that Being is the fulfilment of the absolute purpose, or of a completely rational purpose. Indeed, this is the view sometimes expressed by the author, as when he says that "ideas, so far as rational, embody a purpose" (p. 441), when he characterises finite consciousness as both lacking in content—in need of other experiences—and vague regarding its own purposes (pp. 446-7), and when he says that it is the defect of finite ideas that we are always seeking another object than that which is now present (p. 348). "Of course," he says, "my private will, when viewed as a mere force in nature, does not create the rest of nature" (p. 334). I should have thought that, however you viewed it, his private will did not create the rest of nature.

The finite idea, being purposive, would seem unable ever to be more than the partial embodiment of its present purpose. "This possibility of other embodiment means for you just now simply the incompleteness or partial non-fulfilment of your present purpose" (p. 337). And it would appear that all finite ideas are of this nature, and therefore can never attain more than partial fulfilment, can never reach the individual. "What is, or what is real," he concludes, "is as such the complete embodiment, in individual form and in final fulfilment, of the internal meaning of finite ideas" (p. 339). And we may well question whether this internal meaning can be so completed without transcending the finitude and incomplete rationality of our present ideas. And if this is so, then Being is what we are always seeking but can never reach.

It has been pointed out that, in the course of the argument, the usage of the term "idea" broadens out beyond its original definition as a mere thrill, state, or act of consciousness. And this may suggest the question whether it was wise to make the term so fundamental in the argument without first inquiring into what is involved in having an idea. Dr. Royce will have nothing to do with the question of the cause of ideas. He seeks a more fundamental category than that either of substance or of causation. These are the traditional and

appropriate categories of Realism; and they are involved in its overthrow. But it may be suggested that this method of beginning with ideas is itself a legacy from Realism. The problem of modern philosophy was determined by the way in which Descartes set ideas between the Self and the World; and it is unfortunate when they alone are allowed to escape criticism. Nothing is more striking, in the language of the work before us, than the way in which ideas are spoken about as if they were self-conscious agents. Ideas are said to be true or false according to *their own selection* of their task (p. 32); the idea itself *somehow truly learns* to develop its own internal meaning (p. 33); the idea *selects* its object (p. 327); and phrases such as the idea *intends* this, *wants* that (pp. 306-7), *desires* to get something (p. 337), are scattered over almost every page of the book. And we read also of the "whole will of the idea" (p. 456), and even of the "individual life of the whole idea" (p. 339). Surely a most potent "thrill"! The question is whether this idea-morphism, if I may call it so, is or is not fundamentally intelligible, whether there is any meaning in an idea unless possessed by some conscious subject. Dr. Royce's method of exposition forces this question to the front and suggests a comparison of two very different ways in which, both in ancient and in modern times, an idealistic or spiritualistic interpretation of the universe has been vindicated.

Space has not been left to do more than refer to the elaborate supplementary essay on "the One, the Many, and the Infinite," with which Professor Royce has enriched this his first series of Gifford Lectures. It is a brilliant bit of work which will be read with admiration by all who are interested in pure metaphysical argument.

W. R. SORLEY.

### **The Scientific Basis of Morality.**

*By G. Gore, LL.D., F.R.S. London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1899. Large 8vo, pp. viii. + 600. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.*

### **Philosophy of History : An Introduction to the Philosophic Study of Politics.**

*By Alfred H. Lloyd. Ann Arbor : George Wahr, 1899. Pp. 250.*

As there are three ultimate categories of thought, God, man, the world—so there are three systems of things : one of these is theocentric, making God the centre of all ; one is anthropocentric, making man the centre of all ; the other is geocentric, making the earth the centre.

In Christian theology the two former systems of thought are always found intermingling; sometimes the theocentric system prevailing over the anthropocentric system, as in the Mediæval Church; and sometimes the reverse, as in the reaction of the Reformation—man's needs and destiny occupying a more important place in the thought of men than the nature, authority, revelation and attributes of God.

In recent times, owing to the progress and beneficent work of science, the geocentric system or mode of thought has become prominent, and has tended to supplant the other two, men choosing to think that the physical world and its laws, or supposed laws, supply the key to human destiny and determine it.

Of this last tendency, the philosophical method is that called inductive. That method in its own sphere is sufficient and powerful. It is a proper mode of inference. It, however, now undertakes to govern the premises as well as to dictate the inferences. It limits the facts of nature to such as accord with

physical nature, or can be reached by its processes, and ignores the phenomena of consciousness and some facts of almost universal experience: it is overlooked that physical science covers but part of the field of knowledge and that when it makes exclusive claims its beneficent work is at an end.

The work before us is an illustration of this third class, or mode, of thought. It is a work of 600 somewhat closely-printed pages to prove what naturalistic philosophers from the first have regarded as already proved by them. The science of ethics does not differ from the science of physics. Human nature and nature are not only alike subject to law, but to law of the same order. That nature is subject to law is here proved by a needless multiplication of instances, the writer apparently thinking that if examples in illustration or proof of this thesis are sufficiently multiplied they will make the other thesis less repugnant. It is, however, nowhere proved in this bulky volume that human nature is as our author assumes. The metaphysical difficulties that arise the moment human nature is fairly considered—difficulties which have occupied the thought of reflecting men since the story of philosophy began to be told—do not seem to have occurred to the mind of our author. There is something of truth involved in the metaphysical thinkings of men. The theory of a God has not ceased to be a rational theory; morals are not mechanics. Religion is not wholly and alone superstition, and the religious nature of man has not ceased to be a fact of human nature. Problems are not solved by being ignored, and one crucial point is not proved by abundant illustration of another.

The author has, I believe, distinction among the students of physical science, but he seems to me to present another illustration of the warping influence of too exclusive devotion to physical studies. I have found no evidence in the volume that the real problems of ethics and religion have seriously troubled the author's mind. It is, however, proper to say that there is much sober sense and practical wisdom in the conclusions concerning conduct reached towards the close of the argument; and if the highest morality can be attained

without religion, and if the second table of the law can be perfectly fulfilled while the first, in its essential feature, is ignored, the author may be as wisely listened to in the domain of ethical thought as in the domain of scientific fact. But are tremendous hypotheses.

Justin left his teacher of stoical philosophy because his teacher had nothing to tell him of the nature of God, for he knew nothing about it, and even regarded it as a useless piece of knowledge. I am reminded of this as I read the volume before me. I am reminded of much besides. There have been men taking active part in the conflict of the ages who have had no aspiration sufficiently lofty to lead them to appreciate religion. Such men have always failed to understand the great crisis that commonly gives birth to it. They have sometimes destroyed not only superstition but the very faculty of belief. This will explain why it is that to some Christianity does not present itself as worthy of more regard than the other beliefs that have prevailed amongst men. The stoical philosophy is ethical rather than metaphysical, and often commends itself on that account to the practical mind when there are no clouds about ; but when the heart is broken more than a rule of life is required : that more religion, and supremely the Christian faith, gives.

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The philosophy of history may be attempted from several points of view. With Buckle we may attempt to construct it on the basis of a sensational philosophy, using only the methods of physical science in the interpretation of historical phenomena. With Schlegel we may make our governing principle to be the image of God in man and its development, under a Divine and purposeful hand, towards the complete realisation of the ideal. Or with Hegel we may rest our scheme on *à priori* principles ; and, instead of investigating facts and abiding by their teaching, we may stretch our facts to make them fit our theory. The writer whose work lies before us, shapes his scheme in the spirit at least of this last view.

He presents his subject in the following way: He first of all discusses what he terms the fundamental data of history, carefully analysing each of them. These are time, causation, nature, individuality and progress. In the second place we are called to the study of society and of the social evolution under the following heads: society itself; the double responsibility of society; the stages of society's activity; the process of society's alienation from itself; the process of society's restoration to itself and the progress of society. In the third place some special problems are considered with a view to the understanding of history. The chief are the following: the great man; the nature and function of evil; the conflict of the spiritual and the secular; the origin and justification of revolution.

The author does not labour to make himself "understood of the people". He is abstract in thought, elaborate in style, and must often be read more than once in order to be apprehended. There is no sufficient reason for this in most instances, and hence these things must be set down as faults: yet it must be confessed that sometimes the obscurity arises from the circumstance that the author dares to soar into the heights of metaphysical speculation, apparently unaware of his remoteness from the ground where common mortals tread.

The author has an elaborate discussion on the nature of time, because, as he contends, fully to comprehend history one must know what time is. This is his starting-point, and the highly speculative position is maintained that time and space are ways or media through which differences are unified: they are physical forms of unification. Time is "an abstraction of some essential character in the sphere of the real". This conception becomes a governing principle with the author, whom it is difficult to follow.

There are many points of interest in the book for any who like to see thinking made difficult and not a few for ordinary folk: as where the author shows in his own way that society is an organism and where he discusses the social consciousness and the social will of organic society. The chapter on

the activity of society is interesting, ingenious and suggestive—so much may be said of it. This activity reveals three stages of evolution. In the first stage of the social evolution, society is at one with itself; the typical individual is the labourer. In the second stage, society is in alienation from itself; the typical individual is the soldier. In the third stage, society is restored to itself; the typical individual is the mechanic.

The author clearly recognises the difference between true and false, reality and semblance, and aims throughout to promote the best as he apprehends it, but the monism that says "The evil and the good are not two but one" has the general conviction of mankind against it. St. Paul's philosophy of history as written in his Epistle to the Romans has not been matched yet. Professor Lloyd might not unprofitably turn his thoughts to the systematic exposition of the Pauline conception of his subject.

R. VAUGHAN PRYCE.



## La Morale Chrétienne.

*Par A. Gretillat, Professeur (1894) de Théologie à la Faculté Indépendante de Neuchâtel. Neuchâtel : Attinger frères ; London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. Tom. ii, 1899. 8vo, pp. 555. Price Fr.8.50.*

THE three divisions of M. Gretillat's treatise on Ethics were described in a former number of this *Review* (for January, 1899). They were the doctrine of the end of human life (*de la destination normale de l'homme*) or *Teleology*; the doctrine of man as a moral agent or (ethical) *Anthropology*; and the doctrine of duties (*de la tâche morale de l'homme dans l'état actuel*) or *Ethology*. These three departments of ethical theory may be described in language with which we are more familiar, as (1) Moral Philosophy or the Metaphysic of Ethics, (2) Ethical Psychology, and (3) Applied Ethics. The first—the doctrine of the End—was the main subject of M. Gretillat's first volume, formerly reviewed. The present volume concludes the inquiry into the moral nature of man, and develops the doctrine of actual duties.

In his psychology of Ethics, the late professor was chiefly concerned with the question of Freedom. He was a whole-hearted advocate of Self-determination as a postulate of moral responsibility. The manner in which he conceived of self-determination may be best indicated by a summary of the positions argued for in the latter part of the volume that appeared a year ago. These are as follows: (1) We find a certain physical and psychical nature *given* to the Ego; this presides over the first exercise of liberty of choice or free-will, and serves, so to speak, as its cradle. This is the *phase of passivity*. (2) Liberty of choice first comes to birth in the bosom of the nature which is thus given, and

which is of itself a matter of necessity. The germ of freedom is mere self-consciousness (*le moi se pose*) and the self determines itself first under the elementary forms of sympathy or antipathy towards the not self, *sentiments* accompanied by acts of receptivity or of reaction. Here we have a phase still marked by the predominance of the non-Ego over the Ego. (3) Liberty of choice, at first thus merely "receptive" or "reactive," becomes creative or productive with respect to the subject itself in so far as it modifies the primitive *temperament* and transforms it into *character*; that is to say, human nature determines itself as moral nature for the first time in a sense of "good" and "evil". This is the moment when the subject *determines itself*. (4) This moral nature, determining itself constantly in the initial direction it has taken, produces acts always more congenial to itself and leaving less room and opportunity for new vicissitudes or contrary determinations. Here the element of necessity is again apparent in the law of *progressive self-determination*. (5) The moral nature at last fixes itself, at the end of all actual exercise of choice, in *moral necessity*, which is—whether for good or evil—the consummation of moral liberty thus understood as "self-determination". This is the phase of definitive self-determination. (See vol. i, pp. 493-536.)

An "anthropology," however, or doctrine of human nature, which is to lead on to a system of applied ethics, must go beyond abstract psychology. It will turn to consider man's actual condition. It will add a historical chapter to the psychological chapter. Accordingly the second half of M. Gretillat's section on man (with which the present volume opens) is a discussion, from the ethical point of view, of man's actual history and present condition (*de la nature humaine dans son état modifié*). And this, in the light of the deepened seriousness and new self-knowledge which Christianity has brought, resolves itself into a discussion of the nature of sin, and of the "state of sin". With this, then, the examination of "man as a moral agent" concludes (vol. ii, pp. I-III).

The remainder of the volume is occupied with "Ethology"

or the doctrine of actual duties. It seems questionable whether such attempts to formulate actual moral obligations as are usually found in works of this kind constitute a legitimate part of ethical theory. For, in the first place, the moral programme of any individual thinker will depend directly upon his moral ideal, so that in the recognition of actual duties we have passed already out of the region of ethical theory into that of moral life. And perhaps the true "application" of ethics is moral life. Again, actual moral obligations are infinitely various, since life itself is so; and all that "applied ethics" can do is to describe a few of the innumerable moral situations and moral relationships in which human beings may find themselves. But the precept which governs one situation may be entirely irrelevant to another, and hence arise the interminable nature and practical uselessness of casuistry. Moral precepts have their hortatory uses, but their strict application can only be to particular cases. Moral reflection is indispensable, but casuistry can never lay claim to the title of a science. Still less can it pretend to speak with general authority, and the individual conscience is alone capable of judging in moral questions. At the same time the conscience is capable of instruction and always in need of it. In so far as "applied ethics" or reflection upon particular ethical questions is a science, it is a branch of the science of education; or, if the office of the *Christian* community be taken into account, or that of the preacher, it is a branch of homiletics.

The ideal of life, as M. Gretillat conceived it, was love to God. An ethics of which this is the ruling principle is rightly designated "Christian" ethics; but the name does not denote a difference with respect to the method or result of ethical philosophy; it indicates a specific "practical" ethics, that is, ultimately, a difference of ideal. If the ideal be love to God, the first subject of ethology will be the religious life; and accordingly M. Gretillat prefaces the analysis of the detail of duty by an analysis of moral life in its general relation to God. The first sections of his ethology contain his account of the religious life, of faith and repentance,

regeneration and the new life. Taking for his starting-point, as has already been said, the actual state of man as a moral agent—that is to say, the state of sin—and assuming, as a Christian, the possibility of redemption, he aims at describing repentance and surrender to the Will of God, with their consequences in life and conduct, as moral processes. The first part of ethology, then, is the analysis of the moral life in its religious aspect.

This is followed by the attempt to treat in systematic form the detail of duty. It might, suggests our author, seem enough to say with St. Augustine, 'Love God, and do all thou wilt'. "We might content ourselves with this rule, if Christians were all as complete in knowledge as they are in spiritual life. But they are not so; and Christian Ethics, if it is to retain any practical value, must know—addressing itself as it always must to still imperfect men—how to descend from the heights of the sovereign idea into these visible and particular regions in which man is called to walk and to live" (p. 345). Descending thus to particulars, he inquires after a useful and logical *division* of duties. He examines and rejects the conventional threefold division of "duties to myself, duties to my neighbour, and duties to God". He admits a certain relative correctness in the discrimination of duties to myself—as to one among other objects of moral consideration. But duty to myself and duty to my neighbour are in no sense co-ordinate with duty to God. "We ought rather to regard the love of our neighbours and the love of ourselves as together co-ordinate, but both subordinated to the love of God, which governs them and includes them in itself. We may indeed afterwards think it more convenient to admit, in the practical work of popular instruction, a certain co-ordination of the three categories, and to consider apart certain 'duties towards God' which we distinguish as such from 'duties towards God in our neighbours' and 'duties towards God in ourselves': but in order to adhere to the strict truth of fact, the two categories of moral obligation towards oneself and towards one's neighbour ought to be not co-ordinated with duty towards God but subordinated thereto." It is only, M. Gretillat continues, by

reference to the Divine purposes that we can understand aright either our duty to ourselves or our duty to others. Religion only can differentiate wise self-love from egoism; religion only teach me either 'who is my neighbour,' or what I ought to seek for him and what is the *order* of importance and worth of those various interests of his which I am to serve. "We ought to love man, the creature of God, and to love ourselves, as God loves each; and to love both the one and the other in God." (pp. 346-351.)

M. Gretillat proposes his own division of duties, as follows: (1) duties towards myself; (2) duties towards my neighbour as an individual; (3) duties towards human society, in its various collective units—the family, the State, the Church. Among the duties of the first class he places such duties as the preservation of bodily purity, preventive self-discipline, spiritual vigilance and self-control; and he includes under this head the legitimate enjoyment of life, discussing work and repose, and seeking to determine a moral value in the "products of work" or property, in recreation, in æsthetic enjoyments. With regard to our neighbour, we have a duty towards his temporal interests—his person, his domestic happiness, his fortune, his reputation; and towards his spiritual interests as well. In the course of the Swiss professor's disquisition upon this last point we have the opportunity of seeing ourselves 'as others see us': for he describes and gravely appraises what he calls "*la méthode Anglo-Saxonne de confesser le nom de Christ, qui consiste à accoster le premier venu pour lui parler de son âme ou lui remettre un traité*" (p. 482).

It cannot be said that the treatment of these various topics shows much speculative power or originality. The efforts to derive from first principles all the dictates of a fully-developed moral consciousness, reflecting a complex civilisation, are often laboured and artificial in their character. We are left with the feeling that the moral instinct has gained no force from the scientific justification of it. What is more serious, in an "application" of ethics, is the complete conventionality of the results arrived at. There is in all Professor Gretillat's conclusions no single modification of or advance upon the

received morality of respectable citizens of modern Europe, with Protestant and evangelical sympathies, and conservative ideas in politics. The ideas of such persons upon difficult subjects like property, or marriage, are put forward as if they represented the perfect result of ethical thought and the full realisation of the Christian ideal. Whatever the question proposed, and whatever the show of philosophy in the discussion, none but a conventional answer is ever given ; and the results of the inquiry into all the more difficult problems simply correspond with the current and orthodox ethical opinion. There are, however, on various pages, sensible and well-balanced discussions of some of the vexed questions of ethics, such as the question of luxury (p. 415 ff.) or that of ascetic self-discipline (p. 364 ff.).

A. HALLIDAY DOUGLAS.

## **Idealism and Theology : A Study of Presuppositions.**

*By Chas. F. d'Arcy, B.D. London : Hodder & Stoughton, 1899,  
Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 294. Price 6s.*

IN this volume the distinguished traditions of the Donnellan Lectures are fully sustained. The sub-title informs us that what Mr. d'Arcy offers is "a Study of Presuppositions," an indication that he has adopted the transcendental method of Kant. A great deal of mystifying nonsense has been written about transcendentalism, and many theosophical fantasies and apocalypses have taken shelter under a name supposed to be august; but what it means is plain enough, The transcendentalist is just any one who asks what experience implies. How is this experience of mine possible, *i.e.*, what does it involve, be it common sense only, or science and other experiences or worlds as well? There is the world of religion for instance; and that province of experience is Mr. d'Arcy's chief concern. How is it possible? What does it imply? These are his questions, and thus he is a transcendentalist. But there are at least two kinds. What then is Mr. d'Arcy's specific difference? In philosophy we are just now at the cross roads. Philosophy has been at the same many a time before; and now again. The growing point of philosophy is bifurcating: and of the two ways both cannot be thoroughfares, and one must be a blind alley.

I. There is the way of common sense philosophies, which accept the given in some shape and more or less; time, space, things, events, persons, egos, selves, qualities, cause, change, will, force, etc. There is some analysis, some criticism, some rejection, and then the tired and perhaps frightened philosopher cries halt, and with what has survived, proceeds, as with bricks of Ultimate Reality, to build up his system.

What is left in hand and dubbed real, may be single, as Fichte's Ego, or manifold, as Herbart's *einfache Qualitäten*. Hegel's ultimate is Thought; Schopenhauer's is Will. Personality or self-consciousness is Green's and Caird's. But all alike are got by refusal to move on.

II. There is the path of the "*gran rifiuto*" to stop short, to leave off criticism, to accept the given in any form or at any stage as final fact, *i.e.*, as Reality. These philosophers make for reconstruction through uncompromising analysis. They withstand the temptation to call their approximations finalities. Like Socrates, they will follow the dialectic wherever it may lead; and if they have to sail the seas for ever, they will still sail before the wind of obligatory thought. They have the insight that to dodge or resist is of no avail. Declaring themselves pilgrims, they seek "a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God". Persons, categories, "deliverances of consciousness,"—whatever is given—are but tents of a night. Their claims to be real must be rejected—in what Name shall be seen shortly. Before any "given" can enter into Reality it must "suffer change Into something new and strange". It must accept transfiguration and even transubstantiation. This sort of philosopher has often to bear the shame of a double reproach—now called all-corrosive sceptic, and anon mystic, for rising above all that is given his quest is within the veil. No votary of "idols," he may even be called atheist. To quote one golden sentence of the foremost living representative of this way, upon whom the mantle of the greatest has fallen: "We may put it thus once for all—there is nothing given which is sacred. Metaphysics can respect no element of experience except on compulsion. It can reverence nothing but what by criticism and denial the more unmistakably asserts itself."

These, then, are the two ways; and if we take Reality to be represented by unity, then the first way will be symbolised by 'g and the second by 'ġ, and it will be seen that, whilst Reality, *i.e.*, unity, is unattainable by either, the inapproximateness of the first ('g) is immeasurably greater than that



of the second (9). The second has an infinite career, the first is a *cul de sac*. In which company are we to place Mr. d'Arcy? The presuppositions of his transcendental study of experience are three:—

1. The post-Kantian *Ego*, sometimes called "person or spirit". "Person or spirit is the ultimate unity"—"the highest category". Under the name of "Self" it is "the thing which knows". But not merely: it is all that is known as well, for "the knowing ego is the concretion of all that is present," as well as "the unifying principle". It is always sacrosanct, and taboos any further critical analysis. Thus it is the superlative *cul de sac*: and the cave of Despair is near by. If this way of thinking be "Idealism," and if it be the only way of strict thorough-going thought, then "*Idealism is Solipsism*". "It is the very essence of self-consciousness that the opposition between the subjective and objective takes place within the bounds of the *subject*." "It is the 'crystal sphere' which holds itself and the object together." The whale only swallowed Jonah, but this is as if it had swallowed itself too, and so remained both inside and outside itself! But this does not trouble Mr. d'Arcy, whose argument requires that Thought shall infallibly lead into this very trap, and force upon us the *salto mortale* of "faith". A set and elaborate refutation of "Idealism" is not called for here, if anywhere; and yet one may refer to Bradley's signal chapter on "Solipsism" and Hodgson's "Idealism Untenable" in his *Metaphysic of Experience*, vol. iv., p. 377 ff. Killing the dead could not be better done. But what after all is this *ego* that provides Mr. d'Arcy with a false premiss? It is Kant's "unity of apperception," and no unit or entity, but an element of any conscious experience, and in or by itself an abstraction. It is a mere point of view. No view, no point; and so if no experience, then no ego. So it has no priority, no prerogative, nor any independent existence, such as appears to be claimed for it here as first presupposition.

As the centre of gravity shifts and changes when the mass varies, so the ego of any mass of experience shifts and changes as the spiritual mass varies. There is always a

finite centre of experience, but not always the same, and personal identity like all identity is an ideal construction. James hits the mark when he offers *the present passing pulse of thought* as a fair substitute for the monstrous ego of Mr. d'Arcy's School.

2. The second presupposition is scarcely entitled to a substantive place, but is rather a corollary of the first. It is Berkeley's, as the first was Green's property. "He (God) gives possibility to nature," and is the ego of it, as I am of my panorama. "God is personal." "The snow peak glitters . . . the billows roar . . . the rose glows . . . and gives forth its perfume, though there be no human being present to see and hear and enjoy." So here are eyes, ears, touch, and even smell; and Berkeley's *Méva Zōon* is upon us in full panoply of sense organs. Mr. d'Arcy seems to have broken away from his solipsism with a vengeance, and to have taken the kingdom of other-personality by violence. For, if there can be but one person, myself, and one experience, my own, Nature must *still* be my experience only; else the continued existence of Berkeley's "loaf in the cupboard" must be secured in some other way than by starting upon me another person. But let this pass, and still nothing is gained for common sense, as "The experience of a person is like a panorama into which none but he can enter. If God were simply a *person*, Nature would become a private panorama of His from which all other persons would be excluded." Apparently, then, in spite of his inconsequence and his passage *per impossibile* from one sole solipsism to many persons' sole, Mr. d'Arcy is only more deeply involved in *ἀπορία*. As utterly exclusive and therefore unrelated persons, his God and he are nought to each other, and in the Divine panorama he can have no share. Yet it is just here that he takes the plunge, which his previous presuppositions forbid him. That they do so he admits, and, strangely blind to the suicidal nature of his admission, he even makes a point of it in a remarkable passage which sums up his three presuppositions in order.

(1 and 2) "The spiritual self-conscious subject unifies the

multiplicity of experience. (3) Finally, the ultimate concrete totality unifies the multiplicity of all experiences, that is, of all persons. Philosophy, which is simply systematic human thought, . . . cannot ascend to the final synthesis." This is a confession of philosophical despair; his "happy dispatch". From his first position there is no passage to his third. And, if ever by some other way than "systematic human thought" he finds himself safely entrenched in his third position, it follows that there can be no way back, no tergiversation. Once his feet are set upon the rock of "the ultimate concrete totality" as presupposition of all experience, his previous "idealism," *alias* "solipsism," has become untenable. What you have reached by "a venture of faith," you cannot leave by any logical process. But the sequel will show that Mr. d'Arcy does retire from his third position, whenever his occasions as a theologian seem to require him to step down; and God is at one time "the ultimate concrete totality," and again "a person," and even the Berkeleian *Μέγα Ζῶον*. A is A and also not-A! Evidently Mr. d'Arcy has a fourth presupposition in the background of his mind, which does not come to the front *in propria personâ*, *viz.*, the ultimate self-contradictoriness of Reality. Reality is the Contradictory! But, if we call a truce and cease from insisting on consistency, Mr. d'Arcy's able and enthusiastic exposition of his third principle deserves our amplest and heartiest acknowledgment. There are many persons in God, but God, *i.e.*, "the ultimate concrete totality" is not a person.

3. The third presupposition, then, is Bradleian. It is to all intents and purposes the absolute of Mr. Bradley's *Appearance and Reality*. It is One Inclusive and Individual Experience—not personal, "superpersonal," *i.e.*, not subject to the form of personality or subject-objectivity; and therefore not conscious or mediate experience, but The Perfect Immediate Spirit. "It is an unity of persons, *not a personal unity*;" and, yet, after Mr. d'Arcy has somehow attained the vantage-ground of this great thought of God—the God, by the way, of Anselm's *Proslogion*—he permits himself to say: "For us personality is the ultimate form of unity!" Such vacillation is incredible,

it is stultifying, it is an oscillation quite disruptive. Perhaps the excuse is that, after all is said, his third principle is not properly a presupposition, and is at best but his "faith," "belief," "assumption"—a desperate "venture". Certainly, his violent and impossible syncretism, when once criticism has been lulled to sleep, is just what makes his book so valuable and so intensely interesting. His illogicality, in fact, is his salvation. But the pity of it is that he has a better way if he would only take it and keep to it. There are here and there glimpses in his pages that "systematic human thought" is not quite imbecile and suicidal. "If God were a person, we should be compelled to assume the existence of some ultimate unity higher than He, in order to justify our belief in the whole Universe of being." But this logical compulsion "to assume" is more than assumption, it is genuine obligatory thought. And this constrained justification of experience ("belief") is simply the transcendental method, and that is "systematic human thought". "The fact is, the multitude of persons implies the existence of a principle of unity more fundamental than that of personality." Implication is presupposition. Why, then, instantly give himself away in such sentences as "we are trying to make thought do that to which it is not quite equal," and "it is the *belief* that the Universe is *trustworthy*," and "the *faith* which must be *professed* for *regulative* purposes!" Why these lame conclusions and retractations, when he has just demonstrated that we are obliged to think the thought of God or Universe "the ultimate unity which is *necessary* for thought, for life, and for sanity?" Knowledge, then, and no mere profession of faith "for regulative purposes," but the constructive and constitutive notion. No one has shown this better than Mr. d'Arcy himself, when at his very best and following Mr. Bradley, he says: "Examination of all the ordinary modes of explaining experience reveals contradiction everywhere. Criticise substance and accident, primary and secondary qualities, space and time, cause and effect, and all will be found self-destructive." Here we seem to be running over the contents of Mr. Bradley's *Appearance and Reality*, especially

book i., *Appearance*. But we miss some items—change, activity, self, *ego*, person, self-consciousness, will, thought, etc. Why stop short? Why pick and choose and omit. Upon no apparent principle.

“All have sinned and come short of the Glory of God.” Their inconsistencies disallow and annul their claims to be ultimate and real; and ploughing on, Mr. d'Arcy might have found the principle of inclusive consistency to be the absolute idea, immanent in all human experience, equally creator of all worlds, and destroyer. So discovered, this ground-notion of God, even his own concept of impersonal ultimate Unity and Reality, would have inhibited backsliding. When asked, “But may not this ultimate unity be conceived as a kind of fate which rules the gods?” he would have had to answer, yes; and could not have backed and filled as thus: “God is super-personal unity . . . multi-personal unity,” as much as to say, God is not personal, and yet very much so! Nor could he have treated “super-personal unity,” as adjectival, which he constantly does to his own and his readers' sophistication, whenever his doctrine “*attributes to Him (God) a super-personal unity,*” “*which belongs to God,*” for he would have known that God simply *is* that Unity; while all persons, human or super-human, are *of* God, appearances *of* Reality.

Evermore in thought and conduct we flee from the contradictory and exclusive as from the city of destruction, and make for consistency and inclusion as for the celestial city; and when we come to reflect, we see at once that the principle of consistent inclusion is the one prime mover itself unmoved (as Aristotle puts it)—guide and judge, measure and criterion throughout; absolutely unquestionable, for to raise a doubt of its validity is to use and affirm it against itself! It is “the light of all our seeing,” and in all doubting it is the self-affirmed doubter. This, again, is just what we mean by Reality—namely, One Perfect Whole of Spirit or Experience, inclusive and free from all contradiction, and, therefore, inasmuch as self-consciousness stands already convicted of inconsistency, Immediate and Impersonal. The

result is simply the answer we gave when children at school—God is Spirit, absolute, eternal, unchangeable: the process is what the schoolmen called an elevation of the soul to God: the issue is Anselm's Absolute Idea or ground-notion of God. A thought, abstract, yet obligatory; a partial knowledge, but positive. An outline to be filled in, no doubt, but one which possesses a positive definite structure predetermining any subsequent content, the absolute *prius* and criterion of all possible theologies. And, if Mr. d'Arcy had come by it legitimately, entering by the door instead of breaking through the wall, he could never have called it "vague," "wanting in definite outline," and "no doctrine sufficiently clear to be called a doctrine of the Divine Nature". With us and in us, aware or unaware of it, from birth to death, and in all experience, common, scientific, philosophical, moral, poetic, religious—in all these worlds and any others there may be, existent or ideal, It is architectonic. It, and not any empty imbecile ego, posing as a psychological epistemological and ontological monster, is "the unifying principle". Egos are only in place and power as its creatures, vehicles and instruments. "In God we live and move and have our being"; and the Absolute Idea is the thought of God immanent and operative in finite experience. When Mr. d'Arcy yields to the sway of the thought of Very God, and "not disobedient to the heavenly vision," names the Name, he succeeds in giving a superlative value to his discourse, showing "there is at work, in the seeming chaos of our philosophical thinking, an organising principle which promises to give new life to theology". We may think the promise, if kept in the letter, is broken to the heart, when we find "personality" deposed, and "theologies" transported. For if we are to be loyal to our "first principle," we must subordinate the drama and *personæ dramatis* of popular religious imagination, and must relegate theologies to another province of finite experience than that of science. But we do well to acquiesce, for the province of Poetry or personal imaginative emotion has a value, validity, and greatness of its own, unique, and not unequal to any.

"The position we have now attained enables us to see what constitutes mysticism . . . the effort to reach a spiritual fact by means of a concept which is confessedly inadequate." An apt illustration of this definition is afforded by a sentiment expressed by Dr. Rashdall in preaching before the University of Oxford: "I see no reason why a theist should not cordially accept the position, 'the deity is finite (in Mr. Bradley's sense), a self, amongst and over against other selves'." This is exactly Mr. d'Arcy's "mysticism," the heart's attempt to reach "a spiritual fact," namely God, by means of a "confessedly inadequate concept," namely "self" or personality. Religion needs this kind of mysticism, and has a right to it; for, indeed, as Mr. Bradley affirms, with Mr. d'Arcy's approval, "All is beyond us". So the pious soul, as entitled to whatever serves, both may and must use these working ideas. But there are times and moods in which only the thought and sense of Absolute Very God will satisfy the human spirit, and with this elevation of spirit to the All-One, Mr. d'Arcy is well acquainted. Religion, then, has its being in these oscillations which are forbidden to science and philosophy; and a sublime mystical self-contradictoriness is its essence.

Mr. d'Arcy endeavours to bring his three presuppositions to bear on the solution of various problems—creation, morality, evil, atonement, incarnation, miracle, etc.

Whatever is "contingent" or apparently accidental in experience is "miraculous" or "supernatural". "Contingency" occurs whenever any one of the many absolutely exclusive persons interferes with another, *i.e.*, when any "panorama" impinges on, or overlaps, or runs into another. Intrusion is miracle. How these personal collisions and interventions can occur, where the persons are all sole, inviolable and unrelated, Mr. d'Arcy does not explain, except in so far as he brings in his third presupposition to destroy his first, and reduce his "exclusive" persons to the fatal predicament of "ganglions in the Absolute System".

As to "Creation," its notion is given thus: "As the ego creates and inhabits its own experience, so does God

create and inhabit nature". Creation may be manifold and co-operative. We are not to say Nature as if one; but, perhaps, natures; for are there not "breaks" and "epoch-making" gaps and "new beginnings" such as "motion, life, consciousness?" Such "disturbance" would be of course harmonious, and, under God, we should have several divine "distinct persons" creating and blending their "panoramas,"—a co-operative society of creators—interfering "just as one human will interferes in the experience of another". This "multipersonal" cosmogony is certainly very ingenious, for "It yields a view of the world as a state of things in which miracle is sure to occur if occasion demands it".

It is a great pleasure to gather the anthology which follows, and so close a delightful and most instructive book "without controversy".

"God as one person among many . . . God as person against man as person. . . . On this plane—the plane on which the universe seems a collection of persons among whom God is supreme—move and interact a number of conceptions and relations by means of which we can never solve the problem." So, even the concept of "The Kingdom" is penultimate.

"The difficulty of grasping the Atonement intellectually is precisely the difficulty which has faced us all through, and the only way of coming to terms with it is on the basis of that presupposition to which every great fundamental difficulty in thought and life leads us back."

God is The Atonement.

"God is one with the final and most perfect unity . . . superpersonal . . . ultimate and absolute unity. . . . This is the true *Homooousion*. And this truth finds its most adequate expression in the sentence: 'God is Love'."

"He that abideth in Love, abideth in God, and God abideth in him."

J. BURNS-GIBSON.



## Über den Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judentum.

*Ein Versuch, von Erik Stave, Docent der biblischen Exegese an der Universität Upsala. Von der Teyler'schen Theologischen Gesellschaft gekrönte Preisschrift. Haarlem: Bohn, 1898. Pp. 280. M. 6.*

THE thesis to which this careful and moderate book is devoted has been frowned upon by very high authorities; and those who have still ventured to cherish it will be encouraged by the appearance of this systematic investigation. The author proves his competence to those who meet with his work for the first time. He is not very widely read in English work, and we cannot help complaining of him for giving us no index. This said, no further fault will be found with the book as a whole, which reaches conclusions to me at least very welcome.<sup>1</sup> That is to say, he does not attempt to trace in Jewish writings Zoroastrian phrases, or even directly-borrowed Zoroastrian conceptions. As Kuenen well says: "The germs which lay hidden in Judaism were fertilised by contact with a religion in which they had arrived at maturity". Practically this is a summary of Stave's view, and it is hard to disprove its cogency.

The first fifty pages are devoted to introductory discussion on the date of the Avesta and the age of Mazda-worship. He summarises well the arguments against Darmesteter's hypothesis, incidentally remarking that Philo's *θεῖος λόγος* is much more likely to be borrowed from Parsism than *vice versâ*. Discussing the antiquity of religious ideas in the Avesta, he argues in favour of an anti-Parsic allusion in Isa. xlv. 7 (p. 46). Like several other writers, he has overlooked the fact that

<sup>1</sup> Cf., *Expos. Times*, ix., 352-9.

Zarathushtra himself is as strongly opposed to this Vendidad Dualism as Second Isaiah could be.<sup>1</sup> He notes that even Darmesteter allows Achaemenian antiquity for dualism, the resurrection and the world-cycle of twelve millennia; and we do not need more.

The second chapter describes the Jews under Persian rule. On the question whether Zoroastrianism proper had reached Persia under the first Achaemenides, Stave pronounces in favour of Cyrus's being a follower of the Prophet. I need not repeat what I have said above; Stave's arguments do not avail against my view that Cyrus was a Mazdeist of pre-Reformation creed. In quoting (p. 57) the important passage of Darius's Inscription relating to Gaumâta's usurpation, Stave creates a wrong impression by giving "Sir Rawlinson's" translation, which states that Gaumâta destroyed temples, and that Darius "reinstated" [*sic*, twice] "the sacred chaunts and sacrificial worship". But Spiegel's translation, given in the footnote, does away with the religious significance of the last two items, and in his denial Spiegel is reinforced by the latest editors, Weissbach and Bang, whom Stave has not consulted. Stave argues from passages in Second Isaiah in favour of a high view of Cyrus's religion, and from Ezek. viii. 17 that the Jews had heard of the Mazdayasna during the Exile; on this view Second Isaiah and Ezekiel held singularly opposite opinions of that religion! Next a historical survey aims at showing that the Jews had good reason throughout to be warmly loyal to the Achaemenides and therefore not hostile to their religion. The link between the two religions would lie mainly in the Jews resident in Babylonia and Medo-Persia, who were frequently reinforced by immigration. The open-minded and adaptable Jews of the Dispersion were ready to take in new ideas, which would speedily percolate into Judæa. This prepares for a statement of the development of Jewish religion during the Persian period, especially the growth of a less exclusive temper towards foreigners, which however co-existed with

<sup>1</sup> See *Yasna*, xliv., 5, and my article "Religion of Persia" in the forthcoming volume of Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*.

an opposite tendency arising from the birth of legalism. None the less were there universalist features: cf. Deut. iv. 19 f., Jer. xvi. 19 ff., and especially Mal. i. 11, which must have meant that the heathen worshipped Jehovah when honestly worshipping their own gods. There were thus two currents represented by the opposite spirits of the Books of Esther and Jonah running simultaneously.

The third chapter, "Parsism and Judaism," starts from the point that Parsi influence has been proved historically possible and that the conditions of the Jews under Persian rule make rather for than against such influence. The writer proceeds to note similarities and differences between the two religions. There is an interesting comparison between Ahura and Jehovah, bringing out the greater depth of Judaism in the idea of *holiness*. Ahura was much nearer to Jehovah than any other Gentile deity—which would tend to reduce Jewish prejudice against Parsi dogma. Stave goes on to describe the influences which made the Jews more inclined towards ideas of resurrection, angels and evil spirits, the Parsi influence on Judaism being compared to that of Hellenism on Christianity. Sundry small points are next collected, of which the most important is the dog in Tobit, where the native Jewish contempt for the animal emphasises the suggestion of its Avestan rôle as a foe to the *daēvas*. Two old ideas of Tiele's are rightly passed over—Jewish indebtedness for the synagogue and for the conception of a book-revelation—and Purim is discussed at some length, but without decisive results. The riddle of Purim still awaits its Œdipus. Having cleared away minor matters, Stave defines what he expects in the realm of eschatology. He states Parsi doctrine, rightly insisting that there is no ground whatever for hesitation about the early date of the resurrection belief. After a careful examination of the history of Israel's eschatology, he concludes from the severity of the struggle Jewish piety made for the resurrection idea that it must be *essentially* native. Note, however, that the earliest Old Testament testimony to *individual* resurrection, Isa. xxv. 8, xxvi. 19, dates probably from the end of the Persian period. The

apocalyptic setting of this prophecy resembles the Parsi conception of the end of the world; and the nearly contemporary Isa. xxxiv., xxxv., has a very Parsi-seeming picture of a world-renewal joined with a judgment on evil spirits or angels. The rejection of Enoch from the Canon may show that the Jews regarded as foreign the ideas which are in this book so much more fully worked out. In Malachi he compares the coming of Elijah with the Avestan Saošyant ("Saviour") who shall accomplish the final regeneration; and the "Day that burns as an oven" to the Gâthic ordeal of molten metal. A detailed examination of Daniel reveals much that does not seem a native development from earlier prophecy. Koheleth shows that the belief in a resurrection was not universal, and that it was debated. It follows that the dogma was not directly borrowed from Parsism, else it would have been early adopted, and in the form of a general, not a partial resurrection. Stave will only commit himself to saying that Parsism may have influenced the development of the idea and that in any case it can be recognised in the apocalyptic intuitions connected with the doctrine's appearance. His examination of Parsi influence on Enoch<sup>1</sup> must not detain us, but it leads to the important question whether a general or a partial resurrection was the characteristic Jewish idea. The resurrection of the just alone might be taken as the doctrine of the Pharisees (Pss. Sol., and Josephus), and we might suspect a protest against the *foreign* doctrine of a universal rising, but Paul evidences this as the Pharisee belief after all. Dr. Stave unsuspectingly accepts Acts xxiv. 14 as sufficient testimony for Paul's doctrine—and why not? He goes on to describe the multiformity of later Jewish eschatology, which he regards as evidence of a foreign disturbing element. He notes a deviation from Parsism in the Jewish doctrine (not universally held) of eternal torment for the wicked. But this is certainly the teaching of the Gâthâs, though restorationist ideas may come in at a later period. After showing the similarity between the battle of Angra

<sup>1</sup> Stave has not apparently used Dr. Charles's edition, making his references to Dillmann.

Mainyu with Saošyant and that between Satan and Messiah in the later Judaism, and the N. T., he proceeds to sum up. The Jewish eschatology is not borrowed, but its growth was promoted by Parsi influence. Signs of this influence are to be seen (1) in apocalyptic, (2) in the new outlook upon universal history, its periods and their restriction within a definite space of time, finally developing into a real world-renewal, (3) again in the evil spirits' activity immediately before their conquest and punishment at the Last Judgment, and (4) in the doctrine that a future retribution began in Sheol, whence resulted the separation of good men and evil immediately after death. Greek or Babylonian influence in all this is barred by the scantiness of points of contact with those religious systems when compared with Parsism and its numerous resemblances.

Next comes the Angelology. Parsi traits here are to be seen, not in the developed belief in angels, which grew on native lines, but in the systematised hierarchy which coincides with Parsism too closely to be accidental. That Israel should have had a guardian angel other than Jehovah (Dan. xii. 1) cannot be understood without the help of foreign influence. In Zechariah (iii. 9, and iv. 10,) Stave accepts with Kohut the presence of the seven Amshaspands, but concedes to Gunkel that Babylonian influence may have assisted: Kuenen, Dillmann, and Ewald took the former view. There is no developed angelology in the Psalms—one proof, Stave thinks, how wrong it is to treat all Psalms as post-exilic. The late author of Ps. ciii. 21, civ. 4, may have known the Parsi element-genii. The personified courtiers of Ps. xcvi. 6 have a resemblance to Avestan ideas; and the אֲרִיִּל in Ps. cxxxix. 7, is more of a distinct personality than elsewhere in the Old Testament, and may be compared with Spenta Mainyu in the Gáthâs. There is certainly little enough to build on here. More important are the developments in Daniel, where angels lose their anonymity, and where the nations have patron angels assigned them—*cf.* the slightly earlier witness of Ecclus. xvii. 17. These cannot be the gods of Gentile nations, for each has only one, and there is Michael to be accounted for. The recognition of the Fravashis here

is in the highest degree probable. Parsism in Tobit is patent, and we have the "seven chief angels" (xii. 15), who, however, need not answer either in names or functions to the Amshaspands. The later Jewish literature, which Paul follows, elaborates the grouping and ranking of angels: the account of this, affecting the New Testament considerably, cannot be summarised here (p. 227 ff.), nor the argument against Gunkel's interpretation of the Rabbinic tradition that the names of the angels came from Babylon. Stave's suggestion that the tradition included Iran under "Babylon" seems to me very reasonable. An interesting passage traces the lower genii of Zoroastrianism in Enoch, the New Testament, and later Jewish literature. Especially note p. 230 f. on the angelolatry rebuked by Paul. The parallel he draws between Gal. iv. 9, and Enoch lxxxii. 10 ff., does not seem very close. The Fravashis are seen in the *ἄγγελοι* of Revelation i.-iii. (I have often wondered that this key to the difficulty has not been more freely used); and Matthew xviii. 10, Acts xii. 7 (?), 15, show that they were an ordinary object of belief. Parsi doctrine in Essenism is delineated without reference to Lightfoot.

Finally comes the account of Demonology. Stave shows what germs there were of a demonology in older Jahvism, proceeding mainly in the footsteps of Schultz (ii., 272 f., in English edition). The Satan that is ultimately developed is not a natural resultant of Genesis iii., nor does the concept follow from prophetic teaching. Different theories to account for the evolution are successively examined and found wanting. Since 2 Chronicles xxviii. 23 speaks of gods of Damascus as real beings, it seems to follow that heathen deities had become actual hostile powers, that is, demons. But the whole tendency of prophetic teaching, especially that of 2 Isaiah, was towards their non-existence. What has introduced this changed view which prevails in later Jewish literature and in the New Testament? If the key is not in Judaism, where is it to be found? In Babylon (as Gunkel)? Stave allows there may have been a contributory influence from that quarter, but it must have been far less than that

of Parsism, which alone has a conception in any way resembling Satan. It is suggested that the Jews knew that the Parsi *daēvas* had Brahminist gods behind them, and on this impulse turned heathen gods into demons. Surely this is most unlikely? On Haug's old schism hypothesis the transformation took place many centuries before, and was forgotten now; and on Tiele's view (see review in March number) it was only two or three Indian *devas* who suffered this fate, and that only in isolated texts. Of course the suggestion is fair enough if a nearer foreign religion is substituted for Hinduism. Dealing next with Tobit, Stave observes that Benfey's identification of Ἀσμοδαῖος with *Aēšma daēva* is no longer doubted. The difficulty that *Aēšma* in the Avesta never has *daēva* following it may be set down to accident. Stave quotes Windischmann's reply that it is found in the Bundahish, which professes to reproduce Avestan texts. Less easy to explain is the complete difference in character between *Aēšma*, the demon of wrath, and Asmodaeus, who is predominantly lust, a feature entirely absent from the Parsi fiend.<sup>1</sup> (Has not Stave made a slip in calling the Avestan demon of lust *Ázi*? It should be *Jahi*: *Ázi* is "greed"). Perhaps, as he suggests, the Jewish author merely took over the name of a hurtful demon and gave him functions to fancy. It is better to trace the misconception further back, to the Median folk-story which the Jewish author accommodated.<sup>2</sup> There follow sundry Scriptural and Rabbinic quotations describing Satan as author of lies and of death—two features perpetually recurring in epithets of Angra Mainyu. In later Jewish thought the devil became almost as necessary to the solution of the world-problems as Angra was in Parsism—"almost," because Satan does not *create*, as Angra does. On the other hand, Parsism knows no fall of angels. This in Judaism is an attempt to reconcile the native monism with a dualism of foreign origin:

<sup>1</sup> Correct the meaning given to *Aēšma* in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary* (s.v. Asmodaeus). It never means anything but *wrath* or *rapine*.

<sup>2</sup> I have attempted to describe this "Iranian background of Tobit" in a forthcoming article in the *Expository Times*.

it appears first in the "Grundschrift" of Enoch. "So Genesis vi., as at an earlier period Genesis iii., becomes the starting-point of a theodicy." The description of various theories of this fall must not detain us here. I note in passing Stave's interpretation of Ephesians vi. 11 ff. (p. 272) as illustrating the idea of conflicts between good and evil angels in the atmosphere, where they create storm, snow, etc. Whether this is Paul or not, it is undeniably Parsism. Stave sums up, as the most important side of the influence which Persian religious ideas exerted on the spirit of Judaism, this setting of two worlds in conflict which passes on from Judaism to Christianity. Good men must suffer from the power of Satan, without being thereby implicated in sin.

The result of the whole inquiry is to show that Parsism makes itself felt not so much in the direct contact of Jews and Persians in Achaemenian times, as in the currents of thought which were running after Alexander linked the East with the West. The commanding influence of Parsism—witnessed by the wide spread of the Mithra cult—could hardly have failed to win some foothold even in exclusive Judaism, which yielded something to Hellenism, a far less congenial foreign system. With a suggestive sketch of the way these characteristic new doctrines may have helped one another in, prompted at the beginning by the conditions of Jewish history, the book ends. Space has prevented my giving a really adequate account of its contents, still less examining in detail its various propositions. But I have said enough to show students how important a contribution Dr. Stave has made to the history of religion.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.



**Die Älteste Terminologie der Jüdischen Schriftauslegung ;  
ein Wörterbuch der Bibelexegetischen Kunstsprache  
der Tannaiten.**

*Von Dr. Wilhelm Bacher, Professor an der Landes—Rabbinerschule zu Budapest. Leipzig : J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899 ; London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. Large 8vo, pp. viii. + 207. Price M.8.50.*

IN the preface to this dictionary, Dr. Bacher assigns to Ezra the place of the first of the Old Testament exegetes (*nach Ezra, dem ersten Schriftgelehrten*). How much the learned professor means his term *Schriftgelehrten* to include, we cannot tell. But it is an interesting question whether the explanation of a language to all practical purposes unknown to the mass of his hearers formed part of the duty which fell to Ezra and his associates. It was a great day in post-exilic Jerusalem, when the inhabitants assembled before the water-gate and listened to the reading of the book of the law of their God (Neh. viii. 1-8). This law (*Torah*) was written in Hebrew. Did the audience addressed understand that language? Or was the common parlance of the people already conducted in Aramaic? The fall of the northern kingdom opened the doors of Palestine to this latter dialect. It was the language of the country from which, in B.C. 536, the Jewish exiles returned to Jerusalem. And while the Hebrew dialect, as used by prophets and others in pre-exilic times, was still known at least to the leaders and teachers of the new Jewish community, and continued to be employed by inspired and other writers in the years after the restoration from Babylon, it is probable that Aramaic was in current use among the people about the time of Ezra. In the days of our Saviour's ministry an Aramaic dialect was

spoken in Palestine. And it is not easy to think of any period when this dialect would be more likely to come into general use in Judæa than the years immediately succeeding the restoration under the edict of Cyrus. During that period Jews, accustomed to the use of Aramaic alone, came, time after time, and settled in Jerusalem and the neighbourhood. As the years passed, and fresh bodies from the land of exile arrived, the use of Aramaic became, practically, a necessity of the situation. And it is not improbable that in the days of Ezra a stranger from Babylon would listen to the same dialect in the streets of Jerusalem as that which he himself had employed in the streets of the great capital on the Euphrates. If so, the duty imposed on Ezra and his fellow-students of *The Torah* would include the interpretation of the sacred Hebrew text in the language familiar to the people.<sup>1</sup>

In any case the explanation of the contents of *The Torah*, with the application of its prescriptions and instructions to the everyday life of the Jewish community begins here. Ezra is the first and greatest of the *Sopherim*. The labours of these *Schriftgelehrten* (scribes) grew with the years. From the position they assigned to *The Torah*, and the system of which they made themselves the exponents, it became their duty to find in the sacred Hebrew *Torah* rules for the obedience, and principles for the guidance of their race, whose abode (one can scarcely say home) was soon to be almost as wide as the world of mankind, and whose life was to be exposed to influences—intellectual, moral, spiritual—of which the writers of *The Torah* could have had little or no experience, of many of which they had never dreamed.

Jewish intellect and imagination were equal to the task. It is true, we have very little information on this subject. For five or six centuries after Ezra, the labours of the scribes are surrounded by obscurity. We can do little else than form conjectures as to their aims and modes of procedure

<sup>1</sup> This view—an ancient Jewish opinion—seems to be favoured by the margin of the R. V.: "And they read in the book in the law of God, with an interpretation" (a Targum).—Neh. viii. 8.

from the results of their labours as these appear in historical documents. From the notices which have reached us regarding the great rival teachers and founders of rival schools, Hillel and Shammai, we may infer the importance attached to the work of the scribes during the half century immediately preceding the birth of Christ, and the influence exercised in the community by the heads of the schools of biblical study. But the earliest *written* work of the *Tannaim* (teachers, *doctores*) which has come down to us, a work which must lie at the foundation of all trustworthy historical investigation of the labours of these biblical students, was not produced till probably a century after Hillel. The *Tannaites* may be regarded as ending with Rabbi Judah the Holy, the prince, shortly before the close of the second century A.D., six centuries and a half after Ezra. The work which that first of the scribes initiated when he first expounded *The Torah* in Jerusalem was destined to occupy a foremost place in the subsequent history of Judaism. The ablest men in the community devoted themselves to it. As the years passed, and the race spread abroad among the Gentiles, the demands made upon the scribes increased. New conditions of life were ever arising, and *The Torah* had to provide the needed instruction. Unbridled fancy and arbitrary exegesis or accommodation were applied to the sacred text, and wonderful results were achieved. The expositions of the Rabbis became law to the people. They were transmitted orally from generation to generation. And when they had accumulated for six and a half centuries, and formed a *magnum mare* which no ordinary mind could explore, Rabbi Judah took the task in hand, codified the results of the biblical study of his predecessors, and gave to the Jewish world *The Mishnah* (i.e., the repetition, viz., of the *Torah*), a work which, henceforth, became only less sacred—if even less sacred—than *The Torah* itself. The *Mishnah* was not quite completed by Rabbi Judah, and was not written for some centuries after his death; but it was substantially his work, and his name will always be associated with it. With the appearance of the *Mishnah* the function of the *Tannaim*

closed. Legal decisions for faith and practice were complete. The business of learned Jews, henceforth, was to discuss or discourse about what had already been given. The *Amoraim* (the *speakers, discourses*) took the place of the *Tannaim* and prepared the way for the *Talmud*.

Five or six *Tannaite Midrashim*, belonging to the first and second centuries A.D. (*i.e.*, earlier, or not later in date than *The Mishnah*) have come down to us. These, with two works of a date later than that of the *Mishnah* form the basis of Dr. Bacher's *Wörterbuch*. Dr. Bacher holds that the *terminology* of the *Tannaite Midrashim* which have reached us is substantially the same as that used in the years before these works were produced. This terminology he regards as an authentic memorial of the oldest exposition of Holy Scripture—the most important witness of the beginnings of the *Midrash*. During the two centuries between Hillel and Judah the Holy—a period, the history of which is more or less known to us—this terminology was, no doubt, considerably enlarged, but the basis and essential components remained unchanged. Accordingly, Professor Bacher's purpose is to give or to suggest a picture of pre-historic *Tannaite* exposition founded on the terminology of the works of the *Tannaites* which have been preserved to us. The six works of the *Mishnah* age used by Professor Bacher are four *Midrashim* on Exodus (*Mechiltha*), on Leviticus (*Siphra*), on Numbers (*Siphre*), on Deuteronomy (*Siphre*); *Tosephtha* (*i.e.*, addition; *Tannaite* matter, not included in the *Mishnah*); *Seder Olam* (a historical *Midrash* of the second century). The symbols for these documents in Dr. Bacher's dictionary are as follows: M., S., Sn., Sd., T., S.O. These constantly occur in the dictionary, and it is desirable to keep them in mind. In addition to these, Dr. Bacher refers to two post-*Mishnaic* works, *Pesikta* (about the end of the third, or the beginning of the fourth century), and *Genesis Rabba* (probably about the beginning of the fifth century), in order to show how closely the terminology of these Haggadic works is related to that of the earlier *Tannaite* productions.

It is unnecessary to say that this volume is strictly techni-

cal. It is not likely that it will be used by a very large number of scholars in our land. But to students of Jewish biblical exposition before the appearance of the *Talmud* it will be of great service. Dr. Bacher takes pains to ascertain the exact meaning, or the various meanings, of the words he discusses; and, in the case of the more important words, he adduces examples sufficient to show the linguistic usage, as well as the different shades of signification. The authorities also are given with sufficient exactness, and the value of the work is, in this way, enhanced.

Quotation from a dictionary of this kind is of little value to the general reader. A single word may be taken in order to show the character of Dr. Bacher's work. **מִקְרָא** is an important expression in Rabbinical writings. Dr. Bacher assigns to it the following significations:—

(1) The act of reading (the noun of action, or gerundive). (2) That which is read (specially, of course, the sacred text; cf. **כְּתוּב** of the same text, as written). (3) The individual verses or passages of the Bible. (4) The whole of the books of the Bible (the Old Testament Canon). (5) The literary study of the sacred text of Scripture (correspondingly, **מִשְׁנָה** was applied to the study of the tradition about Scripture). (6) A designation of the sacred Hebrew text, as in opposition to the Aramaic translation (*Targum*). (7) A designation of the Old Testament books with the exception of *The Torah* (this, however, is a rare usage). (8) In the phrase **יֵשׁ-אֵם לְמִקְרָא**, the word **מִקְרָא** is used of what may be called the *textus receptus*, in a case where the Scription may be disputed. The meaning of the phrase ("there is a mother to the **מִקְרָא**") is, that the traditional or received text rests on a well-founded tradition, as a child reposes securely on its mother. In this sense, the fuller form of the expression is **מִקְרָא סְפָרִים**.

Thus Dr. Bacher discusses this important word, and with the passages adduced in support of the various meanings, and notes in illustration, he fills four of these large pages.

GEO. G. CAMERON.

### **Le Père de l'Hermite.**

*Par le R. P. Marius Davies. Paris : Delhomme & Briguet ;  
Edinburgh and London : Williams & Norgate. Pp. 540.*

### **The Dialogues of Athanasius and Zacchaeus, and of Timothy and Aquila.**

*Edited by F. C. Conybeare, being part VIII. of Anecdota Oxoni-  
ensia (Classical Series). Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1898.  
Pp. lvii. + 104. Price 7s. 6d.*

It is difficult to give a critical estimate of this Catholic biography by Marius Davies without appearing uncharitable and prejudiced. Père de l'Hermite was one of the Missionary Oblates of Mary the Immaculate, and his life is written by one of his fellow-members of the same order. His work lay chiefly in conducting "Missions" in all parts of France, partly in directing as "Superior" some of the houses of his order. He was plainly a man of genuine piety, of great devotion to his evangelistic work, and possessed of considerable gifts for the task. In many cases he was honoured by notable success following the missions which he held in rural districts. But the life of such a man is written in the memories and lives of those he influenced, and there is little else to tell. His biographer has, no doubt, good ground for his enthusiasm, but the book is altogether too long, too monotonous, and too eulogistic to be enjoyed by any but personal friends. For others it does not even afford the desired glimpse into the inner working of the Missionary Order or the social condition of France. And the Protestant reader lays it down with the painful impression that for these good people, in practice at least, the Virgin Mary has simply usurped the throne of Heaven.

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These two dialogues, which Mr. Conybeare edits for the first time, belong to a group of Anti-Jewish tracts which are closely interrelated. A third is found in the *Altercatio Simonis et Theophili*, edited by Professor Harnack in 1883, and Epiphanius *de Mensuris* as well as the *Chronicon Paschale* shows correspondences with these dialogues which lead Mr. Conybeare to the conclusion that all derive from a common source. This, he thinks, may have been the lost dialogue of Papiscus and Jason. The dialogues themselves are of no great importance, though they are distinctly interesting as reflections of argumentative methods in the third century, and illustrations of popular exegesis and philosophy of the period. But the most valuable part of this volume will be found in Mr. Conybeare's *prolegomena* which touch on all important questions suggested by the dialogues.

The most striking of them arises from the peculiarities of the New Testament text from which quotations are made. A long excerpt corresponding with Matthew xxi. 1-16 and 33-41 gives a text which is neither that of one Evangelist nor a combination from several, but contains original matter not found in canonical sources. The important text from the genealogy of Jesus, Matthew i. 16, appears in three forms. The one which Mr. Conybeare pronounces to be that found by the original author of the dialogue in his copy of Matthew corresponds closely with the Sinaitic Syriac, concerning which there was so active a controversy three years ago, and contains the words *καὶ ἰωσήφ ἐγέννησεν τὸν ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον χριστόν*. Several textual correspondences with the Gospel of Peter are also to be noted. Mr. Conybeare does not discuss the bearing of such evidence on the Synoptic text, but it should be added to the already vast material.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

**Zur Christlichen Erkenntnis : Vorträge und Aufsätze für  
Denkende Christen.**

*Von Professor E. F. Karl Müller in Erlangen. Leipzig :  
Deichert, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. iv + 151. Price 2.40m.*

**Erkennen und Schauen Gottes: Beitrag zu einer neuen  
Erkenntnislehre für Theologen und Nichttheologen.**

*Von L. Weis. Beiträge zum Kampf um die Weltanschauung.  
4 und 5 Heft. Berlin : C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn,  
1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv + 230. Price 3m.*

PROFESSOR KARL MÜLLER of Erlangen has printed here nine selected Lectures and Essays on various subjects vitally connected with the Christian faith. While, perhaps, one does not rise from perusing them with any exuberance of enthusiasm, yet they are eminently fitted to attain the author's purpose of aiding Christian men to think out with greater fulness and certainty the implications of their creed. With shrewd self-knowledge Müller remarks in his brief preface that he believes himself "to have received something of the gift of *sober instruction*, which appears to be indispensable for the formation of clear and simple Christian knowledge and thus for the growth of independent Christian life". These words are a sufficient indication of what the reader of his book may expect.

The work opens with an admirable paper on the hearing of prayer. Nothing can be a greater mistake, he argues, than for Christians to revolt against the conception of natural law, as though the absence of law would furnish the best and most indisputable truth of the Divine government of the world. Prayer presupposes, not a lawless universe, but a



living God who uniformly makes nature the servant of His loving purposes of grace. Nor can we understand prayer save as an element in a truly religious life. All Jesus' promises are addressed to personal faith. Such a faith both gives us assurance in offering our petitions and sets bounds to what we may ask. We impoverish the rich and naïve conception of prayer which is to be found in the New Testament when we limit it to spiritual blessings.

Müller has put his best strength, however, into the third Essay, in which he offers us a masterly discussion of the doctrine of election. His supreme purpose is to bring out the practical helpfulness of a firm grasp of that great truth. At the outset he emphasises the fact that the dogma of predestination is as much Lutheran as Reformed. What we most need to remember is that the roots of belief in election go deep down into the personal experience of the believer, and therefore cannot be destroyed by cold, logical argumentation. Many have to thank a shallow Pelagian view of human freedom for having robbed them of "the comfortable knowledge of God's eternal election". The assurance of faith is vitally connected with the thought of predestination, and sooner or later if the root is cut the blossom will wither. Of all this the experience and testimony of Paul is proof positive for all time. With true Christian feeling he makes election a *personal* affair. In the midst of temptation and trial we need this anchor to hold to—all is of grace, and so, "what my weakness did not bring to pass, my weakness cannot destroy".

But how does this chime with Scriptural warnings against falling away? Must not the confident assertion of the perseverance of the saints—which is just election viewed prospectively—take the edge off the most urgent exhortations contained in the New Testament to spiritual vigilance and the repression of the lusts of the flesh? Now it is certain that Scripture does not teach both that grace cannot, and that it can, be lost. But the Christian knows that it is only so long as he *believes*, personally and vitally, that he can retain the certainty of persevering victoriously to the end. Faith

and living activity are the conditions of assurance. No one can possess assurance who is not at the same time holding fast to God with a trust which ensures his ultimate triumph over every obstacle and every peril. Saving faith must first be present ere assurance can arise. Müller's logic is experimental, not syllogistic, but it is none the worse for that.

In the course of this essay Müller appears to betray something of a Reformed bias against Lutheranism, asserting as he does that in the doctrine of election, firmly held and fearlessly declared, we will find the secret of the blessing which has attended the Calvinistic Churches. It is noticeable, too, that he declines to accept the old Protestant doctrine of reprobation as a logical inference from predestination. He contends with much earnestness for the universality of Divine grace, and surrenders the attempt to reconcile such a view with a strict interpretation of his premises.

The fifth Essay is devoted to a thoughtful and necessary protest against the tendency perceptible in theology, and especially in Ritschlianism, to interpret the kingdom of God too much in terms of the present world. He points out—what indeed those whom he criticises would find it hard to deny—that the Eschatological aspect of the kingdom is far the more prominent in the New Testament and can never be neglected without loss. Other papers which may be mentioned are those entitled: "The Greatest Thing in the World" (here he breaks a friendly lance with Drummond not unsuccessfully), "Sunday and Sabbath," and "Religious Freedom". The last of these is of peculiar interest for those who are watching with sympathetic attention the decay of Erastianism in Germany. Suffice it to say that the result of Müller's cautious and moderate argument may be summed up in the words with which he closes: "In the National Church probably we have to pave the way for the free Church".

Though the book is primarily addressed to the thoughtful laity, the theologian will find that it can teach him not a little. It is written with a lucidity and simplicity of which few German professors seem to be capable. And while not

particularly remarkable for vivacity, Müller's singular good sense, subdued warmth of feeling, and plain homely truthfulness, render it most attractive reading.

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Herr Weis's book is one more of the numerous modern attempts to break down the wall of separation which stands, in matters of faith, between the cultured and the ignorant, especially on the Continent. Weis is deeply concerned at the growth of a kind of faith very frequently followed by the educated classes—a faith purged of all dogma, often materialistic in tendency, and sadly lacking in ethical fervour and power, while the Christian faith, in its proper sense, is abandoned to the unlearned. The study of philosophy has convinced him that no such duality is necessary. Quite apart from the fact that speculation, from which the intellectualist's creed draws its inspiration, can offer us nothing but nebulous and transitory conceptions of the Divine, the Christian God alone can satisfy the universal heart. And similarly, none but the Christian doctrines have any chance of touching and convincing humanity as a whole. In religion those conceptions are most truly *scientific* which are universally valid and universally intelligible.

Weis has devoted his book to the proof and elaboration of these positions. He believes that a successful demonstration of their truth would confer a benefit not only on science but on society. The first chapter is occupied with the examination of a multitude of important terms, such as philosophy, nature, matter, life, personality, God ; and the attempt is made, with the aid of anthropology and the history of religious and philosophic thought, to determine the universally human and valid element they contain. Following this come chapters dealing with sensation, perception, ideas, conception and knowledge, which are all shown to be stages in the one process of rationally interpreting the given elements of experience. The point he chiefly desires to press, if we understand him rightly, is that all men at bottom employ the same methods of thinking, so that the claim made by many of the enlightened to an esoteric superiority of thought, in process

and in results, is utterly without foundation. The discussion yields this further conclusion, too, that feeling rather than thought is the constitutive factor in religion, and that religion in its essential truth and reality is, consequently, open equally to the ignorant and the learned. In the last chapter—which most readers will feel to be the most interesting in the book—Weis argues at length that the union with God which the human heart has always craved, must be sought, and may be reached, along the lines of feeling rather than of thought. It is the former more than the latter which lays hold of the love of God in Christ. Thought is not the only organ of knowledge; we apprehend reality through feeling also, and even through will. Thought is passive and self-absorbed; feeling and will are the social forces of life. *Erkennen* is temporal, *Schauen* is eternal.

The author writes from the standpoint of a man who combines a sympathetic interest in theology and philosophy with a wide knowledge of the history of science. He refers constantly, either in a critical or an illustrative way, to the systems of Plato and Aristotle and to their influence on subsequent thought. One cannot but feel that the book would have been more valuable and have served its apologetic purpose better, if the reader had been given the guidance of some dominant and progressive idea. The movement of the argument is not clearly marked; salient points, salient stages, in the discussion are few. Weis has given us the contents of his notebook with too conscientious generosity. Still the volume is worthy of a welcome as an attempt to reconcile simple faith and culture; and that, not by surrendering the rights of knowledge, but by illustrating and emphasising afresh the Pauline truth that, while knowledge vanishes away, love is eternal.

HUGH R. MACKINTOSH.

**1. Die Siloahinschrift, zum Gebrauch bei akademischen Vorlesungen.**

*Neu gezeichnet und herausgegeben von Albert Socin, Professor in Leipzig. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. 4 + facsimile of Inscription. Price 60 Pf.*

**2. Reich Gottes und Menschensohn im Buche Daniel: Ein Beitrag zum Verständniss seines Grundgedankens.**

*Von Lic. Dr. Julius Boehmer, Pfarrer in Raben. Leipzig: A. Deichert; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 8vo, pp. vi. + 216. Price M.3.60.*

**3. A Short History of the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament.**

*By Thomas H. Weir, B.D., Assistant to Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Glasgow. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. 149. Price, sewed 5s., cloth 6s.*

**4. Hebrew-Babylonian Affinities.**

*By Rev. G. Margoliouth, M.A., formerly Tyrwhitt Hebrew Scholar. London: D. Nutt, 1899. 8vo, pp. 20. Price 1s.*

**5. Zu Jesaja 53: Ein Erklärungsversuch.**

*Von Lic. Alfred Bertholet, Professor der Theologie in Basel. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. 32. Price 75 Pf.*

**6. Zur Theologie des Alten Testaments: Zwei akademische Vorlesungen.**

*Von R. Kittel, Professor an der Universität Leipzig. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. 31. Price 70 Pf.*

**7. Proverbia-Studien zu der sogenannten Salomonischen Sammlung, c. x.-xxii., 16.**

*Von Dr. H. P. Chajes. Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. vii. + 46. Price M.1.60.*

**8. Jesus und das Alte Testament in ihrer gegenseitigen Bezeugung: Zwei Vorträge auf theologischen Kursen gehalten.**

*Von Theodor Walker, Pfarrer in Kochersteinfeld. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. v. + 132. Price M.1.50.*

1. The importance of the Siloam inscription for the history of the Hebrew alphabet and language is well known. Dr. Socin has laid us under a fresh obligation by his latest reproduction of the Inscription. Infinite pains have been taken in the fulfilment of the task, and the result will be generally accepted as eminently satisfactory. An account of the means adopted for securing accuracy in the reproduction, and a note of the differences between the present and Euting's reading of the inscription will be found in the short preface which precedes the facsimile of the text.

[Since writing the above, we have heard, with much regret, of Dr. Socin's death, which will be a heavy blow to the cause of Palestinian research as well as to many other departments of study.]

2. Dr. Boehmer discovers two central ideas in the Book of Daniel, namely that of the Kingdom of God and that of the Son of Man. The first of these underlies the first six chapters, which are intended to bring out the truth that world empire cannot belong permanently to heathen powers, but is to be taken from them and to pass into better hands, those of Israel, while even the empire hitherto exercised by pagan rulers has been possible only by Israel's help and for Israel's sake. We cannot follow our author in his view that no opposition is recognised in the Book of Daniel between the

world empires of heathen powers and the Kingdom of God. He will have it that the meaning of the writer is that God has hitherto bestowed the empire of the world on various parties who have shown themselves unworthy of this trust. It is hard to read this idea into the first six chapters or to admit the correctness of our author's account of the meaning of Daniel's activity, or to trace the development of ideas he finds in the course of the history narrated. His explanation of the bilingual character of the book is also highly artificial and much less natural than such a view as that of Dr. Prince, who supposes that an Aramaic translation of the Hebrew original has been employed where a part of the latter was lost. In chap. vii. our author finds the turning-point, where the two ideas of the Kingdom of God and the Son of Man meet, the latter being the heavenly factor which is destined to introduce the reign of Israel, which forms the subject of chaps. viii.-xii. We disagree entirely with Dr. Boehmer in his contention that the Son of Man is an individual, and not a symbol of the character of the new kingdom, as contrasted with the beasts that symbolise the world empires. Even if Dr. Boehmer can urge that in the Book of Enoch the Son of Man is the personal Messiah, neither this nor the New Testament usage of the title decides what is the original sense of the term.

We do not believe, then, that our author has made out either of his main contentions, but his book will be found to contain much that is of value from the points of view of history, philology and exegesis, and it will repay careful study.

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3. We have nothing in English that covers exactly the same field as Mr. Weir's *Short History of the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament*. Hebrew students are acquainted of course with the invaluable section dealing with the Early History of the Hebrew Alphabet in Professor Driver's *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel* (to which the work before us has special obligations), but Mr. Weir deals not only with this subject, but traces the growth of the Hebrew text from its

beginning until it reaches the form in which it appears to the reader of a modern printed Bible. "It has been sought to explain everything which meets the eye on the printed page, or to indicate where such explanation may be readily found." The book has for its frontispiece the Moabite stone inscription in the original script, and it contains a number of valuable plates representing, for instance, the Tell el-Hesi tablet, the Baal Lebanon inscription, the Turin papyrus, the Siloam inscription, the Carpentras stele, various inscribed coins, Jewish and other, and facsimiles of some Hebrew MSS. The earliest form of writing, the two Hebrew scripts, the change of script, the preservation of the text, the instances in which the scribes intentionally altered the original reading, the divisions of the text, the antiquity of the points, and similar subjects are discussed with full knowledge, and the book closes with an account of the Manuscripts and Printed Texts. Mr. Weir has produced a work which will prove extremely useful to the student of the Hebrew Bible, and which far surpasses the modest claims made for it by its author.

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4. The Rev. G. Margoliouth has written a very interesting pamphlet, developing the theory sketched in his article on the Earliest Religion of the Ancient Hebrews in the *Contemporary Review* of October, 1898. He seeks to find fresh illustrations from the Hebrew Bible of his theory of the identity of the Jahweh cult of the primitive Hebrews with the far-spread adoration of the moon-god, who was in antiquity best known under the name of Sin, and also to prove that another well-known deity of the ancient Eastern world, namely the god Ashshur, was also originally identical with the same widely-honoured moon-god. His examination of the title "Lord of Hosts" and of the references to "exalting the horn," etc., is interesting, and his whole argument, whether perfectly convincing or not, merits consideration.

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5. By those who interpret the "Servant of Jahweh" not in a collective but in an individual sense, attempts are increasingly made to connect the Servant with some concrete



historical personality. We have had the famous attempt of Sellin to identify him with Zerubbabel, and now we have before us another very ingenious explanation. Professor Bertholet finds a parallel to Isa. liii. in Sir. xxxix. 1-11, the subject of which is "the scribe". The Servant of Jahweh he holds to be "der Tora-Lehrer" in his representative capacity, and he suggests that the martyrdom of Eleazar of 2 Maccabees may have given rise to the specially concrete expressions in Isa. liii. The latter chapter, with the exception of v. 11b, is held by Bertholet to be a later insertion in an original Ebed-Jahweh poem consisting of lii. 13-15 and liii. 11b. This pamphlet deserves careful study for the valuable side lights it throws on exilic and post-exilic Israelitish history, although we cannot say that the author, in spite of the skill and ingenuity of his arguments, has succeeded in convincing us of the correctness of his two main conclusions.

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6. This brochure consists of two class lectures by Professor Kittel, one on the Old Testament and Modern Theology, the other on Isa. liii. and the Suffering Messiah in the Old Testament. In the first of these the present character and position of theology are described and contrasted with the state of things a century or even half a century ago. The advantages and the dangers arising from the large extent to which theology has now become a *historical* study are clearly pointed out, and our author states and argues with much earnestness in favour of the qualities that are needed in order to penetrate into the real meaning of the Old Testament, which will give up its secret only to the believer. Professor Kittel is very successful in showing how faith and free inquiry may be combined. His words will be at once instructive and reassuring to many. The second lecture states well the difficulties of the question who is the Servant of Jahweh; the merits and the defects of the explanations hitherto offered are indicated, and the direction in which it appears to our author that the solution lies is pointed out. The lecture may be advantageously studied alongside of Bertholet's tractate noticed above.

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7. In this little work Dr. Chajes attempts to restore what he believes to have been an original acrostic structure in Prov. x.-xxii. 16, which forms the larger of the two collections of proverbs traditionally attributed to Solomon. While there appears to us to be a good deal of arbitrariness in our author's procedure, and though we are more than sceptical about the correctness of his theory of the original character of these chapters, and about the success of his reconstruction, we note with pleasure the many valuable elements in his work, particularly the critical notes which demand attention from all students of the text.

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8. Pfarrer Walker writes well, and there is no mistaking the purity of his motives or his religious earnestness and unaffected piety. And we can imagine readers being captivated by the flowing, harmonious, self-consistent system represented in the two lectures that make up this brochure, and feeling disposed to exchange the toil and the unrest of critical study for the calm repose of unquestioning faith which our author appears himself to enjoy. But the temptation must be resolutely banished. With much of what Pfarrer Walker says about Jesus *and* the Old Testament and about Jesus *in* the Old Testament we agree, but we cannot shut our eyes, as he would have us to do, to the overwhelming evidence in favour of critical conclusions which he bids us reject. We would only add that it causes us sincere regret that Pfarrer Walker should revive a practice which we had thought was dead, at least amongst educated Christians, of invoking the name and authority of our Lord in favour of views as to authorship which literary criticism has finally exploded, and methods of exegesis which are hopelessly antiquated. *Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis!*

J. A. SELBIE.

## **A History of Scotland from the Roman Occupation.**

*By Andrew Lang. In two volumes : Vol. I. With frontispiece.  
Edinburgh and London : William Blackwood & Sons, 1900.  
8vo, pp. xxvii. + 509. Price 15s. net.*

Is Mr. Andrew Lang, then, also among the prophets? Where are all his quips and cranks? Where are his smart things, his coined sentences, his sly hits, his clever paradoxes, his fine fancies? And those sudden thrusts of biting sarcasm or contemptuous wit, and the other things which are always a delight to himself and sometimes to his readers—where, where are they all? If they are here, they are not what they once were. They are hidden away in corners here and there, and come upon us rather as surprises than as use and wont. And what we do have here, is Mr. Andrew Lang attempting sober history and writing it, with occasional flashes of the old temper and outbreaks of the old man, in a staid and sober spirit. It is prodigious!

Those who know Mr. Andrew Lang only at a distance, will have some difficulty in taking this in and adjusting themselves to the present situation. Yet if they will only read him they will have to confess that, though his present rôle may look a little unfamiliar, he plays it ably and worthily. He has something even of the historian in him alongside his many and various mental possessions, and he has a good deal of the Scot in him. In other ways he has given attention to Scottish story, especially to the more romantic and debatable passages in it, and he has a very living interest in his subject. He has prepared himself for his task by extensive study, and it need not be said that he writes so that you *must* read him. His book is different in scope and compass from those of Hill Burton, Tytler and Skene, and in a less degree, from that of Mr. Hume Brown. It wants much that these severally have ;

and, in matters of original investigation and minute estimate of evidence, it is not likely to have the reputation that these deservedly have won. But it has excellent qualities to compensate for certain faults or shortcomings. It gives us an independent view of Scotch affairs. It compels us, at various points of the history, to reconsider our accustomed conceptions of things. It provides us with useful and agreeable digests of the results of much specialised investigation. It never suffers the story to lose itself in details, but unfolds it to us in a succession of large and telling pictures. Practising the greatest possible compression in its use of the vast mass of material which has to be handled, it keeps its narrative, nevertheless, always lucid and attractive. It imparts a welcome unity to its subject by following out the great ideas which are conceived to have been at work in it. It adds to the interest of the whole by the wise attention which it gives to the social usages characteristic of the different periods, and to the internal conditions of national life. Mr. Lang's object, he tells us, "has been to examine the elements and forces which went to the making of the Scottish people, and to record the more important events which occurred between the Roman occupation and the death of Cardinal Beaton in 1546". He has succeeded in doing this, and has given us an excellent example of what a *general* history should be. He has added to the attractions of his book by introducing "the element of personal character and adventure" to a large extent.

He begins at once with the Roman occupation. Every one is entitled to begin where he pleases, and he is a wise man who does not select unfamiliar ground for his point of issue. In starting where he does, however, Mr. Lang deprives us of a good deal. The whole subject of the Roman occupation is summarily dealt with in eighteen pages, and the difficult and interesting questions bearing on the condition of things prior to the Roman invasion—the various questions of race, custom, language, religion, etc.—are only touched. The competing theories of Skene and Rhys regarding Scots and Picts, the Aryan or non-Aryan relations of the latter,

etc., are stated, and a good summary is given of their several arguments, but that is about all. Much that we should like to get in a *History* of the Scottish people, Mr. Lang leaves to the specialists in language, ethnology and archæology. The following chapter, entitled "After the Romans," is also much briefer than we could wish. All that refers to the Druids, the work of St. Ninian, Palladius, Patricius, Columba, Kentigern, the early collisions between Celts and English, the theory of Presbyterian Culdees, the religious controversies of the period, the genius of the Columban Church, the disappearance of the tribal Church in the Church of the Empire—all this and much else we find disposed of as shortly as the Roman occupation. The dynasties of Kenneth Macalpine and Malcolm Canmore are dealt with more adequately, and the chapter on "Early Culture" in Scotland, with its concise statements on crannoges, brochs, earth-houses, motes, etc., and its accounts of life and poetry, building, dress, weapons and ornaments, miracles, second-sight, and the like, is particularly interesting. The sixth chapter, which deals with feudal Scotland, is also one that will be read with satisfaction. This is especially the case with what it says of the work of David I., the survival of Celtic institutions in the Highlands, heathen survivals, the constitution of the burghs, the germs of Parliament, popular life and popular culture, and the nation's debt to the Church in the education of the people. Mr. Lang's characteristic prejudices, however, are sometimes too much for his self-control here. He likes to have his fling (who can have the heart to grudge him it, if it is such a pleasure to him?) at what he calls "the unhistorical spirit of triumphant Protestantism". He writes of that "golden age of Scotland" as if it were something far superior to the times after the Reformation. He speaks as if the destruction or the decay of all that was beautiful or splendid in the ancient architecture of our country must be charged against the Reformers. He describes the Scotland of that period as if it had been covered with churches that were marvels of art, and as if every parish had ecclesiastical buildings of fairest form and most imposing proportions. He has a long wail over the loss of these rare

structures, and this is what he says in the heart of it all : "What Iffley Church is (well-known to every Oxford man), the parish churches of Scotland doubtless were under King David, but the Reformation swept over them, and they are not." There are some kinds of investigation that are lost on Mr. Andrew Lang, but imagination is not one of the gifts that a considerate Providence has denied him.

The interest of the book deepens when we come to Wallace, the wars of Bruce, and the reaction. The Stuart period occupies the remaining eight chapters. The changeful, perplexed and romantic story of these times is told at considerable length, and with remarkable power. Here Mr. Lang shows us how he can lead us through the intricate movements of dynastic interest and political aspiration, and gives us to see how Scotland was being made by a variety of influences and a succession of events which seem at first to have little connexion with the place it was to occupy and the part it was to play. It is in these chapters that Mr. Lang is at his best. They contain much that commands assent. There are a good many things in them, also, that invite comment.

He gives a grateful and generous estimate of Wallace. There is no disposition to make little of his services or to besmirch his reputation. Joan of Arc is to him Wallace's best historical parallel. What he says of him is this : "Wallace died as Archibald Cameron was to die in 1753, untried, by the same brutal method, and for the same crime. Like the limbs of Montrose, the limbs of Wallace were scattered 'to every air'. The birds had scarcely pyked the bones bare before Scotland was again in arms, which she did not lay down till the task of Wallace was accomplished. We know little of the man, the strenuous, indomitable hero. He arises at his hour like Jeanne d'Arc ; like her he wins a great victory ; like her, he receives a sword from a saint ; like her's, his limbs were scattered by the English ; like her, he awakens a people ; he falls into obscurity ; he is betrayed and slain. The rest is mainly legend. He seems ruthless and strong, like some avenging Judge of Israel ; not gentle and winning like the

Maid, but he shares her immortality. For the scattered members, long ago irrecoverable, of the hero no stately grave has been built, as for the relics of the great Marquis of Montrose. But the whole of a country's soil, as Pericles said, is her brave men's common sepulchre. Wallace has left his name on crag and camp—

'Like a wild flower,  
All over his dear country'."

Of Bruce he speaks in more mixed terms, and, as it appears to us, not with perfect justice. He says some strong things about the inconsistencies, vacillations and "veerings" of his earlier career, without sufficient regard to the circumstances in which Bruce was placed. He takes his account of the Red Comyn's death chiefly from English sources, and describes Bruce simply as "murderer" in that tragic scene. He has something to say of "Barbour's tale of Bruce suggesting retreat" the day before Bannockburn. What he does say is not borne out by Barbour himself. He gives, however, a very different picture of the Bruce of the period after the slaying of the Red Comyn. "Before that deed," he says, "he is unscrupulously and perfidiously self-seeking, nor are great traits of excellence of any kind recorded of his youth. After the deed in the Grey Friars' Church Bruce displays unflinching resolution, consummate generalship, brilliant courage, perfect courtesy, consideration, reading, humour and wisdom. Patriotism, new-born in his time, was then, in a great degree, attachment to such a king as well as to country." One does not feel that Mr. Lang has grasped the Bruce. His interpretation of the man and his acts does not hang well together.

Mr. Lang is strong in his likings, and also strong, inordinately strong, in his hates. His favourite aversions are the Douglas family and John Knox. He touches the height of his passion when he deals with the Douglasses; no words are too violent for him. Here is what he says of them generally: "Few things in Scottish history have been more disguised in popular books than the conduct of the house of Douglas.

The comradeship of Bruce and the good Lord James has thrown a glamour over the later Douglasses—men princely in rank, daring in the field, but often bitterly anti-national, the partiality of Hume of Godscroft, their *sennachie* or legendary historian, the romances of Pitscottie, the ignorance or prejudice of Protestant writers like Knox and Buchanan, the poetry of Scott, and the Platonic Protestantism of Mr. Froude, have concealed the selfish treachery of the house of Angus." One should have liked to hear the "Platonic Protestant" Mr. Froude on Mr. Andrew Lang and outbursts like these. And almost every individual Douglas fares as badly as can be at Mr. Lang's hand.

One of his favourite predilections is the old Scotch clergy, the matchless pre-Reformation Church. He does not altogether ignore the shortcomings of that Church, nor does he wholly spare the vices of the clergy. But he touches these with a comparatively light hand, and he gives us the impression that Scotland was served by the old clergy as it was not by any other class then and never has been since. "The clergy," he says, "saved Scotland's freedom. They later preached for it, died for it on the gibbet, and imperilled for it their immortal souls, as we shall see, by frequent and desperate perjuries. Without them Bruce must have warred in vain. Scottish independence was in part the gift of 'Baal's shaven sort,' Knox's 'fiends' (friars) and 'bloudie bishops'." The clergy have done much for Scotland in all ages, and among the ecclesiastics of the old Church there are not a few men of high character, large parts, and strenuous patriotism. But there is an element of exaggeration in Mr. Lang's eulogies. The laity also did its part, and in its ranks, too, there were men equal to the best of the clerics. If Mr. Lang had anything like the generosity and charity for others that he expends upon the ancient clergy, how different would his judgment be of many men and some memorable passages in Scottish history!

His mind is almost as much aflame when he has to speak of the Scottish Reformation, Protestantism, or John Knox, as when he comes on the track of a Douglas. His antipathies



break out in the most unexpected quarters. Whenever he has the chance, even when he is discoursing of things that might seem to be well apart, he pauses to fling a stinging phrase at Knox or a jibe at the Reformers. It is the Reformers who "removed everything lovely out of the way". Protestantism is charged with changing the national sentiment for the worse. "Till Protestantism altered the national sentiment of Scotland," we are told, "till David Beaton was foully slain, till Knox came on the scene, till France was suspected of ill faith, the Scottish people, man, woman and child, were ready to die rather than bow the neck to England." Is it then the case that the Reformers were no patriots, and that the Reformation made the Scottish people unpatriotic? In much that Mr. Lang says of Knox, as, for instance, in his "contradictions" of himself in the case against Mary of Guise, he treads lightly on very debatable ground. Those who know the sources far better than Mr. Lang will refute or correct his statements in matters of detail. But, apart from inaccuracies here and there, Mr. Lang's fault is that he seems unable to understand Knox or to do him justice. We shall look with expectation to what he may have to say in his second volume on the Reformers and their great leader. But so far as the present volume shows, he has neither the fairness nor the vision of Mr. Froude. The whole account which he gives of Knox here, indeed, is so indeterminate where it is not suspicious or harsh, that he has found it necessary to take refuge in the pages of the *Athenæum* and explain himself there. He takes the high ground, of course, of unusual impartiality and most careful avoidance of any sacrifice of absolute historical veracity. The explanation was needed, and it is welcome. But it does not carry us far for all that. If Mr. Lang is to do justice to Knox, there are a good many sentences, some of them very far from fair, that he had better strike out of the present volume. Mr. Lang is a man of great gifts. There is much in him. But it does not appear from this book that it is in him to understand either Knox or the Reformation of religion in Scotland. But who knows what his second volume may reveal? And who will venture to

predict what his next achievement may be? With the deductions which we grieve to be obliged to make, he has done an able piece of work in a somewhat new line. He has shown us that he can write sober history. What field is he next to take for his own? Is it the case that he is busy on a volume of Sermons?

S. D. F. SALMOND.

## Notices.

Professor Hermann Schultz contributes an important article to the April number of the *American Journal of Theology*, on "The Significance of Sacrifice in the Old Testament," in which he makes grateful reference to Professor Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*, while he says that its last conclusions "probably transcend the possibilities of actual proof". He describes sacrifice in early Israel as "the actual life of religion," and traces carefully the developments in idea and in practice. He recognises very early material in the sacrificial laws in the priestly Torah, and thinks that, up to the point of the sin-offerings and guilt-offerings, the sacrifices of the law were "simply the expression of the worship of God and the desire to gratify Him through honorary and hospitable gifts". The laws concerning sin-offerings and guilt-offerings leave the impression, he thinks, of "composition from various sacrifice rituals". He is also of opinion that the conception of vicarious suffering or penalty in the sin-offering is "inadmissible," and that that oblation was simply a purificatory rite. The guilt-offering, on the other hand, "transfers us to the sphere of ancient civil rights," and means an actual payment.

The second part of the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums*, edited by Dr. Ermin Preuschen and published by the Rickersche Verlagsbuchhandlung in Giessen, has some very good papers, *e.g.*, one by Dr. W. Bousset on the "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs"; one by the editor, on the "Armenian Translation of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs"; and one by Dr. Hans Achelis on the question whether there are any traces of primitive Christianity in the Greek islands, in which the text of the most important inscriptions discovered in recent

times is carefully examined. We wish this new journal much success.

The first six parts of the year's issue of the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, edited by Dr. Gustav Holtzhauer of Munich, are to hand. Among other able and instructive articles in these numbers, we may refer to those by Oberpastor Luther on "Christian Freedom and Pelagianism," in parts 4, 5 and 6; an estimate by Deacon Büttner of Zinzendorf's services to theology, in part 5; and two papers by Professor Zahn of Erlangen, in parts 5 and 6, which deal with the additions that have been made, in the course of the nineteenth century, to the number of original documents relating to the history and literature of the ancient Church.

We receive with pleasure the first part of the fourth volume of the *Zeitschrift für Hebräische Bibliographie*, published by J. Kauffmann of Frankfurt, and carefully edited, with the assistance of other scholars, by Dr. A. Freeman and Dr. H. Brody. It is a small, but useful journal, aiming at serving the object of a central organ for Jewish literature.

*The Erskines*<sup>1</sup> is the subject of the thirty-fourth volume of the "Famous Scots Series". The author is the Rev. Dr. A. R. MacEwen of Glasgow, and no better choice of a writer could have been made. Dr. MacEwen knows his subject thoroughly and, while himself a man of the modern spirit, is in entire sympathy with the story he has to relate. He writes also with a careful impartiality, which is by no means blind to the mistakes and shortcomings of the "Secession Fathers". He writes also in a clear and telling style, on the basis of an intimate acquaintance both with the writings of the Erskines themselves and with contemporary literature. He has given us an appreciation of Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine which we feel to be just and well-founded. With that he has given us also an excellent sketch of the times in which they lived, the movement with which they were especially connected, and the ecclesiastical condition of Scotland in the beginning

<sup>1</sup> By A. R. MacEwen. Edinburgh and London : Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Pp. 160. Price 1s 6d.

of the eighteenth century. It is one of the best contributions hitherto made to the series of which it forms a part. The statement of results, which is given in the closing chapter, deserves particular attention. Dr. MacEwen reminds us that the Erskines left their best work, not in their books, but in "the religious history and the Church life of Scotland"; that they "set on foot a Church expressly evangelical," depending on fidelity in preaching the gospel message; and that their work had, at the same time, another side, that of teaching, declaring and formulating "ideas of Christian liberty," which were really new things at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The personal religious life of the two brothers is dealt with not less carefully and sympathetically than their public work and their place in the ecclesiastical history of their country. Nor is Dr. MacEwen unmindful of the things that distinguished the one from the other—the greater calmness, not to say frigidity of Ebenezer, the more attractive and genial personality of Ralph, the unbending, practical, covenant-making ways of Erskine, the wit, the story-telling turn, the poetic vein, the musical faculty, the violin-loving disposition of Ralph. Justice is also done to their pulpit gifts, and an adequate account is given of their doctrinal views, their repugnance to mere "legal" preaching, and their insistence on the deep things of grace, faith and free forgiveness for Christ's sake.

Anything from the pen of the late Fenton John Anthony Hort is welcome. A volume of *Village Sermons in Outline*<sup>1</sup> will be gladly received for more reasons than one. It shows how a great scholar and a man of severely academic habit sought to adapt himself to village hearers in the manner as well as in the matter of his preaching. It is also of value for its suggestive matter. The outlines are quite brief, and in each there is a single line of thought. But all proceed on an exact study of the passage and are expressed in the clearest and most direct terms. Of special interest are the two series on the "Sermon on the Mount" and the "Resurrection".

<sup>1</sup> London: Macmillan & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 267. Price 6s.

What Scotch heart is there that does not leap up to "The Land o' the Leal," "Caller Herrin'," "The Rowan Tree," "The Auld Hoose, the Auld Hoose"? Carolina Oliphant, Lady Nairne, the writer of these and other songs, is not likely to be forgotten by her countrymen. Yet too little is known about her, and the author of the small, but tasteful volume, *Lady Nairne and her Songs*,<sup>1</sup> by supplying our lack has done a service for which many will be grateful. The book has some admirable illustrations and some interesting *fac-similes*. It has an attractive story to tell, and it is very neatly got up. It gives us an excellent picture of a Scottish lady, who was not more remarkable for her talents (and these were rich) than for her charity, her liberality and her gracious, winsome character. "Her coffers," it has been said by one who has the right to speak, "might have been inscribed with that fine motto which is sometimes seen in hospitals abroad—'Christo in pauperibus' 'To Christ in the poor'." Mr. Henderson has gone to his task *con amore*. He has taken pains to collect and sift the available material, and has given us a book which is a pleasure to read.

The author of *Present Day Lessons from Habakkuk*, a *Survey of Foreign Missions*, etc., the Rev. P. Barclay, issues a volume on *Renewal in the Church*.<sup>2</sup> It is an expansion of a discourse on Psalms lxxxv. 6, preached, some years ago, with special reference to the subject of revivals. It contains many pertinent and useful remarks on renewal as "an incentive to work and a fountain of joy," dealing in succession with the "Prayer of the Church," "Unselfish Prayer and Work," "Encouragement from the Past" and "Joy in God". A sermon on 1 Cor. ii. 9, 10, is added, and a series of well-chosen selections from a number of writers of our own time is given in an Appendix. Mr. Barclay writes with a serious intent. He knows, at the same time, how to make effective use both of humour and of fit quotation.

<sup>1</sup> By the Rev. George Henderson, M.A., B.D., Monzie Free Church, Perthshire. Paisley and London: Alexander Gardner. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 102. Price 2s. net.

<sup>2</sup> Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 188.

Messrs. Ahrens and Krüger supply a want by publishing an excellent German translation of the so-called *Church History of Zacharias Rhetor*.<sup>1</sup> The various questions of historical and literary interest are dealt with in a concise and scholarly fashion in an Introduction of a little more than forty pages. The volume is a very satisfactory addition to the Teubner Library.

We have pleasure in noticing *Jacob at Bethel*,<sup>2</sup> the second of the series of "Studies on Biblical Subjects" by A. Smythe Palmer, D.D., a scholarly and helpful book, examining the Vision, the Stone and the Anointing in the light of Comparative Religion, and illustrating these incidents in the story of the patriarch by a wealth of analogy and parallel instance drawn from a variety of sources; a new *Metrical Version of the Psalms*,<sup>3</sup> by John Albert Robertson, which has, generally speaking, the merit of simplicity, boldness and vigour; *The Epistle of St. Paul's First Trial*,<sup>4</sup> by Rocksborough R. Smith, B.A., Scholar of Selwyn College, Cambridge, a brief but careful inquiry into the circumstances under which the Epistle to the Philippians was written, following in the main, Professor Ramsay's views, arguing for the later date of the Epistle (between the earlier stages of Paul's trial before the Emperor and the giving of the verdict), as best explaining the personal allusions in the letter; a series of thoughtful, devout Lenten Lectures, on *The Sixfold trial of our Lord and The Prayers of Christ*,<sup>5</sup> by the late Rev. G. E. Broade, M.A., for many years chaplain of St. Andrew's Church, Biarritz; a collection of religious meditations, under the title of *The King and His Servants*,<sup>6</sup> prepared by E. M. Dewhurst for use "in

<sup>1</sup> Die so-genannte Kirchengeschichte des Zacharias Rhetor, in deutscher Uebersetzung, herausgegeben von K. Ahrens, Gymnasialoberlehrer in Ploen und G. Krüger, Professor der Theologie in Giessen. Leipzig: Teubner. Cr. 8vo, pp. xlv. + 417. Price M.10.

<sup>2</sup> London: David Nutt, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 187. Price 2s. 6d. net.

<sup>3</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 249. Price 5s.

<sup>4</sup> Cambridge: Macmillan & Bowes, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 37.

<sup>5</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1899. Small cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 76. Price 2s. 6d.

<sup>6</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 247.

households where a want has been felt of something to read at Sunday evening family prayers," and very suitable for such a purpose; a *Memoir of the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D., Rector of St. Vedast and Sub-Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral*,<sup>1</sup> by W. J. Sparrow Simpson, M.A., Vicar of St. Mark's, Regent's Park, a modest and interesting sketch of an attractive character and a studious and useful career; another section, the first part of the nineteenth volume, of Holtzmann and Krüger's *Theologischer Jahresbericht*,<sup>2</sup> giving the literature in Biblical Exegesis for 1899; a small volume by Maud Curwen, *Thorkel Mani and other Poems*,<sup>3</sup> containing some good sonnets and other pieces in different metres, which have some music in them, and some ideas pleasingly expressed; a well-written and instructive account of *Robert Raikes; the man who founded the Sunday School*,<sup>4</sup> by J. Henry Harris, editor of *Robert Raikes; the man and his work*.

A new series of Historical Handbooks, or, more correctly, Biographical Studies, was announced some time ago as in preparation, under the title of "The World's Epoch-Makers". It is extensive in its range and catholic in its selection of subjects. A place is found within it for personalities of largest influence and greatest historical interest all the way from Buddha to Wesley and Newman. We have now three volumes before us. With these, the series, which promises to do credit to its editor, Mr. Oliphant Smeaton, makes a good beginning. The first volume deals with *Cranmer and the English Reformation*.<sup>5</sup> It is by the competent hand of Mr. A. D. Innes, who has already written ably on *Britain and*

<sup>1</sup> London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 203. Price 4s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Bearbeitet von Siegfried und Holtzmann, Berlin, Schwetschke und Sohn; London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. 8vo, pp. 169. Price 9s.

<sup>3</sup> London: S. Rentell & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 39. Price 1s. net.

<sup>4</sup> London: The Sunday School Union. Imp. cr. 8vo, pp. 142. Price 1s.

<sup>5</sup> By Arthur D. Innes, M.A., sometime Scholar of Oriel College, Oxford. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 199. Price 3s.



*her Rivals in the Eighteenth Century, Seers and Singers*, etc. The subject is much more difficult than it seems. Mr. Innes is sensible of that. He does his best to guard against party bias, and to strike the balance fairly. He is well aware, too, of the disadvantage under which one who has to write of Cranmer is placed in comparison with those who have to write of Luther, Calvin or other reformers of the first rank, whether in ecclesiastical, or in intellectual, or in social movements. He shows no little skill in facing this disadvantage, and exerts himself to present a telling picture of the man who, among those "who worked for the Reformation, has the fewest friends," and whose peculiar position is, that he ranks as "the least of the martyrs".

What Mr. Innes has to say of Cranmer's character is well said. He constructs a strong case for a more favourable estimate of him than we often get. He is at pains to bring out the nobler elements which have to be set over against the weakness and seeming vacillation of which so much has been made. He gives also a very good account of Cranmer's doctrinal position, his theory of the subordination of Church to State, and his services in connection with the English rendering of the Prayer-book. He is less successful, we think, in claiming for Cranmer the distinction of setting the English Reformation forth on its career with the peculiar qualities of breadth, liberality and comprehension. The general estimate of the man and his work, however, and the view which is given of the period in which he lived, are just. The volume contains much that will repay the reader. The historical narrative is always clear and forcible; at times it is picturesque, and, when occasion calls, it becomes impressive.

The second volume now before us is Mr. Snell's *Wesley and Methodism*.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Snell has a ready and flowing pen. Whatever faults or defects may be charged against his book, it cannot be said of it that the interest of its story is ever permitted to

<sup>1</sup> By F. J. Snell, M.A. (Oxon), Author of *The Fourteenth Century (Periods of European Literature)*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. + 243. Price 3s.

flag. We confess, however to the feeling that it lacks something. Mr. Snell's facility in writing betrays him too often into slipshod sentences. These are the more vexing when one sees that, with a moderate measure of care, the writer could do so much better. But, apart from this, the account which Mr. Snell gives us of Wesley and the beginnings of Methodism, while interesting, and in many respects appreciative in a high degree, scarcely goes to the root of the matter. Both in the man and in the movement, there were deeper spiritual experiences and larger forces at work than find expression here. Nor is Mr. Snell, by any means, the best of guides on the theology of his subject. He is not sufficiently exact in his use of terms; nor does he seem to have an adequate insight into Wesley's doctrinal attitude and teaching, although he has been at pains to read his writings.

On the other hand, Mr. Snell writes well on the broader and more obvious aspects of the times to which Wesley belonged, the religious conditions that gave birth to Methodism, and the characteristics of the Wesleyan movement. He does justice to the nobler elements in Wesley's character, while he has an eye to things that are open to criticism in the man and his career. His estimate of what Wesley and Methodism did for England is well put. He claims that "Methodism arrested national decay and infused new life into Christianity". He admits that Wesley's direct influence in the political sphere was not happy, but he thinks it nevertheless "every way probable that the influence of that high Tory over the masses did much to prevent an English analogue of the French Revolution by absorbing into the ranks of Methodism those who would naturally have been its leaders". He would have us see that "the emancipation of the slaves, and, after that, other emancipations, were the reflection and the fruit of that inward emancipation of which Wesley was the preacher". And he makes this further statement of the service rendered by Methodism—"The Evangelical Movement and the Oxford Movement in the Church of England were both founded on the principle that religion was something other, something higher, than an aspect of civil life.

This principle, which in the eighteenth century had been fairly lost, Wesley and his companions were bold enough to reassert."

The other volume of the "World's Epoch-Makers" series now to hand, deals with *Luther and the German Reformation*.<sup>1</sup> It is by Professor T. M. Lindsay of the Free Church College, Glasgow. Professor Lindsay is fortunate in having such a subject. It is a great theme, and one of undying interest. The editor is no less fortunate in the selection of the author. Professor Lindsay has long been a student of Luther. He has also a large and matured acquaintance with the German Reformation. His book gives a fresh and independent study. It is written in a clear and unaffected style, and leaves us with a satisfactory impression of Luther and his period. The usefulness of the volume is increased by a very full bibliography, and an admirable chronological summary. Some valuable remarks are made on the kind of Church which Luther founded, its special features, the disappointing things in its career, and the elements in it which explain these things. Professor Lindsay also says something to the purpose on the democratic and economic aspects of the Reformation Movement, and on Luther's defective apprehension and sympathy as regarded that side of the great upheaval. The unique greatness of Luther, however, the creative order of his personality, and the exceptional magnitude of his work are recognised and stated as they can be only by one who understands the sixteenth century and sees in the German monk one of the world's unchallengeable heroes. The volume is an admirable contribution to the series.

Mr. Barnes has written a large book on *St. Peter in Rome and his Tomb on the Vatican Hill*.<sup>2</sup> It is a book of very mixed value, but containing much interesting matter. It is somewhat sumptuous in its external form, and is richly illustrated. It would be worth purchasing were it only for the drawings

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 300. Price 3s.

<sup>2</sup> By Arthur Stapylton Barnes, M.A. London: Swan Sonnenschein. Large 8vo. Price 21s.

of old St. Peter's, the interesting plans and elevations, and the reproductions of rare prints which enrich its pages. It also gives ample evidence of the author's industrious and painstaking studies, as well as of his enthusiasm for his subject and his whole-hearted persuasion that he is on the right track. Its chief defects, and they are serious, are its uncritical spirit and its lack of exact scholarship.

The book falls into two parts, of which the second is the larger and the more valuable. In the first part, Mr. Barnes gives us his version of the Apostle's career, in particular during the period between his departure from Palestine and his Martyrdom. Here he holds the strict Roman Catholic position. He has no doubt either about Peter's mission to Rome, which is one thing, or about his residence in Rome as bishop for a number of years, which is quite another thing. He has no hesitation about filling up the narrative of the Book of Acts, according to his own ideas. The historian, *e.g.*, says simply, "And he departed and went into another place" (Acts xii., 17). Mr. Barnes is able, not only to assure us that Peter went to Rome, but to indicate the places which he took in the course of his journey thither. He ventures to assert, too, not only that Catholic writers of all times have taken the Babylon of 1 Peter v. 13 to be Rome, but that "of late years, all other scholars, whether Protestant or Rationalistic, have given in their adhesion to this view". Mr. Barnes requires to extend his reading considerably, so far as concerns Protestant contributions to the study of the New Testament. In this section of his book, we have little beyond a dutiful repetition of what is accepted in the Roman Catholic Church.

In the second part of his work he is on different ground. Here he is the ecclesiastical archæologist with something of his own to say. Here, too, his attitude is freer. He subjects Lanciani, Marrucchi, De Rossi and other Roman Catholic authorities in matters antiquarian to repeated criticism. Some of his own opinions are very open to question, and all too obviously lacking in historical evidence. But he has brought together a great deal of curious and interesting information.

It would be difficult indeed to name any other book that presents so large a collection of facts and fancies bearing on the history of the great church of St. Peter's and the Apostle's tomb in Rome. The changes which took place in St. Peter's, during the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are chronicled with great detail. With regard to the tomb itself, Mr. Barnes tells all that there is to tell about its present condition. As to its early history, he takes the usual Roman Catholic view. As against Duchesne, he holds that the bodies of Paul and Peter lay in the catacombs while the tombs were being constructed, and that they were afterwards deposited where they still continue to rest. Mr. Barnes does not possess the historical faculty. He commits himself to many things that will not stand the test of criticism. But his book has a worth of its own; it is a great repertory of curious information. It has much that is of interest in those lines of antiquarian investigation in which its author is an independent worker.

The decease of Dr. Mitchell of St. Andrews was no ordinary loss to students of the history of the Scottish Church. That subject was his life-long study, nor was there any man in broad Scotland better entitled to be heard on its most contested passages. His work was always patient and sure-footed—never showy or inexact. We rejoice, therefore, to have his Baird Lectures on *The Scottish Reformation: Its Epochs, Episodes, Leaders and Distinctive Characteristics*.<sup>1</sup> It was the last work to which he put his hand, and it is one of much interest. Valuable as it is in itself, it is made more so by the careful editing of Mr. Hay Fleming, than whom we have no more reliable student, none more minutely and accurately conversant with the history of the Scottish Church and Nation. Readers, who take Mr. Andrew Lang's *History* in

<sup>1</sup> Being the Baird Lecture for 1899. By the late Alexander F. Mitchell, D.D., LL.D., Emeritus Professor of Church History in St. Andrews University. Edited by D. Hay Fleming, LL.D. With a biographical sketch of the author by James Christie, D.D. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 318. Price 6s.

hand, will do well to read alongside of it this book by Dr. Mitchell and check a good many statements that are ventured on in the former by what is said by two pre-eminently competent authorities in the latter. One of the most interesting chapters in the present volume is the one on Alesius, in which all the information that is available on the career of this too little known Scotchman, and much of it is comparatively novel, is presented in an inviting form. Dr. Mitchell's mature judgments of certain passages in Knox's life, of other outstanding figures in the story of the Scottish Reformation, of the constitution of the Reformed Church, the value of her confession, her books of discipline, etc., are recorded here, and are worthy of all consideration. Dr. Christie's biographical sketch is also welcome. It gives a good picture of a man no less beloved for his personal work than respected for his learning.

Dr. R. McCheyne Edgar of Dublin has long been interested in the history and principles of the Reformation, and has been giving lectures to students for a number of years on the subject. He now publishes a Handbook under the title of *The Genius of Protestantism*,<sup>1</sup> in which he presents the main results of his studies, and works out his argument against the Roman Catholic position. The acute stage which has been reached by the sacerdotal question in England and the recent development of the controversy between the Roman Catholic Church and the Anglican, make the appearance of a book like this peculiarly opportune, and Dr. Edgar's work is well worth careful study. The author is no friend of compromise, neither is he accustomed to beat about the bush. Occasionally his words may seem too strong and his indictments too unqualified. But he is always master of his subject, and writes with a profound sense of the magnitude of the issues involved in the conflict between the two great ideas of Church, Priesthood and Sacrifice. On all that relates to the nature of the Chris-

<sup>1</sup> *The Genius of Protestantism*. By R. McCheyne Edgar, M.A., D.D. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier. Cr. 8vo, pp. xviii.+348. Price 6s.

tian ministry, the meaning of the sacraments, the doctrines of transubstantiation and baptismal regeneration, the practice of auricular confession, the worship of the Virgin Mary and of Saints, the reader will find in this book a mass of matter carefully collected and clearly arranged that will help him much in seeing his way through a controversy which has continued for centuries and is again in a condition of urgency. The Scriptural argument is stated at considerable length and with much skill. The sacerdotal contentions are fairly stated, as they are expressed in authoritative documents and by their most accredited advocates. Along these two lines, Dr. Edgar carries us patiently and convincingly to his main conclusion, which is that Protestantism is essentially a return to Apostolic faith and practice.

Having done this the author addresses himself next to the task of showing that Protestantism is a witness to itself by what it has done for the purity of the Church, the progress of thought, and the good of society. The chapters which deal with this aspect of the case are full of interest. They give us a true and forcible view of what the Protestant spirit has done for the cause of freedom, for the sanctity of the family, for science and for commerce, for education, philanthropy, the progress of national life, the removal of long-standing wrongs and the rectification of ancient inequalities. So bringing Protestantism finally to the tribunal of history, Dr. Edgar claims that there, too, the verdict must be given decisively in its favour. At times the book is open to the charge of a certain, not unnatural exaggeration. But it is a contribution of much value to an important subject and deserves to be widely read.

Mr. Askwith, the author of the useful volume on *The Epistle to the Galatians* which has already been noticed in this *Review*, publishes a study of *The Christian Conception of Holiness*.<sup>1</sup> His object is to "set forth the answer contained in the Christian Revelation to the question which Moral Philosophy

<sup>1</sup> By E. H. Askwith, M.A., Chaplain of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. + 258. Price 6s.

has asked, and must ask, What is the rationale of man's moral nature?" He thinks the answer is contained in the conception of holiness as it is given in the New Testament. What he aims at doing, therefore, is to define what that conception is by tracing it in its different forms along the course of Revelation from its first physical connotation and connections in the early stage of the Old Testament history, through the teaching of the Prophets until it comes to its final, spiritual expression in the teaching of Christ and the Apostles.

Mr. Askwith takes a roundabout way of getting to his goal. Out of the twelve chapters of which his book consists, no less than four are given to preliminary questions of philosophy and ethics, relating to the ideas of moral duty, virtue, right and good, conscience and reason, happiness and the good. Only with the sixth chapter does he come to his proper subject. Here he deals with the Old Testament conception of holiness in an interesting and well-informed way, following Robertson Smith in his main positions. The ideas of the Kingdom of Heaven, the Divine Fatherhood, the Fall, the Atonement, and the Holy Catholic Church are then considered at some length, a statement being also given of the Pauline Theology in particular. In the heart of these chapters which deal with the Biblical matter proper, we have again a semi-philosophical disquisition introduced on the Will.

The book reminds us of Bishop Westcott's doctrine of the "Gospel of Creation". There is a certain indefiniteness in its general position. Its interpretations of doctrinal New Testament passages are sometimes strange enough, especially those bearing on the Fall, the Atonement, etc. The account which the Book of Genesis gives of man's pristine condition is treated as purely "ideal," by which is meant that it is an account not of man's beginnings but of his goal, not of what he ever actually was, but of what he is meant, in the eternal purpose, to be. The general result of the book, which contains much that is true and suggestive, is that the rationale of man's moral nature is to be found in Christ, in the life which



He exhibits and inculcates, as He is the revelation of a God who has "no thought for Himself".

*Higher on the Hill*,<sup>1</sup> by the Rev. A. Benvie, B.D., is a series of discourses on Old and New Testament subjects, including Jacob, Job and Balaam, etc., conceived in the spirit that claims for the present day a superiority over all others in insight into Christian truth, and deals at times with old beliefs in a very off-hand manner, but written with considerable acumen and in telling pulpit form.

*A Religion that will wear*,<sup>2</sup> is a layman's statement of faith, vague enough in some things, but intended to meet the case of the agnostic, and containing some helpful things both in the writer's own remarks and in extracts from others.

<sup>1</sup> London: James Clarke. Cr. 8vo, pp. 341. Price 5s.

<sup>2</sup> London: James Clarke. Cr. 8vo. Price 2s. 6d.

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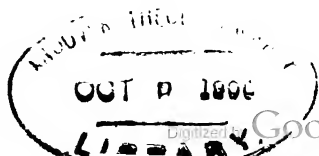
## Christ in Creation, and Ethical Monism.

*By Augustus Hopkins Strong, President and Professor of Biblical Theology in the Rochester Theological Seminary. Author of "Systematic Theology," "Philosophy and Religion," and "The Great Poets and their Theology." Philadelphia: The Roger Williams Press. 8vo, pp. xix + 524. Price 12s. 6d.*

## Chapters from Aristotle's Ethics.

*By J. H. Muirhead, M.A., Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, Mason University College, Birmingham. London: John Murray, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. + 319. Price 7s. 6d.*

WE could read Dr. Strong's book with appreciation and with pleasure, were it published in two separate volumes. As it is, we have read it with feelings which we do not call pleasurable. The first eight chapters form an ethical treatise of very considerable value, and if we had these 181 pages in a separate volume, we should not have our attention distracted, and our thoughts scattered by the miscellaneous contents of the chapters which follow. In fact, President Strong seems to have gathered into one volume the fugitive pieces which fell from his pen on various occasions throughout the years of his active work. We can understand the feeling which led him to find a permanent home for these lectures and addresses. But we fear that he has so overloaded his book with them as to frighten readers, and to scare them away from the perusal of his treatise. These papers deserve a place, but that place is not here. "Fifty years of Theology," "State and Church in 1492 and in 1892," "Our Baptist Advantage in America," "The Decree of God the Great Encouragement to Missions," are topics of interest to many people. "Qualifications for the Ministry," "Ernest Renan," "Charles G.



Finney," are also not devoid of interest. Yet to find these discussed at length in a book bearing the title, *Christ in Creation and Ethical Monism*, is somewhat startling and somewhat disappointing. Most people who write at all usually have in their possession a number of essays, lectures and papers to which they attach some value: happily for the world they have too much self-restraint to print them. At all events, they do not spoil their books by making them a deposit for the overflow of literary activity. Mrs. Carlyle wrote, "the mixing up of things is the great bad," and what she wrote is true with regard to this book. The essays and lectures are not bad in themselves, but they are bad in the place they occupy in this book.

Leaving the essays behind us, we look for a little at the treatise on "Ethical Monism." The essential position of the author is this, "that a Monism which makes room for the transcendence of God and the separate personality of man—a Monism which recognises the great ethical facts of freedom, responsibility, sin and guilt—affords the only key to the great problems of philosophy and theology" (Preface, pp. vii-viii). When we read this sentence, we turned with interest to the chapters which contain the exposition of the argument for such ethical Monism. We found an argument of great cogency set forth with great ingenuity and with much lucidity. The President is acquainted with the various systems of Monism which have claimed the attention of the world, and he is not satisfied with them. All forms of subjective idealism, and all forms of pantheism are rejected by him, and he strives to set forth a Monism which leaves room for personality, human and divine, and which will not conflict with the great facts of experience, represented by the words freedom, responsibility, sin and guilt. The opening chapter sets forth the positions that God creates only through Christ, and that the design of creation is to reveal God. He finds in Christ the principles of physical interaction, of mental interaction, of logical induction, of evolution and of moral unity. The universe is a continual manifestation of Christ. In short, this chapter is an application of the Logos doctrine of

the Fourth Gospel, and of the Pauline statement that "in Christ all things consist".

The second chapter is a criticism of those forms of Monism which leave no room for transcendence or freedom. Materialism and subjective idealism are shown to be untrue, and the chapter concludes with the affirmation that if Monism is true, it must be ethical. This thesis is further unfolded in the third chapter, and in it there are many interesting discussions regarding one substance and many personalities, regarding natural causation as one method of the working of an immanent God, and second causes in nature as secondary workings of God. The speculation is bold, but is not without warrant and justification. Only we desiderate a more detailed, and a more consecutive course of argument. The transitions are somewhat abrupt and the sequence of thought is by no means clear. We have to gather the thought from the writing. The author seems to forget this; the written page is to him sufficient, for it is a sign of what he has slowly and painfully thought out; but the reader has, perhaps, not passed that way, and the missing links have to be supplied before he can rightly judge as to the worth of the whole argument.

The chapter on God's self-limitation is of great importance, and is worthy of study. It is of importance because usually in all kinds of treatises, whether scientific or metaphysical, men begin with the indeterminate, and as their system demands, they introduce determination after determination, until they reach what appears to them to be a determinate universe. There is no means of transition from the indeterminate to the determinate. When this is recognised, we see that most of the ambitious schemes in vogue at present are destroyed. Perfection means determination, and a perfect personality is self-determined, and therefore self-limited. Self-limitation, as the author points out, is not a sign of weakness but of power.

The further chapters of the main treatise are on "Christ and the Truth," "The Authority of Scripture," "Modern Tendencies in Theological Thought," and on "The Fall

and the Redemption of Man in the Light of Evolution". Many good and worthy things are set forth in these chapters. But the exposition is not continuous. The reader has to supply many links, and he is sometimes not sure whether he has got the right clue to the meaning of the author. There are great thoughts in the book, and helpful suggestions not a few. In fact the book ought to be rewritten, a good many things might with profit be omitted, and a good many missing links ought to be supplied. There is the possibility of a great work in these somewhat inchoate pages.

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THE aim of Professor Muirhead in these chapters is "to bring some of the leading conceptions of the *Ethics* into connection with modern ideas for the sake of the general reader". These chapters are not addressed specially to students, though the author hopes "that they may not be found wholly useless to university students as an introduction both to the *Ethics* and to Moral Philosophy in general". This hope, so quietly and modestly expressed, will be amply justified. In fact this work is likely to be of supreme value to the student as well as to the general reader. It is unique in plan and in execution. The advance which has been made in this country in philosophy, and specially in psychology, has been fully recognised by Professor Muirhead, and he has brought the great ideas of Aristotle into relation with the most recent conceptions of psychology and moral philosophy. He has done this quietly and easily, without apparent strain or effort, for he is at home among the most recent achievements of psychological science. It is an advantage even to those who have studied Aristotle's works, and to those who have studied modern psychology, to have these brought together and their relations set forth in the luminous fashion of this treatise.

In the Introduction Professor Muirhead tries to place the leading features of the Aristotelian philosophy in the light of the circumstances of the time that produced them. What lies at the basis of the Aristotelian Ethics is the life of the



citizens of the city-state. So, that life is briefly but sufficiently sketched by Professor Muirhead. It was a life under conditions comparatively simple ; it was a life in public, and it was a life of leisure. "The Greek citizen did not live for arms or for politics any more than for bread alone. He was a creature of large discourse, and had an outlook on a larger world than that of his soldiership, his private business, or even his public duties. The world was represented by the buildings and statues that were daily before his eyes ; by the great religious festivals that divided the year, culminating in dramatic representations, when questions of fate, free-will and the government of the world were marked out before his eyes ; by the gymnasia or social clubs where friends met for free discussion of current topics ; and last, but not least, by the schools of the philosophers, which, as politics declined, became more and more the meeting-ground of the abler and more ardent spirits" (p. 7). Looking at the life of the citizen of Athens, Aristotle was able to find in that life facts and principles of universal and permanent human interest. His distinctions and definitions became luminous in the light of the common life of the city-state. "Man is a political being and made for society," and when Aristotle speaks of the good and happy life as the efficient discharge of functions, he means by functions the actions that are distinctive of the man and the citizen, just as in the Aristotelian doctrine of "the mean" we must understand "the mean" in relation to the permanent ends of the citizen. Thus Professor Muirhead enables the reader to place the doctrines of Aristotle in their proper setting in relation to the life of his time.

Then in a series of luminous chapters he discourses on the Science of Ethics, on opinion as to the nature of happiness, on the elements of happiness, on the soul and its parts, on the general nature of virtue, on the specific nature of virtue, on courage, on temperance, on imperfect self-control, on prudence, on wisdom, on philosophy, on friendship, and on pleasure. These chapters taken together from a complete account of the moral philosophy of Aristotle. In method

they are expository, critical and historical; they give us a complete exposition of the views of Aristotle. They are critical in so far as they set the dicta of Aristotle in the light of our modern knowledge; and historical, as they contain a sketch of the condition of the Aristotelian ideas, and of their subsequent development. Let us have a specimen of the mode of treatment. Speaking of temperance, and of the deepening in modern conceptions of the scope of temperance, Professor Muirhead says: "In the maxim: See that you treat free citizenship in your own person, and in the person of others, always as an end, and never as a means only, we have accepted, on principle at any rate, the maxim of Kant: See that you so treat humanity. With this enlarged ideal of the end which is to be served goes an enlarged conception of the sacrifices which may be entailed by the service. From the Greek, all that seemed to be required was such self-denial as was implied in abstaining from all excesses that would unfit a man for the performance of his civil or military duties. Under modern conditions, individuals and classes may find themselves, in addition to this minimum, called upon—for the sake of objects which to the Greek would have seemed wholly impalpable or illusory—to accept a life in which the pleasures of the senses or even of the mind have little or no place. If it be said that, admitting all this, the Greek ideal of a society, in which the higher pleasures will constitute an element in life which no one will be called on to renounce, is nevertheless the higher of the two, the answer is twofold. In the first place, this ideal is not likely to be realised unless there are, meantime, some who value more the opening of them to others than the permanent enjoyment of them. In the second place, so far as the individual is concerned, there is no evidence that with the advance of civilisation there will be less need for temperance and self-denial. On the contrary, it may very well be that just as the advance of civilisation brings, as we have seen, new pains and fears, and with them new occasions for courage, so it brings with it new pleasures which the man who desires to live for larger aims has to do without" (pp. 124-125). It is also pointed out that there follows

on this enlarged conception of the end a more vivid sense of its spirituality.

What has been said on temperance is said, *mutatis mutandis*, on the other topics discussed by Professor Muirhead. In many respects the work of the Professor deserves the highest praise. It is carefully and competently done, and the translation of certain parts of the *Ethics* at the end of the volume gives to the reader the words of the master himself, so far as these can be represented by an English translation.

Many things might be said, and many questions discussed, were there space and time. Only one remark we shall make. Aristotle has his limitations, and so has Professor Muirhead. The question arises in relation to Aristotle's views: Can a full, complete, true and adequate human life be lived within the bounds of the city-state? Many noble elements of life, of abiding worth are set forth in the pages of Aristotle, and elements of larger worth are set forth in the criticism and exposition of them by Professor Muirhead. But can human life be worthily lived, and human work be worthily done under the influence of motives, and the inspiration of aims which have their sphere only on this side, and within the bounds of time? Can a man live a worthy life, or be a good and efficient member of society, unless he can look at himself and at society as beings who abide through eternity. The fulness and completeness of life, the adequate doing of work, and the discharge of duty, can be fully done, only when life and immortality have been brought to light, and become part of the consciousness of men. To make the work of Professor Muirhead complete, we must add to his conceptions, worthy of all praise as they are, the higher, grander conceptions of Christian Ethics, and so make Ethics an exposition of human character and conduct in the light of eternity.

JAMES IVERACH.

## The Syriac Chronicle known as that of Zachariah of Mitylene.

*Translated into English by F. J. Hamilton, D.D., and E. W. Brooks, M.A. London: Methuen & Co., 1899. 8vo, pp. 344. Price 12s. 6d. net.*

*Zaxaplas* ὁ ῥήτωρ appears several times as an authority in the Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius. He seems to have written in Greek at Constantinople between A.D. 491 and 518 an ecclesiastical history of the years 450-491. He afterwards became Bishop of Mitylene. The Syriac Chronicle which Dr. Hamilton and Mr. Brooks have given us in a becoming English dress is divided into twelve books, and covers a longer period (from *circ.* 447-556) than Zachariah, but his name has been attached to it, because books iii.-vi. are an abbreviated translation of Zachariah's Greek.

The interest of the chronicle is very great, whatever be the exact circumstances of its redaction. The naive preface at once wins our sympathy (p. 16): "We beg that the readers will not blame us, if we do not call the kings victorious and mighty . . . and the bishops pious and blessed . . . because it is our object to relate facts, following in the footsteps of Holy Scripture."

Sometimes, however, there is a bad *suppressio veri*, as when the evil deeds of the *Latrocinium* of A.D. 449 are compressed into the sentence "Flavian and Eusebius were deposed". "Flavian was put on the floor, beaten and kicked," would be a truer account. Similarly, the account of the Fourth General Council (Chalcedon) is given from a Monophysite standpoint, thus:—

"This apostolic man (Dioscorus of Alexandria) was deposed and sent into banishment because he would not worship

the image, with its two faces,<sup>1</sup> which was set up by Leo [of Rome] and by the Council of Chalcedon; and because he refused to hold communion with Theodoret and Hibo (Ibas), who had been deprived on account of their blasphemies." Books iii.-vi. are indeed an account of the development of the Christological controversy to the death of the Emperor Zeno from the Monophysite standpoint.

Book vii. is of more general interest. A full description (pp. 153 ff.) is given of the capture of Amida (Amid) by the Persian King Kawad, Christ Himself having promised in vision to give up the city because it had sinned against Him. Joshua the Stylite (chap. liii.) in his account of the same event is less favourable to the Persians; they "trampled the Eucharist under foot and mocked at its service". The banishment of the aged Macedonius of Constantinople by the Monophysite emperor Anastasius is touchingly told even by the Monophysite chronicler (pp. 175-6).

At the end of book viii. we have recorded as a *literary curiosity* the *pericope adulterae* which the chronicler found in the [Greek] Tetreuvangelion of Moro (Mārā), Bishop of Amida. The details of the story vary considerably from the text of W.H.

- (1) The Scribes and Pharisees are not mentioned.
- (2) The woman was "found with child" (bātēnā).
- (3) Our Lord asks, *What did he (Moses) command in the Law?*
- (4) The answer, *At the mouth of two or three witnesses she shall be stoned.*
- (5) Our Lord looks on the ground and writes in the dust only in speaking to the woman.
- (6) Our Lord's final words are, *Those who brought thee hither and wished to testify against thee, when they considered the things which I said to them which thou didst hear, left thee and departed. Go thou, therefore, and do not this sin again.*

Among the gems—for there are gems even in this history

<sup>1</sup>An allusion to the Catholic doctrine of the permanence of the two natures, Divine and human, in our Lord after their union in one person.

of wars and controversies—must be reckoned the account of the reception of the missionaries to the Huns (p. 330):—

“In a country in which no peace is to be found these seven priests from evening to evening found a lodging and seven loaves of bread and a jar of water”.

The translators have done a great service both to Byzantine history and to Syriac scholarship. The text is corrupt, and Land's edition frequently fails to give the reading of the MS. (B.M. Add. 17,202), from which it was taken. Dr. Hamilton and Mr. Brooks supply many emendations, partly from a fresh examination of the MS., partly by the help of a second MS. preserved at the Vatican. Much still remains to be done for this interesting chronicle, but the present editors have taken us a long way beyond Land, and earned our heartiest thanks.

W. EMERY BARNES.

## **Our Records of the Nativity and Modern Historical Research. A Reply to Professor Ramsay's Thesis.**

*By James Thomas. Swan Sonnenschein, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 400. Price 6s.*

THIS book, as its sub-title shows, is in large measure intended as an answer to Professor Ramsay's recent monograph on the credibility of St. Luke's account of the circumstances attending Christ's birth at Bethlehem.<sup>1</sup> But as along with this the writer takes the opportunity of reviewing the corresponding narrative in the First Gospel, we have in the volume before us an examination of the only two records of the Nativity that we possess, regarded first of all in themselves, and then in their relation to one another. The importance of such an examination will be at once conceded; for though Mr. Thomas states that he has no intention of intruding on the actual story of the birth and parentage of Jesus, but only of seeing "how far the writers of these two accounts are correct in the historical incidents which they relate after the lapse of years" (p. 3), it is obvious that if the result of his inquiry is fatal to the historical credibility of the narratives, the belief in the doctrine of the Miraculous Conception itself, which we derive from them, will be seriously imperilled, if not destroyed. The inquiry has thus a wider range than may at first sight be apparent, and the successive steps in the writer's argument demand careful attention. It is obviously impossible, however, to submit all Mr. Thomas's statements to detailed examination here. The utmost that can be attempted is to indicate generally the course he follows, and to point out some of the particulars in which he seems to us to have failed to prove his case.

After an introductory chapter, in which he discusses the general plan of his work, Mr. Thomas gives a short account

<sup>1</sup> *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* Hodder and Stoughton, 1898.

of the historical surroundings of the Nativity, and more particularly a review of the life of Herod the Great. This latter can only be described as a somewhat bold, and by no means successful, attempt to "whitewash" Herod's character, with the object, as appears afterwards, of throwing discredit on the story of the Massacre of the Innocents. For, even though it may be the case that injustice has been done to Herod in certain particulars, we have only too abundant evidence to justify the verdict which Josephus passes upon him as "fierce to all alike, and the slave of passion, and above the consideration of what was right" (*Ant.* xvii. 8. 1). While so far as regards the possibility of this alleged "useless crime," Mr. Thomas's own admission is almost sufficient to cover the case, that "there was often, in those days, but the alternative of 'kill or be killed,' and he [Herod] chose the former" (p. 66, f.). According to the evangelic tradition it was this very fear that his kingdom and therefore his life were in danger that was now, as at other times, the underlying motive of the frenzied king's conduct. (For an illustrative parallel comp. Josephus, *Ant.* xv. 8. 4.)

This is by no means, however, the only difficulty that Mr. Thomas raises in connection with the Visit of the Magi. Upon every detail in the account of it—the character of the mysterious sages themselves, the appearance of the star, the events at Jerusalem, and again at Bethlehem—doubt in turn is cast. Nor is it difficult to do this for any one who, like Mr. Thomas, seems prepared to exclude the supernatural altogether, and who has so little entered into the inner spirit of the narrative that he can speak of the Magi as influenced by "an absolutely trivial motive" (p. 73).<sup>1</sup> One advantage, however, all such criticism as Mr. Thomas passes, has. It serves to bring out what are the unnecessary, as distinguished from the real, difficulties of the Gospel story, and so leads to the removal of what have sometimes proved stumbling-blocks

<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere, when it serves his purpose, Mr. Thomas more truly describes the Magi, as "actuated by the deepest feelings of spiritual reverence, and indeed adoration, no other motives for their visit being conceivable" (p. 311. f.).



in the way of faith. Thus, as has been pointed out again and again, we do not need to think of any miraculous appearance of a star. Once we have admitted that the Magi were believers in astrology, and that God can use the imperfect, and even the erroneous, beliefs of men as the means of conducting them to Himself, it is clear that any unusual astronomical conjunction (and that ἀσθήρ can be used in this wide sense the lexicographers have shown, see Schleusner s. v.) meets the requirements of the narrative. Nor is it without significance in this connection, though we do not desire to lay too much stress upon it (*pace* Mr. Thomas, p. 72), that Kepler's discovery of a remarkable conjunction of planets coincides in a striking way with what is now, on entirely independent grounds, believed to be the probable date of Christ's birth, *viz.*, between B. C. 7 and 5. (See Turner, *Art. Chronology of New Testament* in Hastings' *D. of B.* vol. i.)<sup>1</sup>

The subsequent references to the star are more doubtful, and many who accept the general historical truth of the narrative, find in them mythical additions. It may be so, or it may be that we have merely a loose popular or poetical way of saying that the star appeared to the Wise Men in the direction of Bethlehem, as according to the above-mentioned astronomical calculations would indeed be the case, standing, not necessarily over the special house, but generally over the place where the young Child was. Further guidance than that they would not require, for once arrived in Bethlehem, a village of perhaps 2,000 inhabitants, they would have little difficulty in finding Him of whom they were in search. The small size of Bethlehem too, it may be noted in passing, should put a stop to the exaggerated ideas of Herod's massacre that popularly prevail. There cannot as a matter of fact have been more than about twenty infants put to death

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Thomas is right in refusing to rest the proof of any widespread Messianic expectations in heathendom at this time upon such generally cited passages as Tacit. *Hist.* v. 13 and Suet. *Vespas.* 4, for these allusions refer to the time of Vespasian, and are evidently derived from Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* vi. 5, 4). What more natural however than that the universal diffusion of the Jews should have been accompanied by the universal diffusion of their Messianic hopes?

(see Farrar, Edersheim). And surely to bring forward the silence of Josephus as an argument against the story, because it is "simply incredible" that, had he heard of it, he could have forgotten it, or because he had "no possible reason" for omitting it (p. 91), is a purely arbitrary assumption.

From the account in St. Matthew, Mr. Thomas passes to the account in St. Luke, and here, as might be expected, he at once fixes on the blunder or rather complication of blunders into which, it is freely declared, St. Luke has fallen with regard to the Census of Quirinius, and which, if proved, is admittedly of so serious a character as to throw discredit upon the historical character of his whole narrative. The arguments by which this charge of untrustworthiness is generally supported are briefly as follows: that Augustus never ordered any general enrolment to be made of the Roman world—that, even if he had done so, it would not have extended to Palestine which was an independent kingdom—that, again supposing this were possible, it would not have necessitated the journey of Mary and Joseph to Bethlehem, seeing that according to the Roman method they would have been enrolled at their own residence in Nazareth—and lastly that, under any circumstances, it could not have taken place at once during the lifetime of Herod and the Governorship of Quirinius, seeing that Herod died in B. C. 4 and Quirinius was not Governor of Syria until A. D. 6-7. Against this undoubtedly grave indictment Professor Ramsay has built up a long and patient argument, which has generally been accepted as probably the best explanation yet offered of this very difficult passage. After establishing the probability of Augustus' having at least laid down the principle of a general enrolment of his empire, and the further likelihood that this enrolment, which we know to have actually taken place in Egypt, was also carried out in Syria, he goes on to show that B. C. 7 or 6 is the most probable year for this to have happened, and though he is here met by the undoubted fact that at this time Quinctilius Varus, and not Quirinius, was governing Syria, he finds an outlet out of the difficulty "in the supposition that the foreign relations of Syria, with the command of its armies,

were entrusted for a time to Quirinius," and that the period of this extraordinary command coincided with the above-mentioned date. This last supposition regarding Quirinius is perhaps the least convincing part of Professor Ramsay's argument, and it seems to us that Mr. Thomas is entitled to hold that "the specific phrase '*of Syria*' which follows in the text indisputably puts quite a different meaning" on Quirinius's governorship (p. 192).<sup>1</sup> But though Professor Ramsay's argument may require to be amended in this and possibly in other directions,<sup>2</sup> we confess that, after having carefully read Mr. Thomas's criticisms, we cannot find that he has materially shaken it in any important particular. It is an argument which, as Professor Ramsay himself is careful to explain, and Mr. Thomas seems constantly to forget, rests upon propositions which, in the absence of sufficient data, must be regarded as "probable" rather than conclusive (Ramsay, p. 110). And if so, it is equally obvious that, with regard to the whole of such an inquiry, very much depends upon the state of mind in which it is approached. Professor Ramsay does so avowedly with a strong prepossession in favour of St. Luke's accuracy, based upon the fact that his historical statements, where it has been found possible to test them, as *e.g.*, in the Book of Acts, have been amply justified. Mr. Thomas, on the other hand—we hope we do not do him wrong—at least gives us the impression that he has a keener eye for the difficulties than for any possible explanations of the Lucan account, and that, if he has any prejudice at all, it is against rather than in favour of the Evangelist. We are very far indeed from imputing to him anything in the nature of such "a policy of malignity," as he expressly repudiates. But he seems to us to demand

<sup>1</sup> The words in the original are ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου. Mr. Thomas, by the way, would do well to note more carefully the printing of his Greek accents and breathings (see *e.g.*, pp. 94, 246, 357).

<sup>2</sup> The above objection does not hold against the old idea that Quirinius was specially appointed by Augustus to the *Procuratorial* or *Fiscal*, as distinguished from the *Legatine*, Governorship of Syria, a meaning which the word ἡγεμονεύειν can perfectly well have (see McLellan, *The New Testament*, i. 397 f.; and Professor M. Dods in the *Critical Review* ix. 77).

more in the way of absolute proof than in this, or indeed almost any fact of ancient history, is possible; and, further, in weighing this statement of St. Luke's, he neglects to throw into the scale in its favour the confidence in his general accuracy which St. Luke has elsewhere earned.

Mr. Thomas, however, is not content with questioning the historical accuracy of the Matthaean and Lucan accounts taken separately. He regards them as irreconcilable with each other. It is quite true that the two narratives are written from two independent points of view, and deal with wholly different sets of facts, but that is not to say that no basis of agreement can be found between them. The main difficulty, apart from the Genealogies, which it is wisest simply to leave "side by side as independent attempts to supply the desiderated proof of Davidic descent" (Sanday, *Art. Jesus Christ* in Hastings' *D. of B.* ii. 645), is as to where the original home of Mary and Joseph was situated. There can be no doubt that if we had only the narrative of the First Gospel we would look for this naturally at Bethlehem, and imagine that Mary and Joseph went to Nazareth for the first time after the return from Egypt (Matt. ii. 23). Whereas St. Luke plainly calls Nazareth "their own city," and without any reference to the Flight into Egypt seems to indicate that Mary and Joseph returned to Nazareth directly from Jerusalem after the Presentation in the Temple (Luke ii. 39). Are our two authorities thus "in flagrant disagreement," as Mr. Thomas would have us to believe? (p. 307). Or is it not possible again to postulate two entirely independent sources of information from which the Evangelists drew, and to think that the original compilers of these sources may either have been ignorant of, or purposely passed over in silence, the events that they do not record? If this is once admitted, not only can we harmonize the two narratives, but by combining them can trace a natural and continuous sequence of events.<sup>1</sup>

There still remains the important question, Even supposing that we are to reject on such grounds as have been

<sup>1</sup> Canon Gore arranges the sequence as follows: St. Luke i.; St. Matt. i. 18-25<sup>a</sup>; St. Luke ii. 1-21 [St. Matt. i. 25<sup>b</sup>]; St. Luke ii. 22-38; St. Matt. ii. [St. Luke ii. 39]; St. Luke ii. 40-52 (*Dissertations*, p. 37).

advanced the right of these records of the Nativity to a place in the original Gospels, how did they arise? That they must have been early in general circulation is clearly proved by the fact that the doctrine of the Miraculous Conception, for which they are our only authorities, was an established belief in all parts of the Church by the middle of the second century, and was apparently known at the headquarters of Christianity nearly a century earlier (see Sanday *ut s. p.* 643 f.). To what then, if they do not rest on an historical basis, are these narratives due? On this point, Mr. Thomas has not much to tell us, though he evidently clings to some such legendary or mythical basis, as was advocated by David Strauss, and indeed himself supplies an additional reference to a popular legend that had grown up round the birth of Augustus, as one which, if it did not actually help to suggest the Christian story, at least shows how it may have arisen (p. 388). But setting aside all such difficulties as want of time etc., for such a growth, even those, who, like Mr. Thomas, deny the historical character of the Gospel narratives, are now ready to admit that it is impossible to rest the Christian tradition on this subject in the last instance upon factors which are so wholly foreign to the general course of Biblical revelation. The starting point for this "myth," if "myth" it is, must rather, so they tell us, be looked for within that revelation, and not a few believe that they find it in such a verse as Isaiah vii. 14.<sup>1</sup> It is an explanation open, we believe, to at least equally strong objections as those that can be urged against any pagan source for our doctrine, but as it forms no part of Mr. Thomas's argument we cannot stay now to criticise it. And we can only conclude by expressing our own belief that until more convincing arguments are brought forward against them, and a more conclusive explanation of their supposed mythical origin is forthcoming, than any we have found here, we must continue to regard, if only on historical grounds, the narratives of the Nativity as historical also.

G. MILLIGAN.

<sup>1</sup> See e.g., Lobstein, *Die Lehre von der übernatürlichen Geburt Christi* (2<sup>te</sup> Aufl. Freiburg-i.-B., 1896)—a most thorough and clearly reasoned statement of the whole question from the negative point of view.

## Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln.

*By Francis Seymour Stevenson, M.P. London: Macmillan & Co. Pp. xvi + 348 Price 10s. net.*

MR. STEVENSON describes his book "as a contribution to the religious, political and intellectual history of the thirteenth century". It is in the ecclesiastical and political portion of his subject that Mr. Stevenson has done his best work. He has not attempted to estimate the position of Grosseteste in the history of mediæval philosophy beyond giving us a very brief statement of his relation to earlier and to later thinkers. This, however, is no real defect in the present work, for the subject is highly technical and would find its proper place in a discussion of philosophy and theology in mediæval England. The present volume might, however, have contained at least a selected bibliography, and some statement of Dr. Felten's theory about the authorship of the *Chateau d'Amour*, by which Grosseteste was popularly known in the fourteenth century. Mr. Stevenson's interest lies rather in the politico-ecclesiastical sphere, and his book is, as a Life of the great Bishop of Lincoln, a thoroughly sound and careful piece of research. It was with his appointment to the See of Lincoln in 1235 that Grosseteste's striking personality found proper scope. He at once set himself to reform ecclesiastical abuses within the limits of his own diocese, and the story throws much light upon the condition of the Church of his day, and of the position occupied by a thirteenth-century bishop. Grosseteste set himself to improve the morals of the clergy, to raise the standard of education and intelligence among them, and to regulate Church observances and festivals. His forty-five "Constitutions" present a picture of the ecclesiastical abuses of the time. But the bishop's energy did not end with these

evils and their remedies. We find him leading a crusade against drunkenness, defining the limits of legitimate amusement, and performing some of the duties which would now belong to the Board of Health. His name remains famous in the history of the never-ending controversy between Church and State and in connection with the constitutional struggles of the reign of Henry III. Strong as was Grosseteste's view of the independence of the Church, he did not hesitate to oppose unjust Papal exactions, just as he had opposed unjust royal exactions, and he was the leader of the Church in its struggle against the unwonted alliance of King and Pope. This is the story that Mr. Stevenson has to tell, and he has told it well.

ROBERT S. RAIT.

**Die Religionsphilosophie Kant's von der Kritik der reinen Vernunft bis zur Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft.**

(*Kant's Philosophy of Religion from his " Critique of Pure Reason " to his " Religion within the Limits of Mere Reason " .*) Von Dr. Albert Schweitzer in Strassburg i. E. : Freiburg i. B. : Mohr, 1899. 8vo, pp. 325, 7mk.

THE primary purpose of Dr. Schweitzer's work is to sketch the development of Kant's own philosophy of religion : not to determine its precise place in the history of the philosophy of religion or to estimate its intrinsic merits. The author is of opinion that alongside of the numerous dissertations and larger treatises *about* Kant's philosophy of religion there is room for one which shall let Kant himself speak, which shall present a critical analysis of his own thoughts on the subject at the various stages of their development and in their several contents. The usual conception of his view, he allows, will thus at certain points be put out of perspective, and sustain a loss of unity and self-contained completeness ; but he justifies himself by a consideration to which non-Kantians will scarcely attach much weight, namely, that as Kant's own philosophy of religion passed through a great development, and that as its development was necessarily determined by law, the law in question may have foreshadowed the law of the development of the same subject during this nineteenth century : Kant's development in other words, may have been a prophetic preformation of the development in the nineteenth century. To show this seems to be the real or ultimate aim of the work.

For the purpose in view four of Kant's works are examined in part or in whole, namely, *first*, the section of the *Critique of Pure Reason*, headed, " Der Kanon der reinen Vernunft " ;



secondly, the *Critique of the Practical Reason*; thirdly, the *Religion within the Limits of Pure Reason*, and lastly, the *Critique of the Faculty of Judgment*. According to Dr. Schweitzer the "Sketch of the Philosophy of Religion" given in the "Kanon" constituted the point of departure for the development whose course he has traced out. Its characteristic feature is that it contains within itself, in an undeveloped and unmediated form, two great lines of thought which afterwards differentiate themselves ever more completely and sharply. The first of these lines, which has ethical *humanity* as such for its subject, reappears in the fourth of the works just mentioned, and reaches its culmination in the third. The second line of thought, which has the "isolated human being" for its subject, attains logical, and therefore one-sided development in the exposition of the philosophy of religion according to Critical Idealism which is contained in the *Critique of Practical Reason*. An insoluble contradiction, it is maintained, exists between the presuppositions of Kant's Critical Idealism and the fact of the moral law, which renders impossible any philosophy of religion based on a union of these two factors. Logically carried out, indeed, the one factor neutralises the other. The two lines of development which have been traced through the entire Kantian philosophy of religion owe their existence to the relation between these two factors.

To Schopenhauer belongs the credit of following out the Critical Idealistic line to its extreme issue in the denial of freedom, immortality and God. Albrecht Ritschl, on the other hand, most consistently developed the ethical line, in that, whilst laying stress on the moral personality, he maintained that its realisation is only possible in interaction with a moral society.

Dr. Schweitzer's work has undoubtedly an interest of its own—the interest at all events of showing, by the example of so great a man as Kant, how possible it is for the germs of mutually-exclusive systems of thought to lodge together in the same subtle, tenacious and vigorous intellect: and by natural consequence for those opposed systems when

developed to be fathered on one and the same thinker. It is evidently the outcome of much careful and concentrated thought.

One cannot but wish that our German friends would supply their works with adequate Tables of Contents and Indexes. Fancy a closely-printed volume, large octavo, extending to 325 pages, on such a subject, with a Table of Contents of only six of the briefest headings. If authors were a little more accommodating in this matter, they would perhaps be more read, or at all events more bought.

D. W. SIMON.

## Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Sündenfall und der Turmbau zu Babel.

*In drei im akademischen Gottesdienst zu Halle gehaltenen Predigten behandelt von D. Fr. Loofs, Professor der Theologie in Halle. Freiburg: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr, 1899. pp. 41. Price, 75pf.*

### De Veteris Latinae Ecclesiastici Capitibus I-XLIII.

*Una cum notis ex ejusdem libri translationibus Aethiopica, Armeniaca, Coptica, Latina Altera, Syro-hexaplari depromptis. Scripsit Dr. Theol. Henr. Herkenne, Repetens in Collegio Albertino Bonnensi. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899. pp. 268.*

PROFESSOR LOOFS of Halle has published three University sermons on the story of the Creation, the Fall, and the Tower of Babel. They form No. 39 of the series of *Hefte zur christlichen Welt*. These sermons are in every respect admirable, popular in style, reverent in spirit, scientific in teaching. They are thoroughly modern, accept all critical results, but show that the religious value of the narratives in question is absolutely unimpaired. They can never, he believes, cease to be profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction and for discipline in righteousness. Of the Creation narrative he says: "Those ancient traditions which the writer of our Creation story overwrought were the knowledge of culture which *he* acquired. In their place we put the knowledge of *our* time . . . . But one thing we must never forget. All our modern sciences help us no more in the religious quest than the pious Israelite was helped by the traditions which *he* found in *his* world. Just as the ancient Israelite found the truth, properly so called, as to the Creation, not in those ancient traditions, but in what he knew as a *believing* Israelite, so to all modern *science* the origin of the world remains a riddle. The real significance of the Crea-

tion narrative is exactly the same for us as for Israel. It expresses, in a form intelligible to every child, impressive and majestically simple to every mature understanding, the proposition of faith that this world is a *Creation* of Almighty God." The profound and enduring truths which are presented in the story of the Fall, truths which are unaffected by science and philosophy, are expressed by Professor Loofs with equal clearness and point. "Heathen religions answer the question as to the origin of sin by deifying sin; they regard the opposition between good and evil, light and darkness, as eternal . . . Wise and clever men in all ages have supposed that the whole array of earthly evils is the necessary consequence of the finitude of the world of men, and that this consequence of finitude was originally willed by God." To all this the Bible on its first pages "opposes an emphatic no. God cannot be the Author of sin." And "with all our wisdom we have not got much farther than the author of the story in the text. We have only a surer guarantee for our faith . . . He who knows how to find profound truth in the simple vesture of the antique popular tale, verily finds much of it here." The whole discourse is well worth reading. On p. 21 "Nazareth" should be "Nain."

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Dr. Herkenne of Bonn has produced one of those works of prodigious learning which appear only in laborious Germany. His laudable purpose has been to purify the text of the best book of the Apocrypha. He has devoted years to it. He has collated the Graecus Receptus of Ecclesiasticus not only with the Old Latin, but with the Syriac, Armenian, Aethiopic and Coptic Versions. In the middle of his undertaking he was agreeably surprised by the news of the discovery of a portion of the original Hebrew text, and with all speed he added the fragment to his list of authorities. He has now published the results of his labours, not in German but in Latin. His book will be an indispensable apparatus to specialists. "Dignus est prae caeteris apocryphis hic liber, cui, quantum fieri potest, primaeva restituatur textus puritas."

JAS. STRACHAN.

**Communication from Professor L. H. Mills on the Gâthas  
—The Amshaspends and the “uncertainties”.**

IN a former communication kindly printed in this *Review*<sup>1</sup> I presented the curious details of the case of the Gâthas, and especially with reference to the Ameshaspenta.

Here are certain terms which preserve the expression of moral and religious aspirations which were felt by a deeply interesting branch of our Aryan race in a remote antiquity, and which prove that the people lived in a highly refined though simple civilisation. But these words were for some reason used in different senses.

How then are we to explain these ambiguities? To solve the problem I will first ask the reader to deepen and to widen it.

Under the general main divisions of each idea which I have roughly given it is always possible, as in similar cases elsewhere, to see subdivisions which may have been really intended to be expressed at certain times. And just in so far as these ideas become more narrowly defined in this manner, does the fact that they were actually intended to be expressed become the more uncertain.

By Asha as the law, the ritual must have been often understood, and other subdivisions which would correspond to what we know as the canon law (though of course in a very rudimentary form), and often fixed traditional usages which were like our own liturgic rubrics (though doubtless exalted into an exaggerated importance by the local priesthoods). Sometimes the civil and the criminal statutes, as a matter of course, may have been the uppermost form of the great general idea intended to be conveyed; sometimes again the personal candour or commercial honesty of the punctilious citizen.

<sup>1</sup> July, 1899.

And so of Asha as in so far personified as to be "incorporate" within the people. Now it was meant to express the throngs of the faithful regarded as adherents of the holy creed in their religious convictions and emotions; again it indicated the "nation" much as "Israel" did in the other case; and at times, perhaps like Vohumanah, it designated the individual saint.<sup>1</sup> And so of the individualistic personification, as a supernatural person, at times it is so vivid as to make us doubt whether the words could ever have been intended to express any other idea than that of the great Archangel, while at the next step this personification is the rare and refined use of a rhetorical figure, a fact of importance to be noticed as an item in a history of rhetoric. And so of Vohumanah, as the abstract concept, it may possibly have meant the bright or enlightened mind, *vah*, like *vas*, meaning "to shine". Again, the "sound mind" or the "great sanity" may have been the shade of the thought which pressed itself to the fore. But it could hardly have been other than a beneficent illumination, if for no other reason than because a cold and indifferent sagacity was not a familiar idea to the minds of these early sages. Everything which was "bright" was *ipso facto* beneficent; "benevolence" was beyond all doubt the fullest main burden of the meaning in the terms: so much for the abstract Vohumanah. As referring to the human personification, the individual citizen, the words expressed at times, of course, his personal character with an incisive presentation of ideas. On the other hand such an epithet was sometimes looked upon as wholly perfunctory; the good-minded was the "assenting," *i.e.*, the "orthodox, well-disciplined and well-conducted citizen," the man in whom the "good mind," the "spirit of the benevolent constitution" dwelt as a matter of expected certainty, though in the Gâthas at least this regular status of the citizen is hardly even once a thing so external as to permit of allusion to the Vohumanah as "defiled" (cp. Vandîdâd XIX.); while as the individualistic personification of Vohumanah the same degree of variation appears as in the

<sup>1</sup> Though this must have been quite seldom.

case of Asha. And so of Khshathra; it was not only the concept of abstract ruling force, but this as "embodied" in the holy state, often in the particular government and in the then present administration. Again at times it doubtless alluded to the military power with its rigid authority, and in a still closer individualistic personification the reigning monarch must often have occupied the composer's thought when he used the term. While of the greater individualistic personification, that which embraced the community, what has been said of Asha and Vohumanah may again apply. It was used at times in the sense of "land," "country," *i.e.*, the nation not so much in its legal as in its executive aspect. And so of Aramaiti. Beside the concept of "thought-motion" (maiti-āra) we have the not distant one of "devotion" or "devoted zeal," while the subordinate personification of it may very well have attached itself to the idea of a certain class of the executives, "zeal" being a characteristic so vitally essential to the efficiency of the political organisation. But it is of course quite impossible for us to give even an approximate surmise as to which particular subdivision of the main idea was meant to float upon the surface of the thought expressed in every allusion to it. What has been said should suffice to make our case against the certainty of the Avesta (on this important respect) as strong as it can possibly be made. Indeed, I may freely repeat what I have said elsewhere that given an interval of forgetfulness, Zarathushtra himself could by no means have been sure which exact shade of the ideas he had previously intended to convey in many a given passage. For all the while, let it be remembered, the words themselves remain absolutely unchanged, "sanctitas," "bona mens," "regnum" (or "potestas regalis") "prompta mens," "salus," "immortalitas," follow on quietly one upon the other in their unvaried identity, precisely as if they could not deviate in the smallest unit of measure from the easily comprehended significance which they possess as abstract epithets. Such then is our delineation of the uncertainties. No one will say that I have blinked the questions, or that I have faltered in an attempted interior search to discover for

myself and others the hidden recesses of these possibly involved ideas. Let others follow and elaborate the matter still more fully, and provided that they note what I will endeavour to say in conclusion, I shall not only be content, but I shall in my turn gladly become disciple.

It would be of little real use to ask how much of this hair-splitting of the ideas may be exaggeration. What remains as obviously true is of itself enough to astonish us, let alone the rest; and it would not be a matter of any particularly great moment if our "astonishment" reached a more or less pronounced degree of acuteness. What then is our solution? Here is a lore, held to be precious by all eminent<sup>1</sup> or average persons who have read about it, be they friend or foe to it. It is feared, perhaps, by the ultra-orthodox as invading the isolation of our own sacred canonical scriptures, and welcomed by the liberal as showing a wider growth of sensibility in the human soul at a very remote period, and in an apparently very unpromising locality.

Not only are vast theological interests thought to hang upon these issues, but a deep literary interest is involved as well. And everything is held to be in abeyance, if not jeopardised by these "uncertainties". Persons who wish no good to these studies continually revert to them. If we are to save them to the present decade we must do our very best.

And first, it would be a waste of words to ask whether explanatory commentaries which might elucidate the difficulties have or have not perished. Of course the original talk among the groups of the priesthood was not recorded; and the surviving commentaries are but their broken echoes. We may add that this obscurity may very probably have been intentional to some extent.

With no suspicion that his rough verses would be either "immortal" or "renowned," the composer may well have wished to make known his "dark speech" within his chant, if not from a pardonable vanity, then from a still more pardon-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Gladstone wrote in October, 1891, "I am aware of the extraordinary interest of Zoroastrianism and grateful to those who . . . give us such aid in understanding it".



able policy. But whichever we may choose as an explanation, the facts remain. The Gâthas are the lingering shreds of ardent outpourings which came from a passionately devoted group; and how can we reconcile their diversities in the varied points of their ideas? I answer, by looking closely at what is usually said, and then at the analyses which I have made above and in other communications.

These analyses simply show us that there are points beyond which these uncertainties (wide-spreading and intricate as they may be) cannot extend.

The interior sense present in each passing sentence which seems to vary so much from the sense the same word has as it occurs before and from that which follows is united with those very same divergent ideas which seem at first sight so irreconcilable; and this is in consequence of an internal element of identity which underlies them all. *Each realistic concept is but the concentration of the underlying abstract.* When for instance we read of the typical citizen (at Y. 31, 22), that he "serves Asha with holy power and in word and deed," we may really be in doubt whether his immediate meaning was to follow a person, obey a law, or serve a community. But whichever of these three possible ideas may have been the one immediately intended by the composer to be conveyed in the words, was not the real object of the service actually the same?

To serve Asha as the archangelic personality could only have meaning when understood as "serving him because he was the guardian of discipline and truth"; and surely this in its essential significance is the same thing as to "keep the law," while to "cherish Asha as the community" as the "church" (so to speak) could not have any other sense than to help those who were bound together by the revered religious system in a sacred constitution as the only means of averting destruction. And so we read elsewhere that he holds ruin from the people by Asha (Y, 44, 2).

So, when the composer prays "for the upholding Asha, grant us true riches, blest rewards, the good mind's life," we may indeed hesitate to say whether it was the law or the

people who were to be supported ; but we cannot fail to be sure that the people could only be held in view in consequence of their being inter-penetrated with devotion to the statutes and dependent upon their guidance ; nor could the "law" have been held in view without the earnest masses who alone could represent its objective reality. For what real existence could holiness have without somebody who was holy ?

This necessity is what indeed brought out not only the recognition of a compact church, but of the great individual Being who was believed actually to exist as its guardian. Asha not only could not possess any significance except as the great personification of the law, but in his turn he supplied a need inherent in our very nature, an external realisation of an adored principle.

The Church could profess its ideal loudly, could toil for it, and bleed for it ; but she could not realise it (she could see herself to be far short of it).

Without some *Being* who was really true she would lose all faith in truth. Where was such a being to be found ? God would have sufficed, but He was too far off.

The great (unconquerable) Fidelity might have been obscured or lost, if only as confused with other qualities, for even some (Macchiavellian) Christians have repudiated it, as we know, and some Protestants also, *ad majorem dei gloriam*.

If, then, they could believe in one imperious *Being* who would not lie, his very essence consisting in an exactness which could never deviate, their flagging discipline might rally. We likewise feel this need. Where can an honest heart be found ? But one was given, and they trusted to a mighty *Person*, who, though a spirit, could not only help their faithfulness but scathe their falsehood. A Church indeed there was which strove after it, as I have said, but there could be no enthusiasm for it without a belief in some real *being* who made it actual. And such an One had been once thought out for them, and He became a source of the very strength which He symbolised, but only so because the idea of the "holy" in the abstract underlay the entire range

of the ideas, the Law, the People, and the Archangel, and controlled them all in each of their various aspects and subdivisions of conception. Their deep desire for a righteous State was like the thorough bass in music, its fundamental notes swept through each of the other concepts like the under-tones in harmony.

Whenever "Asha" was uttered with the slightest recognition of its interior sense, it awoke a vibration in every kindred soul. The sacrificer could not shut out the thoughts in which his religious passions centred. The idea of the "law" awoke the fierce fanaticism of the covenanter; and that of the nation-church, on the other hand, stirred up the devout fervour of the Catholic. The law was the Word of God to him, as Asha was His Son and the State a Zion. Each had its root in an idea which blended the deepest emotions of his consciousness.

What then does it so much matter if we are indeed uncertain as to whether Zarathushtra meant in any given passages of the Gâthas to use Asha as the people, the law, or the archangel? It was indeed to him but one thought in many diverse shapes, if indeed they were so very diverse as they seem.

And so of Vohumanah, many are the places where we cannot say for a certainty which of the four ideas with their necessary subdivisions was the one intended to be conveyed by the terms which were used; whether the "good mind of the Deity," or even beyond a Deity, the "good mind" in the abstract; whether an archangel personifying the sanity of kindness, or, again, the individual man in whom the "good mind" dwelt. To some of us it is indeed at times extremely necessary to define and to decide these points, and I fully accede to this, and I endeavour to lay it before my readers in perhaps the fullest analysis of these distinctions which has yet been attempted. Yet I would personally fall back, and willingly (once more), upon this common vital quality of all. *The interior life of each idea was felt throughout the others.* Never could there be "a good-minded citizen" as "Vohumanah" without the recognition of a deep benevolence

pervading the better universe. There was no possibility even of the archangel without it. Who can personify what he has never thought? But a religious nation, sorely tried by murder, theft and lying, if it once believes that there was a Good Mind in a God-like essence, the very depth of its consolation would awake the self-same "good mind" in itself.

And lest the feeble flame should flicker they would at once call on that "Goodness," soon making it as personal as the Law.

It was indeed "the Good," for it was that which alone gave hope, the one saving ray in their dark life. It centred all they knew of love in the intervals of toil (and slaughter) the mother-love, the brother-love, and the father-love. Each was revealed as reflected in it. Yet how broken was the mirror (in themselves)! *But there was a Being close at hand* who actually realised it, so the prophets believed, and it was not hard to teach the sober youth to believe it too.

If we cannot be sure whether the Vohu Manah of which the composer (Zarathushtra) speaks, was the attribute of God, the typical believer, or the great Amesha (spenta), there is one thing that we can, nay, that we must, be sure of (unless we miss entirely the point of all), and this is that one mighty concept sweeps through each of the subordinate ideas which move in sympathy. And so of Khshathra. We cannot indeed be often sure whether the sovereign power meant was that of God, the State, the Administration, or the King, or indeed at times of the country, but there is one thing of which we must be sure, and that is that it meant the *divine energy in each*.

If Khshathra meant the "land," it was the land as governed by the supreme rule of the wise and powerful Ahura, and as endowed with both rectitude and love, the "holy" land. And if the administration was the immediate idea, it was because it was originally believed to have been "divine of right".

Indeed this Khshathra-power seems to be behind the others. How could the thoughts of truth and love have sustained themselves unless there existed a profound conviction that

the universe contained a controlling might to guard them? What was holiness but a futile sentiment, or love but an empty dream, if it had not been for "Power," preliminary, pervading, permanent? The devout peasant believed in it, and worshipped it; it was the "Force of God". And it was a "regularity," a veritable increase upon Asha which was the impersonation of rhythm. There was something indeed, he fully knew, that *exercised* authority.

The false should *not* for evermore prevail or go unpunished, nor should the "true" be crushed. Actions should be restrained and even the outbreaks of just, though too unbridled resentments. The bread of the toiler should never be withheld nor his home invaded.

The wronged should gain a hearing, and the oppressor meet his due. The startled throngs as they gathered at this cry to repel the murderous raids should have a leader. War should be foreseen, and the power of God on high should be reproduced in the king on earth. The fierce discipline of the Khshathra-class, which was the soldier's<sup>1</sup> class, though not described to us in its detail was the most realistic of all the ideals, as it seems to me. It was indeed the "kingdom" in the theocratic sense, and as noble as the Jewish, for Khshathra was an attribute of God. And as the thought expanded it took shape, and the form of an archangel appeared again to make the halberdier hold firm in battle, believing that a more than Mars or a Minerva was at his shoulder. The great "Angel of the Kingdom" would not let his leaders fumble, nor his comrades flinch. And so there was a patriotic passion that could stir the soul as nothing else could. The citizen could worship the Angel of Command! He could do more; he could arise, gird on his weapons and obey with Aramaiti. Did not God Himself possess the "ready mind"? If his Maker could lead him in "devotion" surely *he* might follow—so in every nature there smouldered or there burned a fire which could in an instant carry all before it. It could knit house to house, hamlet to hamlet, signalling as with

<sup>1</sup> So also in the Sanskrit.

beacon flames. It was irresistible within limits, an enthusiasm of loyalty. But as before, the thought took shape, and what had been the idea of one decade became once more the angel of another. The very form of the uttered syllables determined the traits of the Spirit: she hovered over the hills as the Spirit of ardent zeal; she steeled the fibre in the plougher's arm as the skill in the horseman's lance, and set the shaft to the deadly Persian bow.<sup>1</sup> Aramaiti crowned the three other personal Immortals with activity. Justice, love and government needed "devoted zeal".

And this is why the early Zoroastrian was as loyal to the Throne as to the Altar. Of course I am aware that the words were often taken as lightly upon the lip as "Saviour" and "Virgin," but not in the Gâthic scene. There they refer to the moments which "tried men's souls," when "heart-devoted" partisans uttered these names with that living sentiment which is so obvious everywhere within the hymns. I say that deep underlying *feeling* was present in every allusion to these amesha spenta (as they were only later called), as "holy" as they were "immortal," and that the feeling was of the most practical nature possible, a feeling which (as I have shown) kept the various manifestations in the closest sympathy, for a vital thread ran through them.

And this alone is the reason why such apparent divergencies as to the point of the thoughts expressed in them were ever possible. *They were variations of one fundamental idea*, and any intending student of the Gâthas would do well indeed to make a note of it. Divergencies exist; and we not only acknowledge them, but elaborate their subdivisions and sub-divergencies (if such a term were possible); but we must maintain keenly that the resulting concepts, distant as they may seem to a superficial observer (the one from the other), are yet in reality closely related, and this organically, as the branches to the trunk, as the blood-vessels to the heart, as the nerves to the nerve-centre.

To sum up. If the original concept, say, of Asha as the

<sup>1</sup> An arm known only too well to the Romans.

Holy Order of the Law, the rhythm of truth, pervades with a deeper or lighter tinge of colour the other minor concepts as they are occasionally implied (such as those of the civil statutes and the religious regulations including both ritual and rubric, if such a term as this latter can be excused) ; if it in its turn was never excluded in the Gâthas from the idea of the Congregation or Community which was composed of the only living beings who shared in it ; if the State itself was never named as Asha without such an emphasis as Cromwellian Puritans (in their better days) might give it ;<sup>1</sup> and if beside all these the image of the Archangel was half called up at every utterance of the sacred sound, even as here the immediate thought intended by the composer to be conveyed was that of the ritual, the statute law, or the Church,—why then our task is this : to say which concept was the one the more immediately and prominently intended to be conveyed by the composer at the moment of the composition (of the particular verse or strophe upon which we may be engaged). Seldom, if ever, could all the ideas be meant, as if the seven chords were sounded with the octave, for no strophe in the Gâthas could have been meant as such a chorus.<sup>2</sup> As a matter of course, either the idea, the statutes, the people, or the Angel was chiefly meant to be presented in each and every occurrence of the term, but never all of them. But while it is our business to find out which is the one first meant in our particular text in each of them, it never can be our business to find out which was the one *exclusively* meant ; that is to say, with an exclusion which is total, and for the reasons given. When one chord is struck it sets the other chords, with scarcely a possible exception, in harmonious but *subordinate* vibration, and so of each one of the other six.

So that at times when we are translating and may desire to exclude all possible liability of being misunderstood, we may repeat the chief word and write "Asha in thy Folk" instead of the "Community," Asha in thy Law," instead of

<sup>1</sup> In the midst of struggles for reform.

<sup>2</sup> The several separate names are, however, sometimes purposely grouped.

the "Law," and "Asha in thine Archangel"; and the other chief names will also bear this usage. "The Good Mind in Thy Saint" is safer than the "good man," simply, for this last may be disputed hotly. "Thy Good thought in thine Angel," not "Vohu Manah" uttered simply as a proper name, when many might fiercely claim that "Good Mind" there meant not "the Angel," but the "Characteristic". And so "Thy Khshathra-power in the land," and not "the land" simply, which some would bitterly contest; "Thy Rule within the Government," and not "This Reign" or "Dynasty". "Thy Khshathra as Companion," and not the mere name as an Amesha. And so of the "applied attention," we might say "Thy Aramaiti Zeal within Thy faithful," and not the "loyal party". "Inspired alertness (Aramaiti) in our offices," and not the "detailed executive". "Alertness which speeds well the plough," and not the "holy Earth"; so even of Harvaratāt, not "the physicians and the waters," but thy Health-power in the fluids". And so for Ameretatat, not "the aged" or "the plants as bread of life supporting them," but the "enduring Life within thy sages," thy life-force in the herbs and grains," etc., repeating the main name in every case.

This was the plan which I proposed in dealing with these changes in the thirty-first volume of the Sacred Books of the East, and in a second edition<sup>1</sup> I should not fail to guard the definitions of these celebrated epithets still more closely by the same device.

To the charge of uncertainties uttered by the chorus of non-experts in the same breath in which they accentuate the importance of the Gāthas, our answer then is this, this multiplicity of the ideas is limited and by their very nature.

The man who wrote the Gāthas was himself possessed with an enthusiasm for their thoughts, as we must believe, which approached fanaticism. As the fervid Christian once said "by the Sacrament" and "by the Cross," so he pointed

<sup>1</sup> I am most kindly offered a renewed subvention from Government towards a second edition of my more extended work on the Five Zarathushtrian Gāthas; and here, too, I may apply this method.



every injunction with "by Asha," by "Khshathra," though in fresher vein and pointed meaning. He practically "swore" by them as we do in a rite, and on the Bible. Every duty was brought home and every hope held out in view of them; the Law, the Love, the Rule, the Motion, the Health, the Deathlessness made up his religious world. Not only did he wish to use them and to propagate them; he could not help but do so, for they were to him as "redemption" is to the evangelist, as the "One God" to the Mohammedan. The course of the hymns runs in these lines with neither check nor deviation; no "uncertainties," are less fitful in the sense of continuity in supply, though none are more fitful within limits in their individual make. Nothing of their kind is so unique, and empirics blame their sameness; the Gâthas would not be themselves without these divisions and subdivisions of the same ideas. These six still guide the torrent. To define everything in one line of thought is difficult, but except inside certain outside limits we cannot think of rendering. Fancy, for instance, our translating Asha in an evil sense as "really". It would be simply nonsense. We cannot help but choose one of the two, three or four only apparently diverging thoughts, each closely but internally related to the others. So that these subordinate uncertainties do not affect the moral grandeur of the whole, a quality which has been said to be approached by no other human compositions of their date, not even by the Hebrew Scriptures then extant.

But we have other considerations which may well console us for the alleged and real obscurities in these ancient pieces which are declared by the leaders in comparative philology and comparative morals to possess so great importance. We have a clear gain at least in one curious artistic point as none will doubt as he progresses in investigation. We have laid bare a veritable idiosyncrasy, a curiosity *par éminence* in literature, and one which I will venture to assert possesses in itself a charm.

The mysterious fascinates as has been often said, and some at least will not fail to perceive the attraction of this singular

dimness which we at times deplore. Surely he must have been a man of no mean type who could compose strophe after strophe, in words which express a closely related meaning, thoughts divided between such ideas as the rhythm of nature, the moral law and the attributes of God, with such other characteristics as I have endeavoured to describe. Such an "enigma" possesses in itself sublimity and proves a gifted author. How else could this man's mind move so quickly from one such subtle concept to another, and this all in the (supposed) barbaric depths of Iran at such time as the mass of experts now living have combined to place him. The obvious facts are as imposing as they are strange; for these transitions are no sudden freaks of a mind unhinged and non-consecutive.

Certain moral advantages also accrue to us as we study them. We may bewail the sparseness of the diction in the Gâthas, and be right; they leave scant space indeed to paint the passage of events. But this prevents at least an overgrowth of weeds.<sup>1</sup> The thoughts which were the deepest extant are no longer marred by jarring notes.

For the first time perhaps in human history we see a soul feeling its way into the inner temple of spiritual insight, making distinctions for itself which had never been attempted or surmised. I, for one, thank God that we are for once left sequestered and apart with these great beliefs. It is fortunate that we are baffled (for a change for once) in tracing out the mean detail of human actions. They (thank God) can be for once forgotten or ignored, and leave our sight and fancy free to view without distraction those impressive spiritual features which stand out everywhere. There is literature enough which shows us life in all its degrading colour. Let us not be impatient if we are summoned for a moment to fix our eyes on what must after all be regarded as the central value in all literature, the outcoming of the moral thought.

It is surely an advantage to us for once to see not an

<sup>1</sup> In the form of extraneous details.

individual but also a people in the very dawn of civic life struggling to build up and defend a polity founded upon law, good-will, good government and zeal, and bent on making actual a state of well-being prolonged in a life both here and beyond the grave.

It is this which has made the Gâthas a perennial spring of interest (to some of us); they fascinate us with their uncertainties because in them we come to view the great ideals of the human soul as they developed. And as we draw near the heights where those mighty (completed) concepts are enshrined, smaller and lower interests are left below till we reach the otherwise deserted summit, and feel ourselves alone with what is best and purest in universal nature.

Yes these "uncertainties do not only pique our curiosity. They re-awaken our consciousness as to what is noblest. For as we try to discover the leading point in their shifting sense we must of necessity plan out with the image-making force a scheme of what the intended thoughts may be. And where can we find materials for such a structure, save in our better selves? It is not difficult to see how refreshing this must be to all our higher instincts, calling up our finest creative faculty and bracing it again and again in the refined effort to perfect ideal after ideal and to fill each out till we restore the image half clothed, half hid, in the words before us. While the strange sparseness of the diction (in these hymns) leaves also space, and all the more for the play of æsthetic sensibility, they are the product of no *blasé* age, overloaded with decoration, tawdry and defiled. They are severe as Druid columns, and their solitary simplicity impresses every reader who can at all take in their effect.

L. H. MILLS.

**1. A Manual of Psychology.**

*By G. F. Stout, vol. II. London : W. B. Clive, 1899. 8vo, pp. 241—643. Price 4s. 6d.*

**2. Psychologie der Axiome.**

*Von Dr. Julius Schultz. Göttingen : Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1899. 8vo, pp. 232. Price 6s.*

**3. Critériologie générale, ou Théorie générale de la Certitude.**

*Par D. Mercier. Louvain : Institut Supérieur de Philosophie, 1899. 8vo, pp. xii. + 371. Price F. 6.*

**4. Spencer et le Principe de la Morale.**

*Par Jules Dubois. Paris : Fischbacher, 1899. 8vo, pp. xiii. + 329.*

**5. Histoire de la Philosophie Médiévale, précédée d'un aperçu sur la Philosophie Ancienne.**

*Par M. de Wulf. Louvain : Institut Supérieur de Philosophie, 1900. 8vo, pp. viii. + 480. Price Fr. 7.50.*

**6. Institutiones Philosophiae Moralis et Socialis quas in Collegio Maximo Lovaniensi Societatis Jesu, tradebat**

*A. Castelein. Bruxelles : Société Belge de Librairie, 1899. 8vo, pp. vi. + 662.*

1. THE second and completing volume of Mr. Stout's admirable *Manual of Psychology* is, both in bulk and in interest, more important than the first. The first volume, apart from the introductory matter and general analysis, dealt only with sensation ; whereas the present volume deals with perception

and ideational and conceptual process. The most striking feature of Mr. Stout's treatment, as contrasted with that in works of a similar scope, is his insistence on the active faculties of the soul, such as attention and conation. It would be fair to call Mr. Stout an "attentionist" in psychology. The result is a great gain not only in truth but in attractiveness. Some of the dullest books in the world have been written on psychology, and psychologists of the older school ought to be thankful that a wit with a genius for nicknames has not fixed some dyslogistic label upon them, as was done to the old political economists. For both are very "dismal". However, Mr. Stout has delivered them from this danger. We no longer feel that the psychologist ignores all the most important facts he ought to explain. Mr. Stout's merits are especially shown in some of the later chapters of this volume such as "The External World as Ideal Construction" and "Self as Ideal Construction". His own insight is enriched by a wide and sympathetic knowledge of the work of his predecessors, and in genetic questions, by a sound study of anthropology and ethnology in their original sources.

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2. Dr. Schultz's *Psychologie* is a bright cleverly-written book which, if not very successful in its results, has the merit of being on the right track. His main thesis is thoroughly in accordance with that "radical experientialism" which is the most promising tendency in contemporary British thinking. He objects to regarding those axiomatic truths which form the main framework of our experience as something imposed upon our intellect from without. He argues that they must spring up out of the soul's own inward nature, and must rather be described as its postulates or requirements, and thus as essentially connected with the will. Thus the question arises, How have axioms developed? for it is plain that they do not hold good for the lower forms of life. So far, Dr. Schultz will find many to agree with him in his way of approaching the problem. But he will not find so many to agree with the way he solves it. He puts his trust in a crude

physiological form of associationism. In this manner, he explains the leading conceptions and categories of our experience, such as space, time, likeness, identity and uniformity, and, consequently the axioms connected with them. The axiom of the uniformity of nature, for example, is of course connected with expectation and inference. Dr. Schultz explains expectation as the effect of a strong associative train, a b c d, which causes us to expect d when a b c have presented themselves, and inference as the same thing in more ideal representative terms. Thus it will be seen that he takes a very mechanical view of mental experience. He is not a materialist; is, in fact, very sarcastic on those who imagine that by refining matter indefinitely you can make it think. But he preserves the essential error of materialism by ignoring the fact that mind must be explained not as an externally determined mechanism but as a self-determining logical system.

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3. Professor Mercier's *Critériologie générale* discusses the question whether there exists a kind of knowledge which philosophical reflection can justify as certain; the further question, What is the sphere of certain knowledge? is reserved for another volume. This division of the subject, though doubtless justifiable on grounds of method, detracts somewhat from the interest of the volume before us. For though the result of the argument is that we possess some certain knowledge, we are not told exactly what it is. By far the greater part of the volume is devoted to criticism, the standpoint being liberal Roman Catholic. The two main errors against which Professor Mercier argues are those of scepticism and exaggerated dogmatism. Under the former head he has naturally a great deal to say about Descartes, Kant and the Positivists. Though there is a good deal of justice in his strictures, he does not show much appreciation of the true meaning of their scepticism. In his criticism of the right wing of his co-religionists, he is on ground less familiar to the English reader and we are glad to read what he has to say about the Vicomte de Bonald, de Lamennais and Pascal

who all, in some form or other, uphold the possibility of an external criterion of certainty. Professor Mercier himself upholds what he calls rational dogmatism and argues for the existence of a criterion which is both internal (that is, residing in the consciousness of the judger), objective and immediate. This criterion, he says, is the warrant for our trust in axiomatic propositions. But the source of it seems to be nothing more than simple intuition;  $1 + 1 = 2$  is certainly true because I see it is so. There is no more interesting or living question than this of the criterion of certainty. Dr. Schultz and Professor Mercier are examples of diametrically opposed methods of treatment. Each has something to say which is worth reading; but for satisfying solutions we must look elsewhere.

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4. M. Dubois' *Spencer et le Principe de la Morale* is one more proof what a dominant position in English thought Mr. Spencer holds according to the view of continental critics. M. Dubois is a licentiate in theology of Lausanne, a sincere believer in Protestant Christianity. He cordially accepts the scientific doctrine of evolution; but the philosophical doctrine based on it, *évolutionisme* as opposed to *évolution*, he considers false, and to constitute "a serious danger for the individual and consequently for society". It is as the representative of this unhappy tendency of contemporary thought that he has selected Mr. Spencer for criticism. The book, as its title announces, deals mainly with ethics; but it also contains a preliminary sketch of the general principles of the Synthetic Philosophy. The gist of its complaint against Mr. Spencer's ethics is that he has separated morality from its root in religion. M. Dubois writes of his opponent in a temperate and not unsympathetic spirit, but his estimate of the power and importance of the Spencerian system is not shared by Englishmen who understand philosophy. He does not seem to know that we have most of us got beyond Spencer. There are many tokens that he has little knowledge of English thought outside the object of his criticism.

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5. M. de Wulf's *Histoire de la Philosophie Médiévale* forms part of the same "*Cours de Philosophie*" as M. Mercier's *Critériologie* recently mentioned, and is composed from the same Roman Catholic standpoint. It is a clearly-written and well-arranged work with an introductory sketch of ancient philosophy which, though too slight to be of any independent value, suffices to show the connection of medieval thought with that which preceded it. The work does not aspire to be more than a manual, written with special reference to the course of instruction at Louvain. It avoids criticism and gives us the indispensable biographical facts about each author with a *précis* of his opinions briefer or fuller according to his importance. Much has been done in recent years to throw light on medieval thought, and these new sources are not neglected in the present publication.

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6. Father Castelein's *Institutiones Philosophiae Moralis et Socialis* is divided into *Ethica generalis* and *Ethica specialis*. The latter forms the bulk of the work but only the former deals with moral philosophy in our sense of the term. The *Ethica specialis* treats of topics such as property, the relations of employers and employed, matrimony, the origin of society, international law and so on; the content, is to a large extent, hortatory. The doctrine in general may be described as St. Thomas Aquinas brought up to date. Together with time-honoured theses such as "*Deus creavit ex amore benevolentiae*" we have discussions "*de principio Caroli Marx, de valore rerum et jure laboris humani*". It is difficult for an ordinary Briton to feel more than a mild curiosity in a treatise of this description.

HENRY STURT.



## Symbolik oder Konfessionelle Prinzipienlehre.

Von Dr. K. F. Nösgen, Prof. in Rostock. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 516. Price 8s. 6d.

The author of the work on Confessional literature is well known as a painstaking New Testament critic. His *Commentary on the Synoptic Gospels* and his *History of the New Testament Revelation* are thoroughly reliable and scholarly works, written from the conservative and strictly evangelical stand-point. The present treatise is dedicated to Dr. Zöckler of Greifswald, with whom the author has been associated in much of his work, and who occupies upon the whole the same theological position. The author seeks to make his work a pure *Symbolik*, and to exclude as much as possible both the irenical and the polemical. He also excludes questions of Church practice and polity which find place in many treatises on Symbolics, and confines himself to what is essential in the doctrinal statements of the various divisions of the Church. His object is to present a clear description of the differences which characteristically distinguish the various Churches, and to do this in a purely objective manner. This comparative study of doctrines as given in the Symbolic is not intended to take the place of Dogmatics, but affords materials upon which the religious consciousness of the dogmatist, using his critical faculty and his spiritual intuitions, must work.

After some thirty pages of introduction, in which he treats of the task of Symbolics, its designation, its relation to the other theological sciences, and its distribution and literature, Dr Nösgen proceeds to deal with the contents of his science under a threefold division: (1) An account of the symbols of the various sections of the Church (pp. 33-138). Under this division, after an introductory section on the necessity of

Symbolics for the Church and its importance for the life of the Church, he deals in successive chapters with the Oecumenical Symbols, the Confessions of the Lutheran Church, those of the Reformed Church, those of the Roman Catholic Church, those of the Greek Catholic Church, and those of the smaller Protestant sects. This arrangement is, of course, common to almost all treatises on Symbolics, but the history of the authoritative documents of the several Churches is here very admirably summarised, and for the most part a fair proportion is maintained in the treatment of the various confessional writings. In contrast to previous works of this kind, we find here the Confessions of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches discussed before those of the Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic Churches. This is surely a very decided improvement. The symbols of the Unreformed Churches, Western and Eastern, are all of Post-Reformation date. The Tridentine Creed bears the date 1564, and the Orthodox Confession of Mogilas 1643, and both were undoubtedly influenced by the Reformation movement which is given expression to in the Confessions of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. (2) The doctrines of the symbols of the various sections of the Church (pp. 139-420). This portion corresponds upon the whole to the treatment of Comparative Symbolics as given by Winer in his *Confessions of Christendom*. The Lutheran doctrine is made throughout the norm, and the doctrine of Scripture, of God, of man, of Christ, of justification, etc., in each of the other divisions of the Christian Church, is compared and criticised according to the standard of Lutheran orthodoxy. All this is done with sufficient fulness of detail, and here the author shows himself thoroughly familiar with the doctrinal significance of the confessional literature of the Christian Church. (3) An account of the fundamental character of the several sections of the Church (pp. 421-502). This part of the work is rather disappointing. What the author actually does he does well. He presents us with a very clear and on the whole a correct statement of the doctrinal and constitutional development of the Lutheran, Reformed, Roman, Greek, and other Churches as shown in their history. If

this is what is sought, it perhaps could not be better done in the compass of eighty pages than it is done here. But the question arises as to whether any statement of this kind is necessary or desirable in a Symbolic. It can evidently be better done in a History of Doctrine. What is really wanted in this third part of the Symbolic is an exhibition, on the basis of its comparative statement of the doctrines of the creeds of the various sections of the Church, of the characteristic doctrinal contribution made by each division of the Church to the common doctrine of the Church Catholic. It should set forth the *raison d'être* of each particular Church. This, no doubt, would prove by far the most difficult task for any writer on Symbolics, and for this reason probably has not been in any thoroughgoing fashion attempted in any of the treatises that have been published on this branch of theological science. We have now quite an abundance of treatises, in each of which very similar *résumés* are given of the history of the several confessional writings and of the doctrinal differences of their formularies. What we now want is a treatise which, on the basis of the work already quite satisfactorily done, would give us, not the history of the development of doctrine generally in each particular Church, but the characteristic contribution which each has made to Christian theology.

In Dr Nösger's work references to British and American theological literature are commendably frequent and generally correct. There are a few misprints, chiefly of English words. On p. 134 William Penn's name is given as Peu, in the index as Pen, though on p. 135 the name of the State of Pennsylvania is rightly spelt. On p. 138 we have Howard instead of Harvard. In quoting from Channing's *Evidences of Christianity*, on p. 25, we have authenty for authority, and harmonous for harmonious; and on p. 502, exmple for example, and Christi for Christ's. On p. 497 we have assecurance for assurance; on p. 468 Law-church-party for Low-church-party.

The two Indices of subjects and authorities are admirably complete and serviceable.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

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VOL. X.—No. 5.

## The Expositor's Greek Testament.

*Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. Vol. II.*

- I. *The Acts of the Apostles.* By the Rev. R. J. Knowling, D.D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis, King's College, London. II. *St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans.* By the Rev. James Denney, D.D., Professor of Systematic and Pastoral Theology, Free Church College, Glasgow. III. *St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians.* By the Rev. G. G. Findlay, B.A., Professor of Biblical Literature, Exegesis and Classics, Headingley College. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900. Pp. 953. Price 28s. Subscription price for Vols. I. and II., 30s net.

FAR later than the general editor, and certainly than the purchasers of the first volume, could wish, the second volume of this most important commentary, a sort of "*Alford up to date*," has just appeared. One is safe in saying that a good and full English commentary on Acts is a real want in our literature, and that this part of the work has been looked for with special expectancy. Accordingly to it most space must here be devoted.

Dr. Knowling's work strikes one as marked at once by great merits and by great limitations. What learning, accumulated with watchful diligence and arranged with patient care; accuracy and sobriety in appraising the positive evidence for rival views; conscientiousness in taking account of difficulties in so far as he himself feels them; in a word, what the scholar, as distinct from the historian, can do, this has been achieved. But something more than these is needed, particularly in the Introduction, the effect of which should be really to introduce the reader to the Book of Acts, to enable him to stand by the side of its writer, as he writes, and share his mind as it unfolds its contents in detail. This is

what a scholar like Ramsay does, but what Dr. Knowling rather fails to do. Nor is it otherwise with the commentary itself. Throughout he shows himself a good grammarian, philologist, archæologist, and a man of good common-sense to boot. But the sense is apt to be a little too common at times, too easily satisfied with showing more "critical" views than his own to be difficult or arbitrary, without feeling any obligation to do more, namely, to show how the view preferred fits organically into the historical situation and into the life of the Apostolic Age as a whole. The attitude is too purely apologetic to be really constructive; too passive to be fully interpretative; and the result is that "the first Church History" is not really illumined, and the reader but faintly feels the pulse of the life that lay behind it. The defect is the more serious that it is so common among English scholars. Repelled by German "subjectivity," which often falls into arbitrariness, they are far too apt to be content with the rather barren work of "criticising the critics," instead of trying to do better what the others are essaying amiss. If it be said that Dr. Knowling's work is a commentary and not a history of the Apostolic Age, we reply that the value of a commentary on a history depends ultimately upon insight into the history in all its bearings, and that the larger part of the commentator's task is to make the modern reader see and read the book in its original setting and in relation to the main interests of the age to which it first appealed. What is most needed is a real *Gesammtanschauung* of the whole situation, both objectively (as recoverable from all sources) and as viewed from the author's standpoint and in the light of his aim in writing.

Now it cannot be said that Dr. Knowling conveys this to his reader. Indeed his handling of certain problems suggests that he has not made any very serious effort to attain it himself, and that just because the need is but faintly present to his own mind. Not that he is actually less controlled by a sort of theory of the Apostolic Age than those of the opposite camp; but his prepossession is more unconscious and traditional in character. If we may attempt to describe a thing

so subtle yet so pervasive, we would put it somewhat in this way : Dr. Knowling started his studies with the naïve assumption, due to others, that the typical Christianity of the Apostolic Age was practically identical with Anglicanism, as to its spirit, institutions, and dominant interests. This assumption has, no doubt, suffered some shocks in the course of very wide reading among writers of other and less traditional schools ; but it has not to his mind been demonstrated untenable, and so it survives and influences his judgment in the cases where the evidence does not make an Anglican reading almost impossible to one who understands and respects historical methods. Such methods Dr. Knowling does respect ; and so he loyally yields where, in any given case, he finds Apostolic Christians to have been less "Catholic" in forms of thought or usage than an Anglican would have expected, and than "Catholic" commentators have for fifteen centuries usually admitted. But his fundamental idea of primitive Christianity—its very *ἡθος*—does not appear to have been derived straight enough from the broad features of its literature to satisfy the requirements of the case. Thus his attitude remains dogmatic rather than historical ; it is controlled by standards not demonstrable of the Apostolic Age, and less and less supported the nearer we get to it.

A few instances of this bias may be given. It leads not only to a constant minimising of the Jewish element in the Apostles' outlook and religious observances in the early chapters of Acts, and a corresponding tendency to strain the references to Christ as *Κύριος* (as if necessarily = Jehovah), but also to an *ignoratio elenchi* in remarks like the following : "Whilst we note these titles [*i.e.*, Petrine titles for Jesus, like the *παῖς* of Isaiah, *ὁ ἅγιος καὶ δίκαιος*], steeped each and all of them in Old Testament imagery, whilst we may see in them the germs of the later and the deeper theology of St. Paul and St. John, they carry us far beyond the conception of a mere humanitarian Christ". Now no exegete worth noticing alleges that any Apostle believed in "a mere humanitarian" Christ—though he may think that to call

something the germ of another may often mean gliding too easily over a problem of difference. But if so, why put such a phrase into a commentary at all? It is as misleading as to write, "We cannot consistently explain the expression (*τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου* in Acts ii. 42) of a mere common meal". Who would do so? A common meal among early Christians was in any case an act of sacred or religious fellowship, not a mere meal. Again, speaking of the office of the Seven in chap. vi., Dr. Knowling declares: "the appointment, the consecration, and the qualifications for it depend upon the Apostles". For the second of these phrases there might be some colour; but for the third there seems absolutely none, in face of the qualifications already demanded in those set before the Apostles for appointment. And the warping effect of ideas of ecclesiastical grace comes out yet more clearly when he comments thus on ver. 6: "But ver. 8 undoubtedly justifies us in believing that an accession of power was granted after the laying on of hands," because "now for the first time mention is made of St. Stephen's *τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα μέγαλα*"—things, forsooth, which formed no part of the office to which he was commissioned. Bias does not often lead our commentator quite so much captive as it does here, but it constantly makes itself felt. Thus he says on viii. 15: "It is difficult to believe that St. Luke can mean to limit the expression (*λαμβάνειν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον*) here and in the following verse to anything less than a bestowal of that Divine indwelling of the spirit (*sic*) which makes the Christian the temple of God, and which St. Paul speaks of in the very same terms as a permanent possession (Gal. iii. 2; Rom. viii. 15)". The sense here may be obscure to moderns who do not realise how much visible proof it required to convince Jewish Christians that outsiders like the Samaritans were really admitted to the Messianic salvation. But surely St. Paul at least cannot be invoked to prove that the believing soul's reception of the indwelling Spirit waited upon the laying on of hands of anybody. Nor do we believe that St. Luke held any such external view of salvation, as though one could be a real Christian and be other than a temple of God by the

Spirit's presence. The outward or semi-physical manifestations of the Spirit's indwelling might indeed be absent, where full receptivity was hindered by imperfect teaching, as in the case of "disciples" or "believers" in Acts xix. 2 ff. But where faith in Jesus as Lord was, there was the Spirit (see 1 Cor. xii. 3) in essential indwelling. On Acts xix. 2 ff., as also on the case of Apollos, Dr. Knowling can cast but little light, being hampered by the external sense in which he takes "*knowing* (*ἐπιστάμενος*) only John's baptism," and thinking about rites when stages or degrees of revelation are primarily in question. Indeed, in Apollos' case, Acts says nothing about his advance in Christian experience having any connection with baptism, let alone laying on of hands. That the latter rite helped faith's receptivity is clear from Acts: but that its virtue depended upon the status of the person assisting in this solemn accompaniment of prayerful benediction is negatived by several passages which reduce Dr. Knowling to sore straits. Thus in ix. 17, *Ἀνανίας εἰσῆλθεν . . . καὶ ἐπιθεὶς ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὰς χεῖρας εἶπε, Σαοὺλ ἀδελφέ, ὁ Κύριος ἀπέσταλκέ με . . . ὅπως ἀναβλέψῃς καὶ πλησθῇς πνεύματος ἁγίου*, his comment reads: "not as bestowing the Holy Ghost (for see context), but as recovering from his blindness"—a truly notable inference from the words united by *καί*.

Another *crux* for those who view grace as conducted down through properly graded official channels, from the higher to the lower, occurs in the "separating" and solemn dismissal of Barnabas and Saul by the Antiochene Church through the agency of its spiritual leaders, "prophets and teachers". After a good deal of vacillation, Dr. Knowling concludes that "even in Paul's case the laying on of hands recognised, if it did not bestow, his apostolic commission, and 'the ceremony of Ordination, when it was not the channel of the grace, was its recognition,' (Gore)." This is the language of "cycles and epicycles," not of sober science. The whole trouble comes from ecclesiasticism, the habit of mind that in the light of later tradition views "laying on of hands" as doing more than recognising that men were "sent forth by the Holy



Spirit," and "commending to the grace of God" (xiv. 26, xv. 40) those indicated. From a like bias proceeds the statement that the command in Luke xxiv. 49 "was certainly given only to the twelve" (yet see ver. 33)—a remark made to prove a similar limitation in Acts i. 4 (yet see ii. 1, the fulfilment). Conversely, in Acts xv. 28, no reference is made to the objective indication of the Spirit's mind in the missionary facts alluded to in vv. 8, 12, as naturally determining the phrase *ἔδοξε τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι καὶ ἡμῖν*.

But Dr. Knowling is too fair-minded not to feel the force of many observations pointing in another direction, once they are pressed on his attention by others. Thus his notes abound in excellent citations of a less "ecclesiastical" type than his own judgment approves, so that an independent student generally has the materials put before him for viewing the main points in various lights. This is as it should be in a new *Alford*. Yet even honest intentions sometimes leave a good deal to be desired in such notes. At times he misses the real point of difficulty to others, as when, in dealing ably with the case of Theudas, he says nothing of the curious resemblance in the *order* of reference in Josephus and Acts: or when he fails to notice the strange limitation of the Divine choice implied in the prior human selection of two candidates for the place vacated by Judas; or dismisses the difficulty in xv. 10, by citing xiii. 39, and remarking that "St. Peter no less than St. Paul endorses the charge made by St. Stephen" (vii. 53)—a note significant of much else in the commentary, wherever shades of doctrinal difference are involved. But further, when all difficulties are stated—we hesitate to say faced, for Dr. Knowling does not seem to feel some enough to face them—he often shuns giving his own personal judgment on the data, to a degree which amounts to hedging. We do not want any confident *ipse dixit*; but we do want a little more thinking a thing through to a conclusion, however provisional.

We have already hinted that Dr. Knowling's eye for distinctions is hardly adequate to the facts. This is not unconnected, perhaps, with his rather passive attitude to

the supposed traces of different sources shining through even Luke's unifying style. We think he would be able to handle some things more satisfactorily if he did not treat them as seen all on the same plane, as it were, and refrained from trying to dovetail them into each other without any reference to the possible history of the tradition in different circles before it reached Luke. Acts i. 18 is a case in point, as also the foreign tongues at Pentecost. Though we may not be able to mark the exact limits of any of Luke's sources in Acts, any more than we could in his Gospel but for the survival of Mark's Gospel, we surely can feel their effect, upon the conceptions and the Hebraic turns of expression of the Petrine discourses, for instance; and our exegesis ought to be influenced thereby, when it is a matter of the original facts or interpretations, as distinct from the light in which the Gentile and largely Pauline author of Acts viewed them. In this connexion one must warn against the easy way in which Dr. Knowling is apt to fall back upon St. Paul as the direct source of Luke's accounts. If it be true, as we agree with him in believing, that the hand of a companion of St. Paul is seen in the independence of the Pauline writings which marks Acts, we must not assume that Paul and Luke talked over all the former's life and history. The contrasts between their accounts of the same episodes, *e.g.*, in chaps. ix., xv., are so great, that they cease to compromise Lucan authorship only when we assume that Luke was working largely on secondary sources, such as the tradition of the Antiochene Church. As long as *Quellenkritik* is discounted, there will remain the element of unreality and artificial combination which haunts one's mind in reading typical English work, even when as good as Dr. Knowling's.

A practically uniform valuation of all parts of Acts really ceased to be possible once the old traditional standpoint of Divine dictation, as opposed to composition under normal human conditions, was given up. But its effects survive on almost every page of this commentary. Its author constantly forgets that he is commenting on the *words* of Luke (or of an intermediate source), not on a shorthand

reporter's notes of the utterances of an Ananias or a Paul (see note on ix. 13). Often it makes practically no difference to whom the exact phraseology is referred; but elsewhere it is of great moment. Thus in Acts xx. 25, it is one thing that St. Paul should *utter* the confident (but, as Dr. Knowling thinks, unfulfilled) anticipation that he was looking on the Ephesian elders for the last time; and another that Luke should *record* such words in a highly condensed summary of his address, knowing that they fell to the ground. He was under no obligation to record them, as if giving a verbatim report: or at least he had no reason to underline them by words of his own in ver. 38, which, on the hypothesis of a subsequent visit to Ephesus, are gratuitous, if not misleading.

It has been needful, where a book's merits are so great and patent as in the present case, to spend space mainly on *caveats* against serious limitations, typical as these are of the tendency hitherto prevalent in Anglican scholarship in the field of Acts. For the effect of such a work on many minds is to arrest rather than further the advance of real insight into the Apostolic Age. Its wealth of learning; its calm and candid manner; its respectful tone towards other scholars even when they seem to go wrong, and badly wrong; these and many other virtues are sure to convey to those not already conversant with the problems (often really left a good deal "in the air") an impression of historical solidity far in excess of what really belongs to Dr. Knowling's interpretations.

Our author's careful verbal exegesis is generally sound; and his textual criticism (in which he acknowledges the valuable help of the Rev. Harold Smith, of St. John's College, Cambridge) is admirable. Thus it is in the region of the lower criticism that his advance on Alford is most marked. In the higher criticism, allowing for their respective dates, Dr. Knowling (who mostly puts matter of this sort into notes appended to each chapter) seems distinctly Alford's inferior. And this inferiority would be doubly apparent, were it not for the wise, though too purely eclectic, use which the later writer makes of Ramsay and Hort. Indeed, the effective and exhaustive way in which he has concentrated on each

point the relevant observations of these men of historic insight, is one of the greatest services of his work. The recent works of Blass, Wendt, and Zahn have also been laid under contribution to excellent purpose—Blass in particular, who is in many ways a commentator after our author's own heart. We are glad to see that he has maintained a prudent reserve towards Blass' extraordinary partiality for his  $\beta$  text: we think, however, that he might have spoken more decidedly against Blass' almost baseless theory of the two Lucan recensions. But it is needless to particularise the books which Dr. Knowling virtually puts at the disposal of the readers of his notes. It is the exhaustiveness of his reading and his skill in producing it at the fitting points, that constitutes the greatest merit of his work and his strongest claim to our hearty gratitude.

The contrast felt in passing from Dr. Knowling's work to Dr. Denney's is great. Of course the tasks were in themselves very different; but that explains only part of what one feels. Dr. Denney is immeasurably more inside his subject, is one in sympathy and temper with his author throughout. This gives him grip and insight, often to a remarkable degree. Indeed, in feeling for St. Paul's religious experience and the resulting theological outlook, he seems to excel all recent English commentators. It is this which makes his work no superfluity alongside that of Dr. Sanday and Mr. Headlam. The fine scholarship, in the larger sense, and the eye for the historic setting of the Apostle's thought and for its many-sidedness, which mark that work, have no doubt been of the greatest service to the later writer. But there is an element in it which Dr. Denney has happily refused to countenance; and that is the tendency to tone down St. Paul's distinctive emphasis in his doctrine of Justification, in order to bring it more into line with the doctrine as conceived by other New Testament writers, and particularly by "Catholic" and Ritschlian dogmatic—which here as at some other points have a strange affinity. On this Dr. Denney will have no compromise; and we believe that those to whom the

Pauline Gospel has meant most in experience—as it did to the Reformers—will on the whole support him. He rightly protests against the attempt to disturb the emphasis and perspective of the Pauline Gospel, as a vital power and not a system of doctrines, involved in the suggestion that “the most fundamental doctrines . . . are assumed rather than stated or proved” in Romans. This has always been the only way in which Paulinism could be made palatable to “Catholics”; and even this is felt by many of them, of whom Dr. Baring-Gould is a sort of mouthpiece, to be evasion. Protestantism in its prime was right in claiming St. Paul as peculiarly its own, because religion meant the same thing to him and to it, *viz.*, an experience in relation to God; whereas to Catholicism this was confusedly co-ordinated with other and largely external things. As Dr. Denney protests, “there can be only one fundamental doctrine, and that doctrine for Paul is the doctrine of justification by faith. That is not part of his Gospel, it is the whole of it: there Luther is his true interpreter.” This extract, read in its context and with what follows, sets Romans, as the sum of St. Paul’s Gospel, in its true light. And if one would get to the heart of its teaching and see how all its vital force springs from this deep experience, one could hardly wish for a more lucid and appreciative interpreter than Dr. Denney.

We had marked a number of illustrations of this estimate, but can only refer readers to the *loci classici*, specifying the discussion of *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ*, the critical note on *ἐχομεν* in v. 1, the notes on *ἐφ’ ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον*, and the handling of highly experimental or mystical passages like vi. 1-14, vii. 7 ff.; viii. 18 ff. In one case, an important one, Dr. Denney’s zeal for Paul’s central idea does seem to blind him to the more natural sense of Paul’s words; namely in viii. 3. Here he seems wrong in insisting on the idea of *expiation* of sin, in contrast to the simple breaking of its usurped power—the latter being the only thought present in the preceding chapter on Sin and Law in relation to the Flesh. The introductions to the several sections of the argument

are lucid and to the point. A fine specimen of them is that prefixed to chaps. ix.-xi. ; that introducing the practical applications or Christian ethic of the epistle is also excellent.

The general Introduction calls for no special comment. It takes what seem the best views as to the origin of the Church at Rome, its character, the character of the epistle, its occasion and purpose, and the integrity of the epistle : and it sets them all forth with vigour and clearness. Our last reflexion is one which has recurred again and again, and it is this : What an advantage it is now a days to have a commentary that is written by a man who is a theologian at heart !

Our space is well-nigh exhausted : and so the work of the third of our authors must, to our deep regret, be characterised in very few and inadequate words. Prof. Findlay needs no introduction to students of St. Paul ; and the present commentary on 1 Corinthians is marked by his wonted learning, care and insight. The epistle is one where detail abounds ; and to select a few examples is to do little towards giving a true impression of the notes. Here and there things are said that are hardly satisfying. Professor Ramsay's recent comments in the *Expositor* should be read, for instance, alongside of those on chap. v. 1 ff. The difficult topic of Paul's attitude to "idols" as real beings, in viii. 4 ff., needs further elucidation : while we doubt whether Prof. Findlay has caught what lies behind *Ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς* in xii. 3. Nor has he been able to throw any fresh light on the "Christ party". But the general effect of his exegesis throughout is good, and shows due sense of the primitive ecclesiastical state and sentiment of the Corinthian Church. "The matter is broken up for clearer elucidation into sixty short sections, each furnished with a heading and prefatory outline."

To the eye this commentary differs from the others a good deal. It adheres closely to Alford's arrangement of the parallels of thought and phraseology ; and is here very rich. This relieves the notes, which are made highly condensed by a system of abbreviations, carried to an aggravating point.

The introduction is rather brief, as if the exigencies of space (relative to the whole volume) had proved hampering at the last stage. It includes a chapter on "The Teaching of the Epistle," as well as the obvious one on "Paul's Communications with Corinth," around which of course there gathers much debate. We lay down Professor Findlay's work with sincere respect, and wish for it, as for the whole of this instalment of the "Expositor's Greek Testament" (in spite of the *Textus Receptus* which it perpetuates beyond its proper time), the study which it deserves.

VERNON BARTLET.

## Die Psalmen erklärt.

Von B. Duhm. Freiburg i. B. : J. C. B. Mohr, 1899. (*Kurzer Hand-Commentar*). 8vo, pp. xxxii. + 312. Price M.6.

DUHM's work consists, as such books usually do, of two parts, Introduction and Commentary. The Introduction contains a great deal of matter, though given in a very condensed form, and is marked by a tone of much decisiveness and certitude. It contains discussions on such things as these: (a) the Psalm-book in general, its place in the Canon, and the period when the collection was closed; (b) The smaller collections within the general collection; (c) The date of composition and authors of the individual psalms. (d) The Psalter as religious book of the people; and finally (e) Metrical and musical. Division (c) is perhaps the most interesting and characteristic part of the Introduction. Duhm classifies the Psalms in the collection into: (1) Psalms anterior to the Maccabean period (B.C. 167). (2) Psalms from the period of the Maccabean conflicts. (3) Psalms from the period when the Maccabean (Hasmonean) chiefs bore the title of high priest. (4) Psalms from the period after they assumed the royal title, and (5) Psalms of a polemical kind, emanating from the party of the Pharisees, the opponents of the Hasmonean rule.

Duhm fixes the close of the psalm collection at about B.C. 70. He argues that the small collection known as the Psalter of Solomon, emanating from the party of the Pharisees and belonging to the early Roman period (about B.C. 63), was most probably excluded from the general psalm collection because the limits of the latter were already fixed. There are, however, he thinks, psalms in our Psalter which are due to the party of the Pharisees, e.g., Psalm xvii. In the end of verse four of this psalm, indeed, Duhm considers that the



word Pharisee (*Parish*, separated one) originally stood, though for reasons that may be conjectured, the word *violent* (*Parits*) was afterwards substituted for it. And there are psalms which must belong to the time when the Hasmoneans bore the title of king, and may be assigned to the date B.C. 100-80. Duhm therefore suggests the year B.C. 70 as the date of the final redaction of the Psalter, but he adds that if any one has a fancy for the year one of the Christian era nobody could refute him.

Speaking of pre-Maccabean psalms, the author remarks that Ps. cxxxvii., written by an exile in Babylon, may well be the oldest poem in the Psalter. There may, of course, be more ancient passages, but it is impossible to recognise them, and there is not a single psalm which would suggest to an unprejudiced reader that it could be or must be pre-exilic. Neither is there certain evidence that any psalms belong to the Persian period, though of course some may. If any one contend that Ps. viii., for example, belongs to the fourth century, it would be impossible to disprove his contention. Psalms from the Greek period anterior to the Syrian oppression and violence to the temple and city may be Ps. xlvi., xlviii., lxxvi., less certainly lxxxiv. (first part) and lxxxvii. Ps. xvi. and possibly li. protest against the encroaching Greek influences. Ps. iii., iv., xi., lxii., are possibly by pre-Maccabean high priests. The unfortunate high priest Onias III. may be author of the touching complaint of an exile in Ps. xlii., xliii., and Ps. xxiii., xxvii. (first part) may belong to the earlier and better time of his high-priesthood. It is, however, to the time beginning with the Maccabean troubles and ending with the death of Alexander Jannæus (*circa* B.C. 170-80) that the great majority of the psalms belong.

Professor Duhm has been able to fix the date of a number of psalms with absolute certainty, and that of very many others with the highest probability. Ps. ii., for example, celebrates the assumption of the royal title by Aristobulus I., B.C. 105, and Ps. xx., xxi., lxi., lxiii., lxxii., cxxxii. and others most probably belong to his reign and that of his brother Alexander Jannæus. Ps. cx. 1-4, is an acrostic on the name

of Simon, and belongs to B.C. 141. Duhm is not peculiar in this view. The passage is certainly very obscure. Its meaning appears to be expressed in ver. 1, *Sit on My right hand*; ver. 4, *Thou art a priest for ever*, seems an exposition of ver. 1, expressing the consequences of it, but is no independent oracle. That is, the words in ver. 1 are addressed to one already a priest; he is invited to take his seat at God's right hand, either on His throne or beside it, and so be henceforth a royal priest. All this seems little in accordance with the circumstances of Simon, not to mention the extravagance of the language if applied to him. Apart from the interpretation put on certain psalms there is no evidence that any belief existed among the people to the effect that the perfection of the kingdom of God and the fulfilment of the Messianic hopes would be attained in the line of the Hasmonean rulers. All, indeed, that Duhm seems to assert is that such psalms as ii., cx., were written either by these princes themselves, or more probably, as they were usually occupied with other things, by some of their devoted partisans, in order to support their pretensions by suggesting that they were fulfilling the ancient prophecies, and destined to realise the Messianic hopes; though other parties among the people were in vehement opposition to them. The effect of this view on the estimation in which the psalms are to be held can easily be seen: the Psalter becomes a bundle of violently antagonistic petty party manifestoes. The certainty, however, with which Duhm fixes the time of so many of the psalms has something eminently satisfactory in it. The date of the psalms will be a vexed question no longer. One has only to turn up the pages of Duhm's work.

Many things in Duhm's Commentary are striking and suggestive; many other things will be considered fanciful and perverse; and everything of course receives a colour from the late date to which the psalms are assigned. As was to be expected from the author, the criticism of the text and textual emendations are courageous, as the example already given from Ps. xvii. will show. The literary criticism, *e.g.*, the disintegration of single psalms into two or more

elements, will appear to many carried to excess. Not only are such psalms as xix., xxiv., which might not unnaturally be thought composite, operated upon, but many others, such as Ps. xxii. In one particular Duhm goes straight against prevalent modern criticism: the "allegorical *I*"—*i.e.*, *I* considered as the voice of the congregation or people—he speaks of as a spook that has taken to "walking" lately. In his view the *I* is in all cases an individual person.

Duhm's general judgment on the psalms will be felt to be rather depreciatory. With some exceptions, such as the psalms of degrees (Ps. cxx. ff.), he thinks them commonplace and conventional. It is for this reason that they are so popular, for it is the trite and trivial, when it corresponds to their needs, that people like. Perhaps this judgment of Duhm's on the Psalter is more literary and intellectual than religious; it is such a judgment as a man of literary taste would pass on the hymnology of our own times. Hence he seems to think the psalms most effective in a translation; it is when one reads the original that he is disillusioned. Duhm's opinion of the literary poverty of the Psalter is not of much consequence; it is his view of the date and origin of the psalms that, if accepted, will have serious consequences for the religious worth of the psalms. His view reduces them in a great measure to party squibs, the authors of which, while no doubt occasionally blessing God, are mostly occupied in cursing each other.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

## **The Church Past and Present : A Review of its History.**

*By the Bishop of London, Bishop Barry and other writers.  
Edited by the Rev. H. M. Gwatkin, M.A., Dixie Professor  
of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Cambridge ;  
D.D. of Edinburgh. London : James Nisbet & Co., 1900.  
8vo, pp. viii. + 295. Price 7s. 6d. net.*

THIS is a notable book. We have had of late several volumes of essays, much on the same plan as this one, representing different schools of theology, and giving a series of studies or pronouncements on the religious and ecclesiastical questions which are most in the public eye at present. Each of these has its value. Each contains some able and significant papers, but it is not too much to say that the papers collected in this volume are the ablest and the most significant. They are edited by Professor Gwatkin, than whom we have no better authority in the wide field of Church history. They represent the best school of scientific historical inquiry. They are the work of men whose object it is to write, in the words of the preface, "not as advocates of this or that party in Church or State, but as students who are persuaded that history as well as science is the message of the Spirit to our own time".

While they are at one in the general conception of historical inquiry, the authors of these papers write independently. Each is responsible for his own contribution. Each has been left free to follow his own way and give his own conclusions. This liberty has been fully used. We find different opinions expressed on some points, and the same questions presented at times under different aspects. There is a certain measure of variety, which never, however, goes the length of dissonance or contradiction. The papers are of different degrees of interest. Some are less brilliant than others, but all are

the work of capable, broad-minded men, whose purpose it is to get to the realities of things, and who deserve to be listened to. The writers recognise that the unfolding of the meaning of the historical facts which constitute the Gospel is a "work of many ages ; that its fulness far transcends the systems of Latin sectarianism, and that every return to the limitations of a buried past is so much sin against the Holy Spirit's teaching to our time". This is the attitude in which they profess to approach their subjects, and in most things they are true to that profession. They hold no brief for the traditional or the accustomed in creed or ecclesiastical usage. They are not of those who think that the highest loyalty to truth is seen in a simple reproduction of the past. They have the profoundest regard for the past, and make it their object to ascertain exactly what it was. But they do not put themselves in bondage to it. Their wish is to get at the real meaning of the past ; to exhibit the spirit that was in it and made it what it was ; and to reach the essential truths and principles which constituted its life and essence. And in this way they will bring us to see in what respect and to what extent the Church of the past should be the teacher of the Church of the present, its model and its law.

The opening paper, which is by the Rev. J. Llewellyn Davies, deals with the "Apostolic Age". It begins by reminding us that, in what is said of the Christian Society or Church, the New Testament describes "not a fixed arrangement such as might be copied and reproduced, but a growing organism ;" and that "our attention is drawn by the sacred history much more to the propaganda committed to the envoys of Christ, and to the working of the Spirit in the lives of the believers, than to details of the Church's internal constitution". From that it proceeds to give us in broad outline the writer's view of the way in which the Church was led on step by step, not by human authority, but by "the direct rule of Christ and the moving power of the Spirit" ; how the Twelve gradually faded "as a governing body out of the history of the Church" ; how certain offices came to be instituted and some simple provision naturally came to be

made for internal organisation ; and how through all the period there was as little of a constitutional governing body for the Church universal as there is now. The Editor follows with a paper on the "Second Century"—remarkable for its large generalisations, its terse, vivid statements, and its faculty for taking us to the principles of things. It gives telling pictures of the storm which separated the Apostolic Age from the sub-Apostolic ; the contrast between the two periods ; the general characteristics of the second century ; the points of likeness and unlikeness between it and later centuries. It describes also how the three great needs of that age, *viz.*, the strengthening of Church government, the placing of the teaching of the Church on a basis of authority, and the expressing of that teaching in forms that should be mistaken neither by friend nor by foe, were met.

In the course of his summary of the movement of the Church in the direction of government, Professor Gwatkin gives his views on the questions that are most debated. He sees of course no trace of bishops in the monarchical sense in the New Testament, but recognises that by the end of the second century "every city has its one bishop, who for his lifetime is head of the presbyters and official guardian of orthodoxy in that city". He finds a hint of the episcopal office in such "a vicar-apostolic as Timothy," but thinks he was no more than a special commissioner, who was soon recalled and probably never saw Ephesus again. This is sufficient reason, in his opinion, against taking Timothy as "bishop" in the understood sense of the word. He deems it "needless as well as unhistorical to suppose that the Apostles ordained Episcopacy as the one lawful form of Church government". He admits on the other hand that "John must have seen its rise in Asia, and seen it without disapproval, to say the least". And in brief his view is that "monarchy is the natural resource of men in times of danger" ; that the Apostolic Churches were led by circumstances to make their bishops "centres of unity and guardians of orthodoxy" ; and that episcopacy was "so visibly the best and strongest form of government for the second

century, that hardly anything short of a definite prohibition by the Apostles could have prevented its spread". Professor Gwatkin concludes this valuable paper by putting and answering the question—How is the Church of this second century to be classed in relation to modern Churches? His answer is the answer which the impartial student of history must give. In the Church of that important epoch we see "plenty of the Protestant doctrine which the Latin Church rejects". But it has not "the distinctive emphasis of Protestantism". "For good or for evil, the simplicity of early times was gone for ever long before the Reformation." In a very obvious and intelligible sense that century was not Protestant. But it certainly was not Catholic, whether Roman, Greek or Anglican, in the sense given to that term by many. It had little of the Latin doctrine which Protestantism repudiated. It had germs of evil, but not more than germs, in prayers for the dead, enthusiasm for martyrs, and some other things. But it had nothing like a Papal jurisdiction; no "tradition of ritual, discipline, or dogma, which individual Churches are not free to alter as they think fit"; no authority of the nature of an infallible council; no trace of a sacrificing priesthood; nothing in the Lord's Supper, but "bread with a blessing".

Professor Gwatkin also writes the papers on the "Latin Church," the "Origins of Church Government," and "Protestantism". They are all excellent, suggestive and informing studies. Among their best things are the statements on the Cyprianic theory, the Hildebrandine Reformation, the view of man that determined the whole attitude of the Latin Church, and the task of the Reformation. These are necessarily very brief statements, but they go to the root of the matter. There are at the same time some things that provoke protest, and some that surprise us. There is, *e.g.*, a preference expressed for the Greek type of theology which seems to us to be more than can be justified by its actual nature and history. No doubt that theology has its points of advantage, and there are certain respects in which it appeals more to the modern spirit. But there is another side to it

which is not presented here, and it is too much to speak of it as if a recall of it was to be the great healing measure for the troubles of the religious thinker of modern times. We should have expected a historian like Professor Gwatkin, too, to use juster terms than he occasionally allows himself to slip into when referring to Calvinism. He gives, it is true, a very fair account of the achievements of the Calvinistic faith. But when Calvinism is classed with Asceticism as a system that "despairs of the world," and when it is pronounced to be in its fundamental ideas "much nearer to Rome than either Lutheranism or the Church of England," we feel disposed to rub our eyes and wonder whether it is indeed Professor Gwatkin who speaks.

The paper on the "Origins of Church Government" is one of the best in the book. It is a thoroughly scientific study, and gives within very brief space a remarkably full, fair and penetrating discussion of its subject. The various passages in the New Testament which are taken to establish the existence of the bishop in the Apostolic Church are examined and declared to be insufficient for the purpose. As the necessity of Episcopal government is not made out by the witness of Scripture, the principles of the Church of England bind those who adhere to it to deny that that form of government, it is frankly stated, "belongs to the essence of a lawful Church, however legitimate and useful it may be". As regards the testimony of early Christian writers, Professor Gwatkin holds it to be "as certain as any historical fact can well be, that there was no bishop in the important Church of Corinth when Clement wrote". The presbyters in that Church are responsible, not to any ecclesiastical superior, but to Christian opinion. "From beginning to end of a long letter, Clement never gives us the faintest hint that the presbyters of Corinth either had, or ought to have had, over them any human authority whatsoever." Polycarp was bishop of Smyrna, but a "monarchical bishop can hardly be hid among the bishops and deacons greeted by him". And the point which Professor Gwatkin consequently puts is this: that if the system of Episcopacy had been set up by particular



apostolic command, these two Churches—both Churches of importance—must have been flagrant instances of disobedience, and that the same would be the case with the Churches contemplated in the *Didaché*, whereas we have no historical reason for attaching such a character to them. The condition of things which appears in the Ignatian Epistles is dealt with in the same spirit. The evidence of these epistles is accepted as decisive proof that, by the time of their author, Episcopacy “had got a footing in Syria, in Asia, and probably elsewhere”; that the bishops referred to are most likely monarchical; and that, “if reasonable time be allowed for this spread of Episcopacy, its beginnings in Asia must fall within the lifetime of St. John”. The conclusion, therefore, is that, while there was no apostolic command in its behalf, Episcopacy is “like monarchy, an ancient and godly form of government, which we may well be content to live under and loyally to serve”.

There is much on which one might dwell in the papers by Dr. Bigg on the “School of Alexandria,” and the Rev. G. Schneider on “The Age of Councils”. Dr. Bigg has a better claim than most men to write on the great Alexandrines, and he gives us a masterly sketch here of their characteristic positions, ideas and services. Mr. Schneider’s estimate of the Councils and their work is also an able performance. He is alive to their limitations, and to the objections that may easily be urged against their ways and their contributions to ecclesiastical thought and life. But he looks at them in their proper historical perspective, and says much that is true of their real place and service in the movement of Christian thought and action. The Bishop of London contributes a clever paper on “The Reformation,” which must have been pleasant to listen to in its original form as an address at a Church Congress, but which is a less weighty article than might reasonably have been expected. Professor Collins writes interestingly on “England before the Reformation,” Dr. Hunt on the “Rise of Dissent in England,” and Chancellor Lias on “Romanism since the Reformation”. Another paper of great importance is one by Canon Meyrick on the “History of the Lord’s Supper”. This seems to us to be

a particularly valuable and enlightening study. Patiently, and with a penetrating but reverent criticism, it traces the course of opinion and practice from the simple statements of the New Testament to the elaborate declarations of much later times. It describes the changes in the modes and times of celebration and the developments in ideas, the effect of the breaking up of the Roman empire and the irruption of the barbarians in materialising the conception of the Eucharist, the influence of the rise and fall of realism on the same, the course by which the idea of the peace-offering passed over into that of the sin-offering in the Supper, and the way, the almost imperceptible way, in which the "tenet of the objective presence of Christ in the sacred elements slipped into acceptance".

Dr. Barry closes the volume with a paper on "English Christianity To-day". It is in many respects a suitable close. There are more things in it, however, to which we should take exception than in any of the others, and it makes more exclusive, more purely English and Episcopal claims, than any other. These are expressed in considerate terms. But they are there, and they give a somewhat narrower turn to the review. Dr. Barry seems to take less account of English Christianity outside the State Church, and of non-Episcopal Christianity generally. More than once he magnifies the National Church before others as "in reality, as well as in theory, the truest organ of expression of the Christianity of the nation as a whole". He has an easy way of disposing of the present divisions in that Church as things which "do not touch the chief fundamentals of the faith". He tells us that the appeal to Holy Scripture, as the one ultimate standard of faith, is "put forth with a singular clearness and force in the Church of England," and that "probably no Church in Christendom has enunciated it more decisively". And it appears that to him "the non-Episcopal Christianity of the world" is "after all but a fragment, although a considerable and important fragment". In speaking, however, of the "historic Episcopate" as one point in the basis for a reunion of English Christianity, he prefers no larger claim for the

Episcopate than that it is "a great, all but universal fact," and proposes no "insistence on any theory of its origin and its authority".

This volume, as a whole, it will easily be seen, is one of unusual importance. It is a very gratifying witness to the existence in the Church of England of men capable of rising above provincial ideas of the Christian Church, and of guiding English thought to the best and largest issues. It is in the continuance of work such as is seen in it that the hope of the reconciliation of the future largely lies. If men of different schools, all honestly eager about their own, gave attention to these studies and followed out these lines of historical inquiry, there would be a better appreciation of each other, less of the partisan attitude, a more instructed faith, and a larger spirit of unity.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

## Notices.

In 1893, Professor Rudolf Smend of Göttingen published his *Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religion*. We are glad to have it now in a second and revised edition.<sup>1</sup> It was reviewed at length in this Journal in its first edition.<sup>2</sup> Its peculiar merits and distinctive qualities were explained then. In this new issue it retains its original character. It is full of matter, but lacks vivacity. It follows Wellhausen generally. It is apt to take undue liberties with the text when that does not fall in readily with the author's views of the history. It gives great attention to the historical movements which shaped and modified Jewish beliefs, and deals ably with some of the leading Old Testament ideas, especially that of *righteousness*, in the light of the history. It is a book from which students of all schools will learn much.

*St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans : A New Translation, with a Brief Analysis.* By W. G. Rutherford.<sup>3</sup> This is an acute and able book, in which the Headmaster of Westminster applies all the power of his learning and his discernment to the task of making Paul's great epistle once again what he conceives it originally to have been, *viz.*, "a plain letter concerned with a theme which plain men might understand". He is of opinion that the Revised Version, no less than the Authorised, leaves much in obscurity to the ordinary reader, and that this is largely due to a misunderstanding of idiom, especially in certain late usages of the Greek prepositions, and still more to the mistaken method of translating peculiar Greek idioms word for word into English. He discards all this, therefore, and renders Paul's words into the English of the ordinary reader, not disdaining to stoop when occasion demands to the

<sup>1</sup> *Zweite umgearbeitete Auflage*. Freiburg i. B: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. ix. + 519. M.11.50.

<sup>2</sup> *Critical Review*, vol. iv. Pp. 12 ff.

<sup>3</sup> London: Macmillan & Co., 1900. 8vo, pp. xix. + 72. Price 3s. 6d. net.

colloquial. We cannot say that Mr. Rutherford is uniformly successful. There is now and again a curious mixture in his phrases, *e.g.*, "If this be so, are we to stick to our sin that the grace may be enhanced?" "Stick to" and "enhanced" belong to two different orders of translation. His rendering, however, is often very happy, and as a whole it does set the argument of this profound epistle in a wonderfully modern and intelligible light. Here and there, too, we get interesting glimpses of his own preferences in interpretation, in passages outside this epistle. Thus he takes the well-known puzzle, "What shall they gain who are baptised for the dead?" (1 Cor. xv. 29) to mean, "What shall they gain who are baptised, if their baptism (the suffering involved therein) only brings them death like other men?" How he deals with prepositions may be seen by his rendering of Mark vi. 52, *viz.*, "For they had not understood at the loaves," which he explains as meaning that they had not understood "at the time when the miracle of the loaves was performed". This is as if the evangelist wrote after the method of commercial correspondence or modern telegrams, as Mr. Rutherford himself almost suggests (p. xviii.). The following must suffice as examples of this modernised version of the Authorised Version in the great words of the epistle—"avouched Son of God when by an act of power conditioned by informing holiness he had been raised from the dead" (i. 4); "a righteousness of God consisting in faith in Jesus Christ, intended for all who have faith, and no distinction made" (iii. 22); "what the true objects of prayer are, is just what we do not know, but the Spirit himself entreats for us with unutterable sighs" (viii. 26); "I entreat you, brothers, to prove your sense of God's mercies by presenting your lives as an acceptable sacrifice, a living victim consecrated to God, which for you is become a religious duty sanctioned by reason" (xii. 1).

The Rev. T. B. Strong, B.D., writes on *The Doctrine of the Real Presence*.<sup>1</sup> His object is to explain "the original character of the Eucharist as it appears in Holy Scripture."

<sup>1</sup> London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiii. + 111. Price 3s.

He examines, therefore, in succession, the accounts of the institution, the discourses in John vi., and the passages in 1 Cor. x. 14-21, and Heb. xiii. 10. His interpretation of the "eating" and the "altar" in the last-named passage is not particularly clear, but he claims in it, at least, an indirect allusion to the Eucharist. Nor is he sufficiently definite when he comes to deal with the phrase, "This is My body," and with the question of the nature of Christ's presence in the Eucharist. The phrase "This is My body," is parallel, he thinks, to the other phrase, "I am the light of the world," and means that just as Christ is truly our life, so the elements are truly His body and blood. In the Eucharist there is a gift given "of which," he says, "the true nature is the indwelling of Christ"; the mode of that indwelling is not declared in Scripture, but "faith is the condition of that relation to Christ which makes the gift possible". Thus he concludes that "the gift is objectively real, in the sense that its existence is independent of the mental attitude of any human being; but it is wholly spiritual in its reality, and may be made impossible by spiritual conditions of a vicious kind". In the last chapter there is some quasi-philosophical discussion of the idea of *reality*, but at last the secret of the vagueness of Mr. Strong's statements appears. It is, as we might expect, in his notion of the Church as a corporate institution with mystic powers. He characterises the Zwinglian doctrine as a "fragment, and not the most considerable fragment, of the truth in Holy Scripture". He confesses the doctrine to be "immeasurably fuller and more comprehensive," which finds the *presence* in the soul of the receiver, but he is of opinion that it "neglects the vitally important truth that the Church as a body is the agent in consecration, and responsible primarily for its effect." And he goes the length of affirming that "to neglect this is to base religion upon an individualistic view of man, and would end in dispensing with the necessity of Church and Sacraments alike". These are among the vulnerable points in Mr. Strong's statement. But we have also not a little that is well put, and the subject as a whole is handled with the reverence that befits it.

Under the title of: *Studies Historical, Doctrinal and Biographical*,<sup>1</sup> Dr. John M'Ewan, of Knox's Free Church, Edinburgh, publishes a series of papers delivered from time to time in the course of a long, laborious and faithful ministry. They include studies of John Knox, Oliver Cromwell, John Wiclif, Thomas Boston, James Begg, John Kennedy and Samuel Rutherford, and discussions of such subjects as the Pilgrim Fathers of New England, Romanism in the Province of Quebec, Scottish Episcopacy, the Marrow Controversy, etc. They are very useful papers, all marked by good sense, strong attachment to the Protestant faith and evangelical doctrine, and a kindly spirit. They deserve to be read far beyond the circle of the writer's own congregation or church. An appreciative sketch of the author, from the pen of Mr. Oliphant Smeaton, adds to the interest of the volume.

Dr. John Brown of Bedford publishes, under the title of *Puritan Preaching in England*,<sup>2</sup> the course of lectures which he delivered in Yale University last year on the Lyman Beecher foundation. He describes his book as a "Study of Past and Present," and so he goes far back for his beginnings. He gives first a sketch of the "Preaching of the Friars," and then a chapter on "John Colet and the Preachers of the Reformation". He comes then to the "Cambridge Puritans," Chader-ton, Culverwell, Perkins, Henry Smith and Thomas Adams—a very interesting chapter. Thomas Goodwin and the Cambridge Platonists are next brought under review, and these are followed by Bunyan and Richard Baxter. On these two we see Dr. Brown at his best. The book concludes with a couple of chapters on representative Puritan preachers of recent times—Thomas Binney, Spurgeon, Dale and Maclaren, who are appreciatively handled. The book is quite popular in its style; it does not introduce us to the deepest things in Puritanism and its characteristic preaching, nor does it furnish anything like complete and finished estimates of the men. But what it attempts is done in an earnest and well-instructed way, which helps us to understand and value a

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 353.

<sup>2</sup> London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 299. Price 6s.

remarkable succession of men with a style of preaching that is often misjudged and miscalled.

In addition to a large number of careful criticisms of books, the July number of *The American Journal of Theology* contains four articles of some length. Professor Henry C. Vedder, of Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa., contributes a valuable paper on the "Origin and Early Teaching of the Waldenses, according to the Roman Catholic writers of the Thirteenth Century," and Professor Krüger of Giessen, writes on the familiar subject of "David Friedrich Strauss". Professor J. Rendel Harris of Cambridge deals with the question—"Did Judas really commit suicide?" The occasion for the inquiry is furnished by the publication of the almost forgotten story of Aḥikar, the Grand Vizier of Sennacherib, and the treachery of his nephew Nadan. Professor Harris thinks it extremely probable that the story of the death of Judas is an imitation of that of Nadan, and that the growth of the traditional account of the end of the betrayer of our Lord took this course: (a) legendary death of Nadan; (b) legendary death of Judas, expressed in the very same terms; (c) substitution of a simple suicide by Matthew; (d) traditional death as modified in current texts of the Acts; and (e) Rationalist interpretation of Papias. The article has some acute reasonings, and others that are far from convincing. Professor Alvah Hovey is the author of a paper on "Stapfer on the Resurrection of Jesus Christ," which deserves to be read for its careful and pertinent criticism.

We notice also *Evangelical Belief*,<sup>1</sup> by John Broadhurst Nichols, an essay that won a prize of £100 offered in 1898 by the Committee of the Religious Tract Society, a very creditable piece of work, setting forth the power of Romanism and the justification of Protestantism, and giving telling, popular statements of the evangelical doctrine on the Rule of Faith, private judgment, the unity, catholicity and authority of the Church, the Christian ministry and worship, the Sacraments, justification by faith, etc.; *Studies in*

<sup>1</sup> London: The Religious Tract Society, 1899. 8vo, pp. xv. + 368.



*the Character of Christ*,<sup>1</sup> the title given to a small volume by Charles Henry Robinson, Canon Missioner of Ripon, in which the character of our Lord is set forth in a plain and popular way as the final argument for Christianity, generally in terms which are both correct and easily understood, but sometimes (as when Christ is spoken of as "incarnate in the Church") in language that is inexact; a volume of pointed and eloquent *Sermons on Texts from the Gospels: Evangelienpredigten*,<sup>2</sup> prepared for the Church-Year by Dr. Wilhelm Bahnsen, General-Superintendent in Coburg; a third issue of Dr. G. L. Plitt's excellent edition of Melancthon's *Loci Communes*<sup>3</sup> in their original form, carefully supervised and furnished with brief, useful explanations by Professor Th. Kolde of Erlangen; *Adjumenta Oratoris Sacri, opera Francisci Xaverii Schouppe*<sup>4</sup>—a very useful digest of matter relating to pulpit discourse, dealing with the principles of sacred oratory, the meaning of the great Christian truths and offices, and the methods of preaching—a book now marked Editio xiv.; a reliable and readable translation by F. M. Young of Bangalore, of Geiger's *Judaism and Islám*,<sup>5</sup> a treatise on the relation of Mohammedanism to Judaism, the ideas and the stories which have passed over from the Jewish books into the Qúran, etc.; a second edition of *The Best Society, and other Lectures*,<sup>6</sup> by J. Jackson Goadby, F.G.S., a volume containing some vigorous, popular sketches of Thomas Fuller, Cromwell, John Howard, Sydney Smith, Mrs. Lucy

<sup>1</sup> London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 129. Price 3s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> *Evangelienpredigten für alle Sonn-und Festtage des Kirchenjahres*, ii. 1. Pfingsttag bis zum letzten Trinitätssonntag. Berlin: Duncker, 1899. 8vo, pp. 363.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Loci Communes*, Philipp Melancthon's in ihrer Urgestalt nach G. L. Plitt in dritter Auflage von Neuem herausgegeben und erläutert. Von Dr. Th. Kolde. Leipzig: Deichert; London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. + 267. Price M.3.50.

<sup>4</sup> Bruxelles: Société Belge de Librairie, 1899. 8vo, pp. 600.

<sup>5</sup> *A Prize Essay* by Abraham Geiger, Rabbi at Wiesbaden. Madras: At the M. D. C. S. P. K. Press. 8vo, pp. 170.

<sup>6</sup> London: Elliot Stock. 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 277.

Hutchinson, etc.; *Words of Exhortation*,<sup>1</sup> a collection of sermons by the Rev. W. C. E. Newbolt, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's Cathedral, High Anglican in doctrine, but discoursing in a telling style, with much fervour and with pointed application to the circumstances of ordinary hearers, on such subjects as Controversy, The Profanation of the Temple, The Use of Talents, The Contagion of Sin, etc.; a delightful little book by the Rev. John Brownlie, entitled *Hymns of the Greek Church*,<sup>2</sup> most tasteful in form and furnishing admirable translations (with explanatory notes) of many of the choicest examples of ancient Eastern hymnody; *The Rise of the New Testament*,<sup>3</sup> by David Saville Muzzey, B.D., a small and rather high-priced book, giving a brief account of the formation of the New Testament writings, generally under the influence of Harnack, reliable enough on the whole, but indulging here and there in some rather tall talk; *The Holy Spirit and Christian Service*,<sup>4</sup> by the Rev. J. D. Robertson, M.A., D.Sc., North Berwick, an enlargement of a series of lectures addressed to students of the Christian Workers' Training Institute, under the auspices of the Edinburgh Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland—excellent lectures, simple and direct in style, expounding important truths which lie close to everyday Christian experience, and cast in a form well suited to the audiences for which they were prepared; *Das Problem Friedrich Nietzsche's*,<sup>5</sup> by Eduard Grunin, a careful study of Nietzsche's peculiar position and philosophy, his place as a thinker, his relation to Ethics and Religion, etc., deserving the attention of those interested in the man; a translation by Sir William Muir of an earnest and interesting Arabic treatise, *The Torch of Guidance to the Mystery of Redemption*,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> London: Longmans, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 350. Price 6s.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 110. Price 2s.

<sup>3</sup> New York: The Macmillan Company, pp. xii. + 146. Price 5s.

<sup>4</sup> London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 288. Price 5s.

<sup>5</sup> Berlin: Schwezke u. Sohn, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 264. M.4.

<sup>6</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1900. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 52. Price 4d.

written by a native Christian of the East ; *Oliver Cromwell*,<sup>1</sup> a noble eulogy and appreciation, far-seeing and splendidly expressed, by the Earl of Rosebery ; *The Coming Bible*,<sup>2</sup> by Thomas Parker, a curious and mistaken attempt to limit Christian Scripture to the four Gospels ; *Church Questions*,<sup>3</sup> by Gilbert Karney, Vicar of St. John's Church, Paddington—unambitious but clear and well put statements on the Real Presence and related subjects, giving the historical argument in favour of Hooker's teaching as the authentic doctrine of the Church of England on the subject of the Sacraments etc. ; a third and thoroughly revised edition of Professor E. Chr. Achelis's *Praktische Theologie*,<sup>4</sup> a very useful treatise which deserves the acceptance it has won ; a second revised and enlarged edition of the third volume of the late Professor Wilhelm Möller's *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*,<sup>5</sup> issued under the supervision of Professor Gustav Kawerau of Breslau, a handbook of great merit, dealing in the present volume in a most scholarly and informing way with the story of the Reformation and the Counter-reformation, a book which every student should have beside him ; *Schepping en Voorzienigheid*,<sup>6</sup> by J. Weener, an acute and meritorious contribution to the discussion of the theistic question.

Dr. Washington Gladden of Columbus, Ohio, has written with a good purpose on the question—*How Much is Left of the Old Doctrines ?*<sup>7</sup> His work is meant to be a "book for the people," and from that point of view as well as in other respects it is a very successful performance. It is written with much vivacity, and in terms so clear and pointed that no one can mistake its drift. Dr. Gladden has the gift of a popular American style, and he makes excellent use of it

<sup>1</sup> London : Andrew Melrose. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 35. Price 6d.

<sup>2</sup> London : Swan Sonnenschein, pp. 82. Price 2s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> London : Elliot Stock, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 121.

<sup>4</sup> Freiburg i. B. : J. C. B. Mohr ; 1899. 8vo, pp. xv. + 308. Price M. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Freiburg i. B. : J. C. B. Mohr ; London : Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. xv. + 460. Price M. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Utrecht : Huffel, 1899. 8vo, pp. 144.

<sup>7</sup> London : James Clarke & Co. Sm. cr. 8vo, pp. iv. + 321. Price 4s.

here. Looking at the changes which have been taking place in the beliefs and opinions of men under the influence of new scientific conceptions and new methods of historical inquiry and criticism, he thinks the time has come when Christian men must "take an inventory" of their beliefs and ascertain where precisely they stand in relation to old doctrines or to familiar forms of expressing these doctrines. He turns our attention, therefore, to the great questions of belief in God, the supernatural, the doctrines of Creation, the Trinity, the Incarnation, Predestination, etc., the function of the Bible, the meaning of the Sacraments, the hope of immortality, etc., and asks us to consider to what effect the old views on these subjects have been modified by the recent course of thought, and in what way the terms of the old affirmations require to be revised. This is done on the footing of considerable knowledge of things, with a true appreciation of the old dogmas and the old words, and in a candid and reverent spirit. There are points in Dr. Gladden's review at which he is less satisfactory than at others. He makes too little of the teaching of the New Testament on the subject of a personal tempter. There is some vagueness in what he says of the Trinity, although he finds, in the fundamental laws of mind, a "suggestion of that three-foldness which men are trying to comprehend when they attempt to state the doctrine of the Trinity". The doctrine of the Atonement is handled in a way that does imperfect justice to the history of Christian thought on the subject as well as to the definite teaching of the New Testament, and the declaration of the Divine wrath is made to mean simply a change in *our* feeling. But the general effect is good. The broad result is reassuring. The spiritual things which have been expressed in the declarations of the great creeds and the ancient Christian doctrines are shown to remain what and where they were. The form changes, but the substance persists and justifies itself. The discussions on the existence and nature of God, the ideas of creation and the supernatural in relation to the evolutionary hypothesis, and the doctrine of the future life, are among the best things in

the book. There is much in it that should help and relieve minds in difficulty.

The venerable Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, Dr. George Salmon, publishes a new volume of discourses—*Cathedral and University Sermons*.<sup>1</sup> They are strong, sober, instructive discourses, as one might expect, well thought out and carrying pointed application. One that will attract notice deals with the historic claims of episcopacy (from the text 2 Tim. ii. 2). It argues for the existence of the three-fold ministry in apostolic times negatively from the absence of any indication of the survival of any other primitive form, and positively from the presidency of James in the Church of Jerusalem. But Dr. Salmon observes that the Prayer-book does not make Episcopacy "so essential that without it the being of a Church is impossible," and he tells us he does not feel himself "called on to go beyond what the Church has asserted". Other discourses have "Colour-blindness," "Righteous Hatred," "Trials and Temptations," etc., as their subjects. They make informing and edifying reading.

We are indebted to the Rev. Dr. Charles H. H. Wright, of Trinity College, Dublin, for a considerable treatise on *The Intermediate State and Prayers for the Dead*.<sup>2</sup> The Old Testament teaching is disposed of in thirteen pages. This is quite inadequate even for the author's declared purpose. More attention is given to the witness of the non-canonical literature, pre-Christian and early post-Christian. There are separate chapters on "Jewish Usages in distinctly Post-Christian Days," and on "Paradise and Gehenna". These are by no means exhaustive of their subjects, but they contain much good matter. Then come two chapters which deal at some length with the passages in the New Testament which are imagined to favour the practice of praying for the dead, and with the question of prayers for the departed in the early Christian ages. The rest of the volume is devoted to the representation of the Intermediate State in the Apocry-

<sup>1</sup> London: John Murray, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 253. Price 3s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> London: Jas. Nisbet & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxiv. + 326. Price 6s.

phal writings, the descriptions of hell in the Patristic writings and of hell and purgatory in the Roman Catholic Church, the "test of Catholicity," and the teaching of the Church of England.

The real subject of the book is Prayers for the Dead, and it would have been better to have given that alone as the title. There are whole regions of the doctrine of the Intermediate State on which much has been written, both in English and in German theology, that are not touched in this volume. Even what is said of it here in connexion with the main subject is far short of what it should be. But apart from that the proper theme of the book is ably and learnedly handled. Dr. Wright deals effectively with the argument in behalf of the practice of prayer for the dead which is drawn from ancient Jewish custom. He disposes of the testimony of the second book of Maccabees, which stands solitary and indistinct. He examines at some length the apocryphal and pseudonymous books, some twenty-five of them, which are in any sense relevant to his subject. He makes a just and seasonable protest against the practice, too common with a certain class of writers, of producing some *early* utterance of the Reformers (as in the case, *e.g.*, of Latimer) without regard to their later and maturer judgment. He closes with a statement, valuable so far as it goes, but much too brief, on the position of the Church of England in relation to the subject. The book establishes a good case against prayer for the dead, as a practice neither sanctioned by Scripture nor approved by the Reformed Church of England.

Professor G. Buchanan Gray has been well advised in printing the address which he delivered before the Congregational Union of England and Wales and the three lectures given at the meetings of the Friends' Summer School of Theology at Birmingham. The volume bears the title of *The Divine Discipline of Israel*,<sup>1</sup> which was the subject of the address. The lectures deal with the "Growth of Moral

<sup>1</sup> London: Adam & Charles Black, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. + 128. Price 2s. 6d. net.

Ideas in the Old Testament". The book is a small one, but one of real value. Its object is to give a historical view of some of the great ideas of the Old Testament on the basis of the most accepted results of literary criticism. The growth of the monotheistic doctrine is first sketched, and the author then takes up certain of the moral ideas of the Hebrews with the view of showing "the course of conduct which appeared to them best, the motives with which they pursued it, and the changes through which both ideas and practice passed in the course of history". The reader will find much that is of value, briefly and clearly put, on the great ideas of *holiness* and *righteousness*, and many just remarks on the slowness, in many respects the happy slowness, with which new ideas obtain their effect, and on other laws of historical development. The volume is a very informing one.

Professor Handley C. G. Moule has completed his series of studies on the epistles of the first Roman imprisonment of St. Paul by publishing his *Ephesian Studies*.<sup>1</sup> They are in the form of expository readings on the Epistle to the Ephesians, and look specially to the ends of "edification, exhortation and comfort". But he proceeds on the basis of a careful and scholarly exegesis. There is a brief introduction, pleasantly and popularly written, each verse is interpreted and applied, and at the close of each section we have a series of practical paragraphs. All is done well. A deep and earnest piety makes itself felt in every page. The teaching of the "Celestial Letter" on the counsel and grace of God is expounded with a profound sense of its reality and its greatness.

*Pro Christo et Ecclesia*<sup>2</sup> is an anonymous treatise which lies out of the ordinary beat of religious books. It is written in a beautifully clear and simple style. Yet at various points its drift is difficult to follow. Its whole tone is reverent and devout; it is full of suggestive ideas; and it cannot be read without profit. There is at the same time in it a good deal that is either paradoxical or out of proportion, so that it

<sup>1</sup> London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 240. Price 5s.

<sup>2</sup> London: Macmillan, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. + 189. Price 4s. 6d. net.

leaves one uncertain what its real scope is. It is a restatement of the ideal of life presented by Christ, constructed on the principle that "the life-long contest between the pious Pharisee and Jesus is the most salient point in the drama of the Christ," and that "God's fullest teaching to man must therefore be found in the struggle". It says much that is just and true of love as the essence of the ideal life, and of the Gospel as, on the divine side, the humility of love eager to lead the repentant sinner; while on the human side it implies the life of humble prayer. But it speaks of *obedience* in terms almost of disparagement—in terms at least which need qualification if they are not to mislead; and it is only very partially correct in its indications of the character and the attitude in which we are to see the modern equivalent to the Pharisaism that formed the subject of Christ's constant warnings. The tendencies in the Church of the present day which, in the writer's opinion, work most evil and best prove the need for Christ's ideal, are these: the estrangement of saints from the frivolous and vicious, the estrangement of religion from undidactic art in the drama, the novel, the song, the dance, the limitation of God's Spirit by making rites and doctrines tests of spiritual life, the attack upon private and social vices in the name of Christ, and the conviction that pain is more salutary than pleasure. On all these something is said that will occasion reflection. But if they are evils, they are not all of one measure, and the attitude to them which is suggested here might lead us often into doubtful positions. The writer fails to see that what our Lord had in view in His warnings against Pharisee and Sadducee was a certain spirit, and that this spirit may be more active now in other classes of men and other phenomena of the Church than those in which He rebuked it then.

A very good book on the *Destination, Date and Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews*<sup>1</sup> comes from the pen of Mr. H. B. Ayles, B.D. It is an acute argument in favour of the view that the epistle belongs to about A.D. 64, is the

<sup>1</sup> London: C. J. Clay & Sons, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. + 174. Price 5s.



work of Barnabas, and is addressed to the Church of Jerusalem. The internal evidence in favour of Barnabas as writer is worked out very fully and with much skill. A very fair and pretty complete account is also given of the fortunes of the epistle both in the Eastern Church and in the Western, and a separate chapter is devoted to the tradition of the Alexandrian Church. All this is done in good style, the objections usually urged against this solution of the problems of the letter being also candidly stated and considered. The strength of the discussion is given to the question of authorship. Mr. Ayles makes the best use of the early and widespread tradition in favour of Barnabas, and sets over against it the fact that there is no early tradition in favour either of Paul himself or of any other, except Clement of Rome (in the tradition of the Eastern Church). And in putting the internal argument in behalf of Barnabas, he endeavours to convince us that "the variety and the apparently contradictory character of the evidence which the epistle furnishes as to its author" are best explained on the theory that Barnabas is the writer. The book well repays the reader.

In the last issue of *Mind* Dr. C. S. Myers concludes his historical and critical review of "Vitalism". Dr. G. E. Moore contributes an elaborate paper on "Necessity," with the particular object of determining its meaning. The question, as he puts it, is of "that necessity which is involved in the notion of causality". What does that necessity mean? His answer is simply this—that he fails to see "that there can be any relation between the two things, except that from the proposition 'The one exists' there is a valid inference to the proposition 'The other existed' or 'will exist'. If it does really follow that, since one thing exists, another has existed or will exist, what more necessary relation can be desired?" Among the other articles we may refer to Mr. Henry Sturt's criticism of "The Doctrine of the *Summum Bonum*". Such conceptions as *Summum Bonum*, self-realisation, and goodness-as-health-and-beauty, he holds, are pagan conceptions, while conscience, duty, self-sacrifice and devotion are Christian

conceptions. This, he says, is a "distinction which cannot conveniently be indicated in any other way". For "there is no term but 'Christian' to express the general spirit of modern morality, the outcome of the centuries of moral experience and experiment which divide us from Hellenic civilisation". And he declares it to be the fault of modern eudæmonism that "it reverses their relative positions," making the pagan conceptions primary which modern experience has recognised to be secondary.

The *Presbyterian Record*, published in Toronto, continues to be conducted with much ability. The Assembly number contains, besides an abundance of church intelligence, several short and readable papers, *e.g.*, one by Professor Ballantyne of Knox College on "The Value of the Study of Church History".

The most learned paper in the current number of *The Journal of Theological Studies* is Mr. C. H. Turner's second article on "The Early Episcopal Lists". It deals with the Jerusalem list, the fourth of Eusebius's lists, and after an elaborate examination comes to the conclusion that "we cannot adduce the succession at Jerusalem as a continuous witness to primitive episcopacy". Canon Sanday contributes an interesting paper on "St. Paul's Equivalent for the 'Kingdom of Heaven,'" the object of which is to show that the Pauline idea of the "righteousness of God" expresses the "central and cardinal point of the Christian dispensation," which appears in the Gospels as "the Kingdom of heaven". Professor A. A. Macdonell's exposition of the "Ancient Indian Conception of the Soul and its Future State" is a notable contribution to an important and difficult question. A paper on the "Death of St. John the Baptist," from the Russian of Professor Sollertinsky, also deserves notice. It has some doubtful things, *e.g.*, its statement on the reading ἡπόρει in Mark vi. 20; but it puts a strong case for preferring the gospel narrative of the beheading of John to that in Josephus which makes Herod alone responsible. There are some good notes, too, by various hands, on πλήρης in John i. 14, on Isaiah xix. 18, on the Wisdom of Ben Sira, on Isaiah xxi. 1-10, etc.

## Record of Select Literature.

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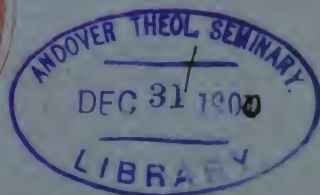
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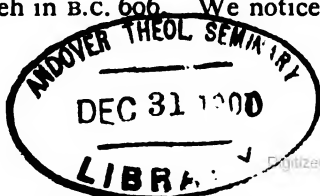
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THESE articles may be roughly classified under the heads of Introduction, Biography, Geography, Archæology, Theology and General.

First as to *Introduction*. In a very careful account of LAMENTATIONS, the Rev. J. A. Selbie concludes, with most modern scholars, that the book is not by Jeremiah. He regards it as a composite work, but considers that the number of authors and the dates of the various portions are still open questions. In LEVITICUS and NUMBERS the Rev. G. Harford-Battersby, one of the editors of the *Oxford Hexateuch*, gives an exceedingly thorough account of the analysis. An important feature is the recognition that, in addition to the Law of Holiness, large sections of the Priestly Code are reproduced from earlier codes compiled during or before the Exile. In a scholarly article on NAHUM, Prof. A. R. S. Kennedy accepts the view that Nah. i. is made up of fragments of a post-exilic acrostic psalm, and that only chaps. ii., iii. are the actual work of Nahum. Those he dates B.C. 608-7, on the eve of the fall of Nineveh in B.C. 606. We notice, by the



way, that B.C. 607-6 is adopted as the date of this event in NINEVEH and other articles. Since *circa* 606 is also given in ASSYRIA in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, we may regard this point as settled—at any rate for the present. Prof. Nowack in a brief article on MICAH rejects most of chaps. iv.-vii. In an English dictionary something more than a reference might have been accorded to Prof. G. A. Smith's careful discussion of these chapters. The Rev. J. A. Selbie regards OBADIAH as a composite work; verses 1-9 or 10 are pre-exilic, and based upon an older work, which was also used by Jeremiah in Jer. xlix.; verses 11-21 are dated B.C. 432 or later. The subject is treated very fully. MALACHI, by the Rev. A. C. Welch, almost amounts to an exposition of the book. The apocryphal and pseudepigraphal books belonging to this volume receive adequate treatment, especially the BOOKS OF THE MACCABEES, which are dealt with by the Rev. W. Fairweather, the author of a work on the period from the Exile to the Christian Era in the series of Handbooks published by Messrs. T. & T. Clark.

In *Biography*, Mr. Fairweather naturally writes on the MACCABEES, of whom he gives a full, concise and lucid account. Under this head we may mention, amongst other excellent articles, KOHATH, etc., by the Rev. W. C. Allen; KORAH, etc., by the Rev. J. A. Selbie; LOT, etc., by Prof. Driver; LEVI, by the Rev. G. A. Cooke; MANASSEH, by Prof. A. S. Peake; MENAHEM, by Dr. J. Taylor; MICAH, by Prof. R. W. Moss; NAHASH, etc., by the Rev. N. J. White; NECHO, by Mr. W. E. Crum; NEHEMIAH, by Prof. L. W. Batten; OG, etc., by Rev. H. A. Redpath; PEKACHIAH, by Prof. W. B. Stevenson; and PHARAOH, by Mr. F. Ll. Griffith.

In the Dictionary generally, and especially in this class of articles, an important feature is the application of the analysis and historical criticism of the Old Testament. Different methods are followed in different articles. Some, *e.g.*, PHINEHAS and NAPHTALI, ignore both analysis and criticism, and reproduce the statements of the Old Testament as all equally certain and accurate, without indicating that they come from sources of different value. Others, like LOT, tell the Bible

story, point out that some statements, *e.g.*, the birth of Moab and Ammon, refer to events in tribal history; and that others, *e.g.*, the turning of Lot's wife into a pillar of salt, are unhistorical; and add some general statement as that "tribal relations and characteristics are, to a certain degree, reflected in him [Lot]". But there is a very wide acceptance of the view that many of the early narratives, though given in the form of the history of individuals, are really accounts of tribes; and in most of the articles, *e.g.*, LEVI and NADAB, full use is made of analysis and criticism. In MANASSEH considerable doubt is thrown on the chronicler's account of the king's repentance. In his brief article on NEBUCHADREZZAR, Prof. Sayce ignores the Book of Daniel.

In this and other departments, articles admitting of illustration from Assyriology have been entrusted to experts in that subject, *e.g.*, Prof. Sayce, MELCHISEDEK, etc.; Mr. T. G. Pinches, NIMROD; Principal Whitehouse, OMRI, etc. In spite of the little acceptance which the view has met with from other Assyriologists, Prof. Sayce still clings to the opinion that the language in which the King of Jerusalem speaks of himself in the Tel-el-Amarna tablets illustrates the description of Melchisedek in Gen. xiv. Mr. Pinches is inclined to identify Nimrod with the Babylonian God Merodach.

For articles on *Geography*, Dr. Hastings has been fortunate enough to enlist the services of several experts who have taken a leading part in the exploration of Palestine. They have been allowed adequate space, and have evidently spent much time and labour on their contributions, which are mines of accurate and lucid information. Col. Conder writes on PALESTINE; Dr. F. J. Bliss on LACHISH (his special subject), etc.; Sir Chas. Warren on MACHPELAH and the MOUNT OF OLIVES; and Sir C. W. Wilson on MEGIDDO—which he identifies with *Tel-el-Mutasellim*, close to *Lejjun*, the Roman *Legio*, and not, as Conder, with *Mujedda* near Bethshean. Rev. W. Ewing, formerly of Tiberias, writes on the WATERS OF MEROM, and is inclined to accept the traditional identification with *Baheiret-el-Huleh*. Prof. Driver favours the view that for "land of MORIAH" in Gen. xxii. 2,

we should read "land of the Amorites". Prof. Sayce deals with NINEVEH, the MEDES, and—in very meagre fashion—with PERSIA and the PERSIANS. Rev. A. T. Chapman contributes a careful article on MIDIAN, in which, however, we miss any adequate treatment of the religion of the Midianites and its relation to that of Israel. Prof. W. J. Beecher (Auburn, N. Y.) gives a very full account of the PHILISTINES, in which, however, too little use is made of the criticism of the Old Testament. Prof. Ira M. Price (Chicago) writes on OPHIR, etc. The position of Ophir "is still in dispute," various theories are discussed, and the article favours south-eastern Arabia. Rev. A. C. Welch deals with PERIZZITES, etc.; Prof. W. Max Müller with MEMPHIS; and the Rev. G. W. Thatcher gives a very full account of PHŒNICIA.

Passing to articles on *Archæology*, the work here too is almost uniformly, as far as we have noticed, thorough and scholarly, *e.g.*, Dr. Eaton on NAZIRITES; Prof. W. P. Paterson on MARRIAGE; Prof. W. J. Moulton on the PASSOVER. In MEDICINE and articles on cognate subjects, and in MUSIC respectively, Prof. Alex. Macalister and the Rev. Jas. Millar place their technical knowledge as experts in those subjects at the disposal of Bible students. From MEDICINE it seems that Timothy probably suffered from "flatulent atonic dyspepsia, whose most urgent symptoms are temporarily relieved by alcohol. This disease seemed to have produced in him a disposition to slackness, concerning which St. Paul repeatedly warns him. In such cases, however, while alcohol allays the morbid functional sensibility, it does not really remove the cause of the disease." The average reader, however, must not suppose that the whole article is as simple and interesting as this paragraph; in many cases it will be necessary to consult the family doctor in order to learn the meaning of a sentence. Principal Whitehouse's MAGIC is profusely illustrated by information from Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian and Rabbinic sources, and gives a vivid picture of the important part played by magic in the life of the Israelites and their neighbours.

Prof. A. R. S. Kennedy's MONEY is an important contribution to the literature of the subject. He has collected copious evidence from manifold sources: from the Amarna tablets onwards. Amongst other conclusions, he maintains that the so-called Maccabæan shekels are really coins of the Jewish revolts; though there are genuine bronze coins of the Maccabees. In a short concluding paragraph Prof. Kennedy deals with the most important branch of the subject—"The purchasing power of money in Bible times". He has collected a number of interesting facts, but has evidently been straitened by limitation of space. We could wish that he had been able to deal with the subject more fully. Could he be induced to give an article on PRICES in the next volume? The article is illustrated by plates of twenty-one coins. Prof. G. Buchanan Gray deals with a subject in which he is a specialist—in NAMES and PROPER NAMES. In the latter he gives a sketch of the different classes of names, into which he introduces, in a marvellously small compass, much of the information and many of the results of his remarkable book on *Hebrew Proper Names*, e.g., the conclusion, based on an exhaustive examination of the various lists, that the names characteristic of Chronicles and the Priestly Code are mostly of post-exilic origin. The LANGUAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT is dealt with by Prof. D. S. Margoliouth in an article as lucid and interesting as it is learned. He regards Hebrew as mainly a branch of Arabic with a large Assyrian element. We note that it is said that there are cogent reasons for assigning *Deuteronomy* to the period of Jeremiah and Ezekiel; and that there is probably no verse in the Old Testament "earlier than 1100 or later than B.C. 100," a statement which implies that no portion of the Pentateuch was written by Moses. The same scholar also writes on the LANGUAGE OF THE APOCRYPHA; but readers must be warned that his idea that the *Wisdom of Solomon* is a translation from the Hebrew is a mere eccentricity of criticism, in which he stands almost alone. Such an opinion affords an estimate of another theory of Prof. D. S. Margoliouth, also given in this article, viz., that the recently-

discovered fragments of the Hebrew *Ecclesiasticus* are portions, not of the original Hebrew, but of a retranslation of Syriac and Persian versions into Hebrew, a theory that meets with little acceptance.

IN NATURAL HISTORY, LILY, LOCUST, etc., Prof. G. E. Post of Beyrout deals with Fauna and Flora.

In *Theology*, the Rev. G. Currie Martin contributes a careful article on LIFE AND DEATH. Prof. W. F. Adeney treats MAN, MEDIATION, etc., with a critical appreciation of Old Testament data, and adequate illustration from non-Israelite religions. In MESSIAH Prof. V. H. Stanton gives a clear and sound statement as to the Old Testament and Apocryphal passages bearing on the subject. He holds that in the Old Testament passages on the sufferings of the righteous and the "one pre-eminent vicarious sufferer," "there does not seem to have been any clear reference to the Messiah and His atoning work in the thought of the writers". In extra-canonical pre-Christian literature, "there is no trace of the idea that the Messiah would undergo suffering. . . . And the evidence supplied by the Gospels seems to show conclusively that no such belief existed among the Jews at the time of our Lord's ministry". In Dr. J. H. Bernard's MIRACLES, those of the Old Testament are naturally regarded as mainly dependent for verification on the relation between the Old Testament and the New. Hence there is little discussion of details. His conclusion runs: "On the whole, then, while we maintain that the history of the Jews cannot be truly interpreted unless the special intervention of Providence in many a crisis of their national life be discerned, and while we distinctly recognise the miraculous nature of the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament, and are not slow to accept the allegation that *miracles* may have accompanied their progress, we cannot think that the evidence for several recorded miracles, such as Elisha making the axe-head to swim, the speaking of Balaam's ass, and the staying of the sun and moon at Gibeon, is at all sufficient to compel implicit credence in their literal truth". Elsewhere he writes, "The song of the Book of Jashar, which speaks of the sun standing still at

Gibeon, can hardly be taken as a scientific statement of fact; it is poetry, not prose. . . . The story of Balaam's ass speaking has been referred to its parallels; and the episode of Jonah and the whale seems to be of a similar class. In the latter case, it has been urged, indeed, that our Lord's application of the story forecloses all inquiry into its literal truth. But this is not the judgment of the most careful and devout scholars of our own time." The general argument of this article lies outside the special province of the present writer, but he may venture to say that Dr. Bernard does not seem to surmount the initial difficulty of finding an intelligible scientific definition corresponding to the popular idea of a miracle. Prof. Salmond's PARADISE is a most interesting collection of lore from the Bible, Apocrypha, Pagan and Patristic sources.

Passing to *general* articles, Prof. E. L. Curtis of Yale, in OLD TESTAMENT, gives an able sketch of its origin and growth, its preservation, transmission and interpretation in the Jewish and Christian Churches, and adds a paragraph on its permanent religious value. We may quote one or two sentences: "The conception of the Old Testament history has also been revolutionised. Until the period of modern criticism, the narratives of the Old Testament had generally been received as records of real history. But according to the new view they contain myths and legends, and" [we presume, if read as literal history] "give a partially erroneous conception of the growth of Israel's religion. . . . The Old Testament thus can no longer be regarded as an infallible or, indeed, entirely trustworthy guide in science and history." The permanent elements of the Old Testament are its teaching on the Personality, power and character of God; on man's experience of his relation to God; and on the hope of redemption." "Modern criticism has not impaired these permanent elements. Their authority, which is that of truth, still remains, and the Old Testament has been transmuted from a mechanical record of doctrines and of forced Divine manifestations into a book of genuine historic life, an epic of salvation, showing the living process of God's revelation through Israel."

THE OLD TESTAMENT CANON is written by the Rev. F. H. Woods, better known in connexion with the New Testament, but the author of an interesting work on *The Hope of Israel*. He holds that the Rabbinical Old Testament Canon, which has been adopted by the Protestant Churches, was formally fixed at the Council of Jamnia, A.D. 90; the canonicity of Ezekiel and Proverbs, Ruth, Esther, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, and perhaps Jonah, having been matter of controversy amongst the Jews during the first century A.D., and in some cases even later. Mr. Woods does not seem to think that the Greek-speaking Jews ever regarded the Apocrypha as really canonical—a Protestant view of the subject that requires more adequate proof than is usually given. It is disappointing to find that, in an article so generally satisfactory, there is no information as to the more recent history and present state of the Canon in the Greek and other Eastern Churches.

Dr. H. A. A. Kennedy contributes a most important article on the OLD LATIN VERSIONS, evidently the fruit of much careful research in a field where there is still a good deal of obscurity and uncertainty. On the question whether the existing MSS. depend ultimately on a single version, he writes, "As the total result of numerous comparisons of the various texts with each other, one is bound to admit, at least, the increasing probability of the conclusion that at the basis of all the types of text there is one original version which has determined, in great measure, the character of all subsequent revisions." Dr. Kennedy is inclined to accept Sanday's theory that this original version was made in Palestine, by or for some one in the suite of the Roman governor about the middle of the second century. We should have liked to have had an express statement of Dr. Kennedy's views on the existence, now or at any time, of pre-Christian or other early Jewish Latin versions of the Old Testament; and on the Canon of the original Old Latin version. An index and more headings to subdivision would have been a great comfort to the general reader—to say nothing of reviewers.

We should like to say a word or two as to Dr. Hastings' articles on the vocabulary of the Authorised Version. Like



many others, the present writer was at first inclined to grudge the space given to this material, but some little experience in the use of the Dictionary has shown him that these articles will constantly supply teachers and preachers with information interesting both to themselves and those whom they may address. Probably for another generation or so, the Authorised Version will be practically the English Bible, and everything is valuable which helps to familiarise readers with its true interpretation and history. A careful study of this department of Dr. Hastings' work will show that the mistaken ideas derived from the Authorised Version are often due not to mistaken translation from the Hebrew or Greek originals, but to misunderstanding of the English.

The shorter articles are, for the most part, exceedingly good. Many of them are signed by distinguished scholars, whose names are a guarantee of thoroughness and accuracy. Taken together, they represent an immense amount of labour, which will have to be largely its own reward.

The Old Testament articles of this volume fully maintain the high standard of previous volumes. Others besides those referred to might have been noticed, had time and space permitted; but the present writer found the volume unduly fascinating, and was seduced into a too extensive perusal of its contents. Had he read less of the Dictionary, he might have written about more articles.

W. H. BENNETT.

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### Articles on New Testament and Cognate Subjects.

It may be said without exaggeration that the third volume of Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* is quite worthy of the high standard fixed for it by its predecessors. An excellent average quality of work is manifested throughout. This is noteworthy in the case of the shorter articles.

In dealing with the New Testament side of the volume, one article in particular reminds us of the memorable contributions made to the *Dictionary* by Dr. Sanday and Mr. C. H. Turner in their articles on "Jesus Christ," and "Chrono-

logy of New Testament," respectively. We refer to that on "Paul the Apostle" by Professor Findlay. He has already proved himself one of the most competent exponents of Paulinism that we have, but it is doubtful whether anything he has done surpasses this study. There is here breadth of treatment combined with a grasp of details, inherent sympathy with the Apostle's thought and experience enlarged by a genuine insight into the historical environment of his whole career. The article, which occupies about thirty-four pages, devotes one section to the life and work of St. Paul, and a second to his doctrine. Within our space only a point here and there can be noted. The discussion of Paul's *idiosyncrasy* is very suggestive, analysing as it does his particular temperament, the result of a "nervous organism finely strung and quivering with sensibility". How many questions of exegesis depend upon the recognition of this fact; how often this alone affords an adequate clue to a situation! Professor Findlay holds, as against Holsten and others, that, up to the very moment of his meeting with Christ, "Saul was breathing threatening and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord". There was indeed an inward preparation for his conversion. But this was not any suspicion that the followers of Jesus were in the right. He was "kicking against a goad which wounded his soul". That soul "had been pierced and lacerated by his sense of moral impotence in face of the Law". Thus a very full meaning is given to the words *πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν*, and, judging by the data of the Epistles, with good reason. Naturally many matters of controversy have to be dealt with. There are some convincing arguments against Ramsay's identification of Paul's visit to Jerusalem as related in Galatians ii. with that of Acts xi., xii. Professor Findlay holds that Paul found a large part of his material for the image of the "man of lawlessness" in 2 Thessalonians in the "contemporary deification of the Cæsars". His great struggle with the Judaisers is tersely and aptly summed up as "a rehearsal of the internal conflict that issued in the conversion of Saul the Pharisee and his call to the apostleship of the Gentiles."

A very full outline of Pauline theology is attempted in the second section of the article in which all the characteristic doctrines find a place. But the result is that some have to be treated very meagrely (*e.g.*, p. 720). Our author rightly controverts Dr. Bruce's statement that "Jesus was for Paul the Lord, because He was the Saviour," pointing out that "vital as the doctrines of salvation are to St. Paul, his belief in the Lordship of Jesus was anterior to them". We should therefore have expected a far more detailed treatment of the Apostle's central conception of the *κυριότης* of Christ. A good paragraph is that on Sin and Death. Professor Findlay, however, does not discuss the question as to how much that which we call physical death means for Paul. This must certainly have an important bearing on his eschatology. It is most useful to have the clear statement of page 722 (*ad fin.*) on the Heavenly Man. This idea has been seriously exaggerated by many and made the pivot of Paul's religious thinking. Professor Findlay points out that the *δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος* of 1 Corinthians is no ideal man, the archetype of humanity as distinguished from the earthy, phenomenal man. "The second man is, in this context, the *risen* (not the pre-incarnate) Christ, clothed already, to our knowledge, with His spiritual body." "When he distinguishes the two as *from earth, from heaven*, he points to their respective source of being, implying nothing as to previous state of being." Such statements illumine the whole subject. We cannot agree with the interpretation of Philippians ii. 6. Findlay holds that it was not of the *μορφῇ θεοῦ* that Christ emptied Himself, "but of the external conditions described by the words *τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ*". May one not justly ask, what can *external* conditions possibly mean as applied to God or the pre-existing Christ? A brief but very suggestive discussion of St. Paul's conception of the co-existence of the Divine and human in Christ concludes with the far-reaching statement that "the Incarnation and Atonement spring, therefore, out of the fundamental relations of God and man in Christ".

In dealing with eschatology, Professor Findlay perhaps scarcely does justice to the change which many scholars trace

in Paul's mode of conceiving the state entered immediately after death. There is at least a good deal to be said in favour of this hypothesis. The article concludes with an admirable bibliography, full and up-to-date. Perhaps the only discussion of importance that ought to be added is Grafe's *Die paulinische Lehre vom Gesetz*. On page 698 where Paul's use of the Book of Wisdom is mentioned, a reference might be given to Grafe's valuable essay on that subject in *Abhandlungen C. von Weizsäcker gewidmet* (Freiburg i. B. : 1892).

Articles which fall under the same heading are those on Peter and John Mark by Dr. Chase, and that on the several bearers of the name Mary in the New Testament by Dr. J. B. Mayor. Of Dr. Chase's two articles, both elaborate, that on the Evangelist is, in our judgment, distinctly the more successful. The whole historical situation in the life of St. Mark is very ingeniously and very convincingly woven together from stray hints. Especially worthy of notice is the cogent discussion of the reasons why Mark left Paul and Barnabas in the course of the first missionary journey. Dr. Chase puts forward the interesting theory that the words of Acts xiii. 5, *εἶχον δὲ καὶ Ἰωάνην ἱεροπρέτην* mean, "they had with them also John, the synagogue minister". The article on Peter extends to twenty-three pages. The history is examined with most painstaking minuteness, but somehow we fail to get a satisfying picture of the life and character as a whole. More than half the article is devoted to the later Christian tradition regarding St. Peter. On this subject a vast amount of investigation must have been expended, and the whole discussion shows great erudition. But it would find a more fitting place in a Dictionary of Christian Biography. We have something of the same feeling as regards Dr. Mayor's article, especially the second section of that part which treats of the Virgin Mary. The first section gives an admirable summary of New Testament data. In the remaining portion, which occupies about three-fourths of the whole space, we have the stories of the Apocryphal Gospels, the history of opinion respecting the Virgin, her place in Litur-

giology, and her place in Art. Of course, considering ecclesiastical developments, such treatment may be quite justifiable. But a more condensed account would have sufficed. In the article on the other Marys, the problem of the two anointings overshadows all else. No satisfying solution is reached. Probably such a solution is impossible. For it certainly appears as if two narratives had become confused at a very early date. Mr. Headlam's short articles on Narcissus, Nereus, Paulus (Sergius), etc., are models of scholarly workmanship. The same may be said of those on Linus and Onesimus by Mr. Redpath and Professor Lock respectively.

Owing to alphabetical sequence this volume contains the three articles on the Synoptic Gospels. These must certainly be reckoned among its most valuable contents.

Mr. Bebb's treatment of "Luke" is very thorough and adequate. He maps out his subject with great lucidity and deals with each department of it both clearly and decisively. Specially satisfactory is his careful criticism of the theory of Blass which postulates two editions of the Gospel, and there is an excellent summary of the sources used by the Evangelist. The whole arrangement of the material is tersely delineated, and Mr. Bebb gives good grounds for his opinion that in St. Luke a strong sense of the universality of the Gospel is found, unaccompanied by anti-Jewish feeling. Dr. Salmond's article on the Gospel of Mark is admirable both in plan and execution. Style, language, text, selection and arrangement of matter, characteristics, attestation, authorship, relation to the other Synoptics etc.—each section is treated with full knowledge, sane judgment, and very complete references to authorities. The true aim of a Bible Dictionary is always kept in view, the reporting of those results which have been certified by the general verdict of scholarship rather than the actual discussion of problems which are only now in the course of solution. Where all is on so high a level it is difficult to select. We have been struck by the treatment of the text, so full and yet so concise, by the discussion of the *genius* of the Gospel, as distinctively the Gospel of *action*, exhibiting Jesus as the Son of God *with power*, and by the criticism

which justifies the famous words of Papias on the *τάξις* of the Gospel and points out that the seeming contradiction is only due to the fact that Mark's narrative is more continuous than the others. Mr. Bartlet has done an excellent piece of work in his article on "Matthew". It occupies only nine pp., but every page is full of suggestion. We may mention as specially valuable, in our judgment, the important discussion of the relation of *our* Gospel to the Apostle Matthew on the basis of Papias' information, in which Mr. Bartlet suggests that perhaps "all that really belonged to the Apostle was a type of oral teaching". He presupposes a "different history of Logian tradition before it reacted on Matthew and Luke". This would explain many problems belonging to their agreements and differences. Mr. Bartlet regards Matt. iv. 23-v. 1 as "crucial for the evangelist's methods. Is his relation to Mark here determined by other narrative material, oral or written, or simply by his own plan for the use of his didactic or *Logian* matter?" He decides for the latter alternative on the ground that "all close study of Matthew shows its historic interest to be quite subordinate to the interpretative, the setting forth in orderly fashion of the salient features of Messiah's activity and teaching". This he finds to be characteristic of "Matthew's" use of Mark. Mr. Bartlet states the conclusions he has reached with great clearness. They appear to us to rank amongst the most important contributions which have been made to the study of the Gospel of Matthew in recent years. Curiously enough, Holtzmann's great work, *Die Synoptischen Evangelien*, is not included in the good list of literature. Apart from the Synoptic Gospels, the most important articles on New Testament books are those of Dr. Chase on 1 and 2 Peter. In our opinion they are far too elaborate, the one extending to seventeen and the other to twenty-two pp. But unquestionably they are very valuable for the scholarly care with which every point has been examined and the fairness and discrimination with which the results of the investigation are set down. Dr. Chase believes that the first Epistle is addressed to Gentile readers. Justly considering that the *nature* of the persecutions

to which they were exposed is a crucial question for the whole interpretation of the Epistle, he concludes, after a full examination of the evidence, that there is no trace here of the Neronian persecution, and that no persecuting policy against the Church had, as yet, been adopted by the Roman magistrates in Asia Minor. "Violence, slander, the severance of social and family ties, worldly ruin"—these were the tribulations which the Christians of Asia had to face. We believe that this is the true interpretation of the situation. We have little space to devote to the exhaustive discussion of 2 Peter. After a complete survey of the attestation of the Epistle he decides, certainly with good reason, against the genuineness of the book. Much emphasis is laid on the marked contrast between the two Epistles as to literary style. In this connexion he notes a point which has often struck us. "This Epistle is the one book of the New Testament which, it may be thought, gains by translation. The reader of the dignified and sober English of the authorised version in which the ambiguities and eccentricities of the original are to a great extent obliterated, has probably a far higher idea of the literary style of the Epistle than the student of the Greek". Dr. Chase favours the idea that this Epistle and the Apocalypse of Peter are products of the same school.

As regards questions of general introduction, Professor Thayer's scholarly article on the "Language of New Testament" occupies a leading place. It is both concise and comprehensive, displaying, as we might expect, a thorough grasp of the problems involved, and bringing forward those aspects of them most likely to interest readers of the dictionary. A clear distinction is drawn between Attic Greek and that of the New Testament, which Dr. Thayer would designate Hellenistic Greek. This name appears to us scarcely satisfactory, as it fails to recognise that, after all, the language of the New Testament belongs, with some modifications, to the colloquial Greek of its own period. But perhaps it is hard to find anything better. For, to a considerable extent, as Thayer notes, it does occupy "an intermediate position between the vulgarisms of the populace and the studied style

of the *litterateurs* of the period". Useful lists are given of new *words* and words with new *meanings*. Attention is drawn to peculiarities of *form*, a department of investigation in which great advances have been made within the last few years. (See especially the elaborate treatment of *Formenlehre* bearing upon the later language in such works as the revised edition of Kühner's *Ausführliche Grammatik* by Blass, and K. Dietrich's *Untersuchungen* in Heft 1 of Krumbacher's *Byzantinisches Archiv*, 1898.) In an interesting summary of *syntactical* peculiarities, Professor Thayer mentions the tendency of *μή* to encroach on the province of *οὐ* as partly arising from the desire to prevent *hiatus*. There can be no doubt that this striving accounts for many apparent anomalies in the later language. F. Kaelker has made the fact abundantly clear in the case of Polybius and Diodorus Siculus (see *Leipziger Studien z. class. Philol.*, iii., 2, pp. 219-320). The Aramaic and Hebrew elements in the language are noted, and also, with caution, the influence of Latin on the syntax. But Dr. Thayer finds the *religious element* to be the "soul" of the subject. The vitality of the New Testament language "resides in the spirit that quickens it". Characteristic instances are given of the influence of Christianity in modifying the meaning of words already current. A terse and suggestive outline of the style and vocabulary of the various New Testament writers is sketched, accompanied by a very needful warning against "over-pressing slight variations in phraseology into proof of difference in authorship or of substantial difference of thought". The article concludes with a brief list of linguistic problems affecting exegesis which still await solution. A short bibliography is appended, and for further information readers are referred to Schmiedel's *Winer*. It would have been well to include the *Einleitung in d. neugriech. Grammatik* of Hatzidakis (Leipz., 1892), Buresch's invaluable discussion in *Rheinisches Museum*, vol. xlvi., and Krumbacher's *Beiträge* in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* (xxvii., p. 498 ff.).

Professor V. H. Stanton deals with the New Testament Canon in an article worthy of the importance of the subject. The evidence of the post-apostolic writers is presented with



great fulness. We should have expected a more detailed introduction, taking up more or less thoroughly such questions as the causes of the formation of the Canon, the processes involved, and especially the determining factors for the conception of canonicity. The bibliography omits to mention Reuss's *History of the Canon*, translated by Hunter, Edinburgh, 1884. This work is distinct from *Die Geschichte d. heil. Schriften N.T.* by the same author.

The writer has discussed the Latin versions of the Bible anterior to Jerome's Vulgate at some length, as hitherto there has been no convenient summary in English. Unfortunately he was unable to make much use of P. Corsen's invaluable dissertation on the Weingarten and Würzburg MSS. of the Prophets, as it only came into his hands during the final revision of proofs.

In the department of New Testament theology there are several noteworthy articles. We would first mention that by Professor Denney on "Law in New Testament". It is in every sense admirable. Concise and lucid, suggestive in every paragraph, it is written with that insight into New Testament doctrine which springs from genuine spiritual sympathy. Nowhere could one find a more satisfying treatment of the attitude of Jesus to the law. This he summarises as "entire loyalty to it as the revelation of God's will, entire comprehension of it in its principle and aim, entire subordination of every expression of it to its principle, entire superiority to all human interpretations of it . . . and entire indifference, not indeed to the law as constituting an order for approaching God in worship, but to those elements in the law which, because in themselves without ethical significance, operate to corrupt conscience, and to divide men from one another without moral ground". Notable points in the article are the interpretation of Matt. xxiii. 3, the explanation of Rom. vii. 7-25, summed up as "the experience, if one may so say, of the unregenerate man seen through regenerate eyes," a masterly stroke of insight, and the refutation of the modern sense of "Law" which some find in Paul. We cannot, however, agree with Dr. Denney in the distinction he draws

(as against Grafe) between νόμος and ὁ νόμος in Paul, for we believe it is impossible to justify it in many passages. Professor Adeney gives a complete and faithful presentation of biblical teaching on "Mediator" and "Mediation". He does not touch upon the *rationale* of the Atonement, but collects the necessary material on which a biblical doctrine might be founded. The reality of Christ's sacrifice, he concludes, must be "found in the spiritual act of giving Himself to God in death". There is a thoughtful discussion of "Miracles" by Dr. Bernard, in which he frankly distinguishes between those of the New Testament and some of the Old Testament groups. He acknowledges that there is no use of discussing miracles without the assumption of Divine power as a fact. Due place is given to the importance of the question of evidence in dealing with New Testament miracles, especially the central one of the Resurrection. For the treatment of miracles after the Apostolic Age, valuable material might have been found in H. Weinel's important monograph, *Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister*, which is not named in the bibliography. Other articles worthy of mention in this department are those on the "Parousia" (Adams Brown), "Man of Sin" (M. R. James), "Logos" (G. T. Purves), and "Mystery" (Principal Stewart).

As closely akin to the theological articles, we may refer to that of Dr. Plummer on the "Lord's Supper". A careful examination of the terminology and rite is followed by a reasonable and, on the whole, impartial explanation of the doctrine. A proper protest is raised against that most absurd of all perversions, the interpretation of τοῦτο ποιεῖτε as = "sacrifice this". Dr. T. K. Abbott's careful essay ought to have settled this question for ever. The article seems to us lacking in due emphasis on the fact that *reality* of communion is in no way made more real by materialistic or semi-materialistic ideas of the presence of Christ.

Among the historical articles, a high place is taken by that on "Magi" by Mr. P. M. Bence. Every possible point of interest is discussed with admirable judgment and accurate scholarship, while the references to literature are very ex-

haustive. To the same category belong Dr. Eaton's full and interesting article on "Pharisees," and that on "Nicolaïtenes," short but thoroughly adequate, by Professor Cowan.

We have no space to deal with such important articles as those on "Paradise" (Salmond), "Mammon" (W. H. Bennet), and "Maranatha" (Thayer), except to say that they fully satisfy the requirements.

In the geographical department, Professor Ramsay's articles are pre-eminent both for scholarly mastery of the materials and that luminous suggestiveness always to be found in what he writes (we would call attention especially to those on "Pergamos" and "Phrygia"), and on the same level may be placed Mr. Turner's "Philippi," and Dr. Robertson's "Melita".

The Editor's studies of words grow more and more interesting as the work proceeds. As an admirable example of their value we might cite that on "Paraclete" (the translation finally adopted by Dr. Hastings), in which he clearly shows how the idea of Comforter ousted the correct conception of the classical *advocatus*.

The very valuable articles on "Marriage" (Professor Pater-son), "Money" (Professor Kennedy), and "Name" (G. B. Gray), would come up for treatment more suitably under the Old Testament.

H. A. A. KENNEDY.

**What is Thought? or the Problem of Philosophy by Way  
of a General Conclusion so far.**

*By James Hutchison Stirling, LL.D. Edinburgh: T. & T.  
Clark, 1900. 8vo, pp. ix + 423. Price 10s. 6d.*

It is just thirty-five years ago that Dr. Stirling published his *Secret of Hegel*. The publication of that work was, in many ways, a philosophical event. Till the *Secret* made its appearance the study of Hegel in this country was practically unknown; or at least carried on amid serious difficulties, owing to the lack of a guiding hand to set the student on right lines, and of a genius capable both of understanding and explicating the master. But from the moment those two goodly volumes appeared, in which Dr. Stirling first, and (pretty well) finally, unfolded the "secret" of Hegel, a new era had dawned for the understanding of German philosophy in Great Britain. Now it is not only because of his having come latest in time among the great German philosophers, but of his having thoroughly assimilated the thought of all that went before, that Hegel has achieved his immense importance in the historic reference. To understand Hegel in his totality is to understand all that is really important in the work of the German idealists. For it was precisely owing to his perfect understanding of the problems that had presented themselves to his predecessors, and of the solutions by them propounded, that Hegel was enabled to advance with irresistible certitude to the final solution of the whole problem of philosophy itself, as we discover it, *e.g.*, in the *Logic*. In any case the credit of having, so to say, "found" Hegel for English-speaking students is due to Dr. Stirling; and from his book, as from a spring, are mainly derivable those contributions to our knowledge of thought which culminate in such first-rate works as E. Caird's *Introduction to the Critical Philosophy of*

*Kant*, Green's *Prolegomena to Ethics*, Wallace's editions of the *Logic* of Hegel and the *Philosophie des Geistes*, J. Caird's *Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion*, etc. It was no small satisfaction, therefore, when, nearly three years ago, Dr. Stirling issued a second and revised edition of the *Secret of Hegel*; for that book, as we have said, marked an epoch.

But that work, though of quite primary importance, is not the only book of Dr. Stirling that claims our gratitude as students. In 1873 he published a small volume entitled *Lectures on the Philosophy of Law*, which merits a passing word; for, unless we are mistaken, the first chapter in that book, despite its brevity—fifteen pages—is the most luminous summing-up of the problems to be faced in philosophy, as well as the clearest and truest piece of philosophical analysis, to be found anywhere.

In 1881 Dr. Stirling gave us his *Text Book to Kant*; and here again his power of critical analysis, and luminous and thorough exposition, are as manifest as in that introductory chapter of fifteen pages already referred to. Of Kant's system as a system Dr. Stirling has no very exalted opinion—"a thing of sugar and a crumb of bread," he calls it (in the Gifford Lectures), for all that, like a "bride-cake," it is "bedizened, beturreted, becrowned and beflagged". What that system is, it remains; and the precautionary encumbrances with which Kant guarded his system, at all its approaches, do not vitally increase its value as an explanation of those questions that, for us, alone possess a vital significance.

In 1891 the Gifford Lectures were published (Dr. Stirling was invited to be first lecturer on the Gifford trust); and here again Dr. Stirling devoted a considerable portion of his book to Kant and his system. The book opened up a wealth of ideas; it was singularly stimulating; and both Philosophy and Theology were benefited by the light cast by the lecturer upon their mutual relations and respective characteristics.

So far we have, for a very good reason, dealt with some of the more notable of Dr. Stirling's previous contributions to philosophy. We may now betake ourselves to a brief examination of the book under present review—*What is Thought?*

First we see by the prefatory note that the writer had intended "a not inconsiderable preface, preliminarily introductory of the work". We regret its absence; for a short introductory *summary* of the four hundred and odd pages that follow would have been, in several directions, helpful. The book is not easy reading; indeed, in parts, it is exceedingly difficult, not (assuredly) through fault of the writer, but from the nature of the theme. *Therefore* a summary, as we have said, would have been helpful; would Dr. Stirling add this once-intended preface, should his book run into a second edition?

The first chapter is introductory. Questions, such as that of a substantial first, of God as such first, are touched upon; nor is the expected reference to Aristotle's *Metaphysics* passed over. Readers of the Gifford Lectures long since have learnt what Dr. Stirling's estimate of Aristotle is.

Chapter II. "may very well be passed by a general reader," according to its writer's own estimate; not so by a serious student, who will find there a great deal to interest him in a metaphysical regard, both in the matter of Schelling and the proof ontological. We may learn there an excellent lesson, even as regards the problem in hand, namely, "that a First must be abstractly a First; that it cannot *not* be; that it is necessarily existent; and that it holds of both worlds, the ideal *and* the real".

Chapter III. is of prime import; it touches upon the problem of a First, before passing on to consider, more fully, the doctrine that Thought itself is the ratio between "I" and "Me," or rather, that Thought is, in fact, the ratio that is implicitly within the "I" itself. Now this is *the* proposition which Dr. Stirling proposes to substantiate; and the rest of the book is, in extended order, a demonstration of this bed-rock truth. "Man's *life* is in the crutch of the antithesis between universal and particular, for what lies in the hollow of that crutch is *thought* itself; Thought, in truth, is *nothing but* the very antithesis named" (*Philosophy of Law*, p. 4). And the allegation is that the Ratio is Thought—Thought as Thought. The filling of self-consciousness (= "me") is

the Ratio ; what constitutes self-consciousness, *i.e.*, its exact content, is the Ratio of Subject and Object. Thought is the pulse, the spring, of all Being—nay, it is *itself* Being. Such is Dr. Stirling's particular enunciation, followed in Chapter IV. by a large number of illustrative references (mainly taken from the *Secret of Hegel*), corroborating that enunciation.

Chapter V., "Philosophy and Science," is one of the most impressive chapters in the book. And there we may conveniently note one peculiar characteristic of Dr. Stirling's writing,<sup>1</sup> and that is his *instantaneously solemnising* power. He will be dealing, say, some shrewd hits at Kant's system ; or gibing at some idle piece of rationalism more than usually redolent of the new Aufklärung ; or girding himself to do battle with some fallacy, tossing his opponents to and fro, as he heaps scorn upon solemn quackery, whether canonised by Aufgeklärter or not ;—and then, suddenly (and in this he reminds one of the poet Browning), his words shape themselves into noble order, and a strange sense of harmony, as of some cosmic hymn, breathes through each syllable, making itself felt in living power of spiritual conviction.

We may now, perhaps, pass on to Chapter X. (to which Dr. Stirling invites special attention, "as simply the key to all philosophy as such at present"); this consists throughout of a discussion of Kant's *Critical Philosophy*. First, however, let us transcribe (from p. 83) what Dr. Stirling says in the eighth chapter touching the great enunciation :—

Self-consciousness necessarily, and of its own self, *is*, and is *what* is. Self-consciousness is its own foundation of support, and its own *prius* of origination. Then Thought, Self-consciousness, cannot be impersonal : Thought, Self-consciousness, always implies a subject. Why hesitate to name it God ? The self-consciousness of the universe is the Divine Self-consciousness, and not the human, which is but the necessary finite.

That is, then, the position of the *universal* in regard of the question "What is Thought?" but it underlies implicitly

<sup>1</sup> His style is sometimes needlessly involved, we think ; one difficulty there, arises from his perpetual use of the word *that* in different senses, which detracts from smoothness of sound as it does from ease of comprehension.

the whole history of philosophy, and is vital in every period of it. In the next chapter (the ninth), Dr. Stirling, by way of illustration, gives us a singularly suggestive little sketch of philosophy, in its main currents, in the reference to history. We advance thus from the *universal* to its *particularisation*.

This tenth chapter ("The German Reference—Kant") we have read—every line and word—with special care, jotting down notes, from time to time, in order to be able to advance in this review toward some sort of an estimate of the chapter as a whole. But these jottings have swelled into a sufficiently formidable chapter of themselves; hence it will not be practicable, within the limited space available, to do more than *note* some of the more pregnant of Dr. Stirling's criticisms of the "good" Kant.

On page 119 there is a lucid and brilliant exposition of Kant's theory of sense-perception. The single object of the "Kritik," of the Transcendental Philosophy, is (we are told) "to disclose the machinery by which mere appearances within are converted into the actual things of perception in experience without". Now Dr. Stirling has, before this, shut up (so to say) Kant in a sentence (see "note" in Schwegler): "the sensations of the various special senses, received into the universal *à priori* forms of time and space, are reduced into perceptive objects, connected together in a synthesis of experience by the categories".

Kant sought to find his *tertium quid*—that postulated "mediate" between category and sense-impression, that nexus between forms of thought and impressions of sense—in Pure Time, which (says Dr. Stirling) "he fondly fancied would give him a scheme for all his categories" (p. 145). But what about these categories themselves? This matter is discussed on pages 128 *sqq.* (to name one place only); and the difficulty of quite grasping all that is said, or implied, here is considerable; but Dr. Stirling's conclusion (at beginning of § 11) is tolerably evident. Compare the passage on page 128 with page 131, and the Kantian admission that "each category must be supplied with a *sense-cue* of its own". Well, but is not the manner of the working of these cate-



gories quite wonderful? And why twelve of them—like signs of an intellectual zodiac lighting up the destinies of nations, or apostles from whom is derived mysterious power, transmissible by a laying-on of hands?

As regards "necessity in the causal relation," Dr. Stirling's commentary is admirably clear. Hume, we know, borrowed it from custom <sup>1</sup> (= permanent association, a *natural* principle), Kant from analogy. Now this necessity is, in truth, the *crux* of the whole problem; but what has Kant done for us here? "He has," says Dr. Stirling, "of his own will, set an *a* *b* of sense and an *A* *B* of intellect, not logically, but analogically, beside each other." Nor will he allow us to have any knowledge of *objects* in experience, save what are mere apparitions (*Erscheinungen*) of sense. And that, says Dr. Stirling, is Kant's *πρῶτον ψεῦδος*. Things are not the mere wraiths and "shows" that Kant would fain believe; and his regarding objects of sense as such constituted his initial blunder.

What, it may be asked, are Time and Space for Kant? Have they any real existence, or but an imputed reality, a reality, namely, that has its roots in the soil of subjectivity alone? For Kant (not for us!) Time and Space are general *à priori* forms of the *à posteriori* within us; they, too, are nought but *Erscheinungen*. We notice that Dr. Stirling makes no specific reference here to Professor Watson's criticisms in the volume, *Kant and his English Critics*, published nineteen years ago, not long after Dr. Stirling's own articles upon the Kantian question in the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*. Indeed we may remark that, generally, Dr. Stirling takes practically no notice of recent works of philosophical discussion (*e.g.*, Caird's great work on Kant, already named); at any rate he mentions them not at all. And this, we think, is a pity.

Very noteworthy is Dr. Stirling's reply to Hume's poser in the *Enquiry* (*Essays*, vol. ii., p. 26, in edition of Green and Grose): "Effect is totally different from cause, and conse-

<sup>1</sup> Hence Hume asserted that the *necessity* usually attributed to cause and effect was but an imputed necessity of our own! If such really were the case, there could be no *meaning*, no *logic*, in the universe at all.

quently can never be discovered in it". Where Hume marks difference, and difference alone, his critic—more sagacious than he—finds the secret of relation in *identity* (p. 177). And there is the truth ; it is identity (difference in identity, identity manifested in difference) that is the focus of the whole problem—this living, life-giving, principle, regarded as the single posited fact in existence, competent to explain all the infinite variety of existence ; competent, too, to reduce into its own identity all the difference that is, and therefore bringing with it its own attestation. As to the question of change from *cause* to *effect*, Dr. Stirling justly observes that whereas the *change* is sensuously perceived, the *cause* is perceived intellectually (see p. 192 *sqq.*). Even mathematical truth possesses a double element, existential and notional ; even mathematical truth has to be considered as constant in a dual relation, *viz.*, we read it both sensuously and intellectually.

As an example of Dr. Stirling's power of happy illustration, we may refer to page 199, where his doctrine, "the abolition of difference is the installation of identity," is cleverly exemplified from *Euclid*, i., 32.

In closing this tenth chapter Dr. Stirling recognises, amply and generously, Kant's great claim in the historical reference—to say nothing of his notable achievements in the realm of action (*Moral Law*, etc.)—when he writes thus : "Far and away the most important crisis in the whole movement towards the Ego was, in his Pure Apperception with its categories, the critical initiation of Kant".

Chapters XI.-XIII. deal with Fichte (the Fichte sections are specially interesting) and Schelling. Interjected into the twelfth chapter is a lecture on the quarrel of Schelling and Hegel ; it is no doubt somewhat beside the mark in this discussion of What Thought is ; but its merits are so considerable, and it affords so pleasing a break in the philosophical disquisitions themselves, that we more than welcome it here. Schelling is dealt with throughout the lecture and the chapters in a strikingly *faithful* way ; we feel ourselves in safe guidance here, and such guidance is the needfuller, as

no trustworthy guides to Schelling are forthcoming in our country—at present. The main interest of Schelling's philosophy (for *us*) is its bearing on the Hegelian, the root, the nerve, of which is the doctrine of the *Begriff*. It is curious to note Schelling's passionate rejection of Hegel's answer to the great question: "How can, how does, Logic pass over into Nature? What is the character of the transition?"—a rejection founded, not on philosophy, but on personal hate.

Chapter XIV. deals with Hegel; profound, wisely-ordered, vastly suggestive, it is perhaps the crown of Dr. Stirling's work. The *secret* of Hegel is there; and that "secret" is, in point of fact, the solution of the problem proposed.

In God, as in the Ego, subject and object are together. There is but one God *and* His Universe. The Universe is He; and He is but the Universe. *Properly* . . . there is but God! There is but one *etymon* in this world, one *etcon*, but One that *δραω* is—EIMI, I am—I AM THAT I AM. Now that that is, is not an abstract: it is a concrete—the concrete. It is an I, but an I of the *Me*—a subject, but a Subject of the Object. . . . There is a ratio that binds the one to the other. God is the principle that creates the universe, and that ratio is the law according to which the Universe is created.

"Consequently there is no personal God," cried Schelling, whose words have been echoed alike by sciolist and mistaker of Hegel's meaning, from that day forward. "Not so," replied Hegel, "the actual contrary is alone true; there is a personal God." And, to quote Lotze, perfect personality can be predicated of God alone, to whom alone perfect personality belongs. God is God, *because* He is the perfect Person.

Chapter XV. is the conclusion of the work. We have philosophised (for over 400 pages) through the Ego, as the single standard of attainable truth, nay, rather the one supremely existent fact, the living centre, of

this mighty sum  
Of things for ever speaking;

but, says Dr. Stirling, to philosophise through the Ego is not to presume to measure the infinity of God. Rather let us say: "There can no Supreme Being be, but that must to

Himself say *I* : I AM THAT I AM. It is the very heart of the Christian religion that the Infinite God, become Finite, is a Man. And Man is *I*. Even by the privilege of having been made like unto God [Gen. i. 27], Man is *I*. It is that that he has of God in him." And to realise *I* is the purpose, as it is the history, of the universe.

This review is but, at best, a collection of notes obviously set down to give some impression—most imperfectly and faintly, one is all too cognisant—of a noble contribution to the philosophy of our time. British philosophy is permanently enriched by Dr. Stirling's remarkable and penetrative piece of work.

"Master of them that know!" thy voice again  
Rings, as of old, the great way. Thou hast said  
Wisely and well; for, at thy strong rebuke,  
Error, with all her thousand phantasies,  
Flees murmuring; and false philosophies  
Fade into thinnest air. Before thy pen—  
An intellectual sword within thy grasp  
For valorous ends—they pass, not unashamed.  
How then should we, thy debtors, grudge thee thanks  
For strenuous service (spite thy fourscore years)  
In Truth's great cause, "Master of them that know?"

E. H. BLAKENEY.

## **Das Blut im Glauben und Aberglauben der Menschheit, etc.**

*Von Dr. Hermann L. Strack. München : Beck, 1900. Pp. xii. + 206. Price M.2.50.*

THE English-speaking student of Professor Strack's latest book, *Blood in the Religious Belief and Superstition of Mankind, with Special Reference to "Folk-Medicine" and the Jewish "Blood-Ritual,"* may well be excused, if he occasionally rubs his eyes and asks himself if he is really on the threshold of the twentieth century of the Christian era. The gross superstition and almost incredible credulity of masses of our fellow-Christians, especially in Austria and South Germany, for which Strack here gives chapter and verse, are almost enough to make one despair of the future of the human race. From time to time, as is well known, a wave of anti-Jewish fanaticism sweeps across a portion of the continent of Europe, of which one of the most revolting features is the recrudescence of the accusation that the Jews make use of Christian blood for ritual purposes. In 1892, Professor Strack submitted this popular delusion to a thorough scientific investigation, for which his almost unrivalled acquaintance with Jewish literature and modes of thought specially fitted him. The result was his brochure "*Der Blutaberglaube*" (The Blood-superstition), of which 11,000 in four editions were sold, and which had the effect of convincing every impartial mind of the baselessness of the charge, and of silencing, for a time at least, the slanders of Rohling and other fanatical Anti-semites. Somewhat over a year ago, however, a young Christian woman was found murdered near a village in Bohemia, a Jew was charged with the crime, and the hue and cry broke out afresh.

To this circumstance we owe the greatly enlarged edition

of his former work which Professor Strack has issued under the above title. In its present form the work is much more than a defence of the Jews against a cruel and groundless charge; it is in reality what its title indicates, a study of the part which blood, especially human blood, has played in the beliefs and superstitions of our race in all countries and in every age. The student of folk-lore and of the history of popular or "folk-medicine," as well as the student of primitive religions, will find in the first part, pp. 1-85, many a curious fact culled from the most diverse sources. The second part (pp. 85-202) is devoted to the more special investigation of the blood-accusation, so persistently renewed. Professor Strack has no difficulty in showing that no trace of the ritual use of Christian blood is to be found in the whole range of the authoritative ceremonial (halachic) literature of Judaism, and has here given us the correct translation and interpretation of certain passages of the Talmud, which ignorant fanatics like Rohling and his set have perverted for their purpose. In the closing chapter which deals with the origin and history of this particular charge, Dr. Strack shows that the blood-accusation cannot be traced farther back than the year 1236, when it first makes its appearance. The book is a complete storehouse of material for the study of a subject which we, in our more enlightened and tolerant atmosphere, can only regard as a species of mental disease, and its learned author will have the support of every right-thinking and truth-loving Christian in his skilful defence of the long-suffering children of the Ghetto.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

## Ethics and Religion.

(*A Collection of Essays of Sir John Seeley, Dr. Felix Adler, Mr. W. M. Salter, Prof. Henry Sidgwick, Prof. G. Von Gizycki, Dr. Bernard Bosanquet, Mr. Leslie Stephen, Dr. Stanton Cort and Prof. J. H. Muirhead.*) Edited by the Society of Ethical Propagandists. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd. Crown 8vo, pp. ix. + 324. Price 5s.

## Darstellungen aus dem Gebiete der nichtchristlichen Religionsgeschichte (xiii. Band). Die Religion der Römer.

Von Emil Aust. Münster i. W., Aschendorffsche Buchhandlung, 1899. 8vo, pp. viii + 268. Price M.4.

THIS volume of essays is edited by the Society of Ethical Propagandists, and we are bound to look at it from that point of view. All the writers protest a little too much, and they all seem conscious of a certain weakness in their position. Can there be a purely ethical propaganda? The Society says in the preface to this book: "The criticism most frequently brought against Ethical Societies is that they do not rest upon any philosophical basis. The implication is that they have therefore no foundation at all.

"The writers of the essays in this volume, all of whom have been founders or influential friends of Ethical Societies, are unanimously insistent upon one point. They urge that an Ethical Society should hold itself uncommitted to any theory of the Universe, and should not be primarily interested in the Metaphysic of Ethics; they hold that its relation to theory should be that of investigation and construction rather than of advocacy and dogmatic inculcation. Sir John Seeley warns us not to descend from theory to practice, but to mount from moral experience and effort to moral truths.

Professor Sidgwick advises us to avoid the ultimate principles of thought, and to keep to the fruitful region of middle axioms. Dr. Bosanquet expresses the same view, when he refuses to accept the spreading of *ideas about morality* as a function of an Ethical Society, but instead recommends the spreading of *moral ideas*. Dr. Felix Adler, Mr. Salter, Professor Von Gizycki, Mr. Leslie Stephen, Dr. Cort, Professor Muirhead, all dwell on the same distinction, "not *ideas about morality* but *moral ideas* are what is to be propagated.

The Society of Ethical Propagandists exists, then, for the spreading of *moral ideas*. The members of the Society are "willing to ascend from experience and practice to theory; they expect to end, but entertain no hope of beginning with a system of universal truth". We are deeply interested in the movement. We have read these essays with intense interest, and we certainly wish the Society all success in their mission. The *spreading of moral ideas* is a great mission. But how are they to be spread? How are people to be persuaded to accept and act on these moral ideas? That is the practical difficulty.

The essays of the distinguished authors may be read with pleasure. We may admire the literary power, the ethical wisdom, and the philosophical grasp of truth manifested by them, as we heartily do. But how are these *moral ideas* to be translated into action? How are bad men to be made good? selfish men to become unselfish? and sinful men to become holy? We do not find any adequate answer to these questions, which really are the pressing questions. The history of humanity shows that *moral ideas* have never been absent from men, since men had been formed into social organisations. The difficulty has always been, (1) to persuade men to act on these moral ideas, and (2) to enable them to attain the moral and spiritual power to do so. Ethical societies, if they are to become practical and useful, must begin deeper down, and provide some, or organise some, adequate means not only for the spreading of moral ideas but for the redemption of man.

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AUST's volume is the thirteenth of the series of expositions of the nature and history of the non-Christian religions of the world. Those of them which we have seen are of such a character as to make them indispensable to the student of religions. They are written by men who are really experts in the various religions committed to their care. Experts are needed for this kind of work. For the knowledge needed for full and adequate treatment of any religion is so vast and varied, that but few men have the time or opportunity of acquiring it. Then the material for study is increasing by leaps and bounds, and a manual of the history of any religion has to be rewritten every few years. Every scrap of literature, every inscription, every ancient monument, and every bit of art and pottery brought to light by the spade may be of significance for the true understanding of the religion of a people, and every reader knows how many of these have been brought to light within recent years. The works of this series make use of all sources of information, and they use them wisely and well.

There is also a growing consensus of opinion as to the method according to which such manuals ought to be written. The historical method is known and acted on, and the principles of historical inquiry are becoming more truly understood. Subjectivity is discountenanced, and while there is ample scope for the exercise of insight, for the manifestation of critical ingenuity, yet the bounds within which these are to be valid are more rigidly set than of yore. If we compare this manual with those of a quarter of a century ago, we are conscious of the vast progress which modern science has made in method and in power. It moves more easily, it has its material more firmly in its grasp, its range has widened, and its results are more certain.

In all respects the work before us is admirable. It makes full use of all the sources of information, and uses them wisely and well. It is written in a lucid and vivid style, and its method of exposition is orderly, progressive and cumulative. It covers a wide field, and yet all the parts of the field are adequately treated. A brief introduction leads on to an

admirable exposition of the essence of Roman religion. What the foundations of that religion are, what is the significance of local and political development for religion, how secular and spiritual interests have intermingled, what is the relation of gods to men, what is the relation of religion to morality, are discussed in a way which casts light on the character of religion in general and special light on the character and history of Roman religion.

Then we are led on to the characterisation of the epochs of Roman religion. That there are epochs in Roman religion is first set forth and justified. The national epoch is first described, with its priests, festivals, and its states and forms of worship as these were manifested before the influence of foreign cults were felt at Rome. The second epoch describes the influence on each other of the national and Greek cults. It is shown that political changes had their influence on the religion of Rome, that the culture of Greece was widely influential on Roman customs and beliefs. The section is rich in information, and the various tendencies are graphically traced. It is a most important contribution towards the understanding of the final, complex result of Roman religion. The third epoch traces still farther the results of those forces seen at work during the second epoch. Political, industrial and spiritual tendencies of a novel sort were introduced into the Roman state during the Punic and subsequent wars, and these had their significance for religion. Mythology, art, poetry and philosophy appeared, the cults of other peoples became known, and the influences exerted by all these are set forth; and at the close of this section there is a full description of Roman religion as it existed at the end of the Republic.

The influence of the Empire is next set forth. The reforms introduced by Augustus are described; the worship of the living and of the dead emperors, and the significance of that worship is set forth with a serious appreciation of its real importance. Moral philosophy, and its influence as shown in the writings of Seneca, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, receive due recognition. Then we pass to a description of

the names and functions of the gods, which is quite full and detailed. The national Roman gods, the Italian gods, the Greek gods and the Oriental gods, so far as these entered into and had a real influence on the life and conduct of Rome, and so far as they entered into Roman belief, are succinctly described. Worship as sanctioned and ordained by the State is next depicted. The oldest feasts, with their solemnities, ceremonies, and ritual are described, and their meaning elucidated. A section describes the sacred persons and their functions, from the Pontifex Maximus down to the Augurs.

A full description is given of what may be called private worship, worship in the family, in the household, and in the ordinary business of life. The ceremonies and the ritual appropriate to marriage, birth and childhood, death, burial and the worship of the manes are set forth. In fact there is nothing neglected, and every section of the book deserves praise. We think that for literary merit, for clearness of method, for fulness of statement, for depth of insight and wisdom in arrangement, this work will hold the field for some time to come.

JAMES IVERACH.

## Das Johannesevangelium.

*Eine Untersuchung seiner Entstehung und seines geschichtlichen Wertes. Von D. Hans Hinrich Wendt, o. Professor der Theologie in Jena. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1900. Pp. vi. + 239. Price M.6.*

THE appearance of a new book by Professor Wendt, devoted to a discussion of the Johannine problem, is an event of theological interest and importance. His *Teaching of Jesus*, published in 1886, has secured for him a keenly attentive audience in this country as well as in his own. In that work he put forward, *inter alia*, the hypothesis that the Fourth Gospel shows signs, especially in the discourses of Jesus, of its author having used an older document in its composition. Fourteen years have passed, marked by the publication of a large number of important works on this Gospel, many of which dismiss Wendt's theory with a curt refutation. But their objections have failed to shake his confidence in the trustworthiness of his earlier conclusions, and he now devotes this volume to a fuller exposition and defence of what he regards as the only satisfactory solution of difficulties which other theories either ignore or inadequately explain.

In the first chapter we are given a preliminary discussion of the value to be assigned to the Fourth Gospel as a source of history. The verdict arrived at is that the Fourth Evangelist—when his narrative is compared and contrasted with the older Synoptic tradition in Mark and the Logia of Matthew—is sometimes right and sometimes wrong in his presentation of the order of events. A dubious distinction is drawn between the view taken of Christ's miracles in John and in the other three Gospels. Wendt holds that John represents them as done with the specific intention to awaken faith, while the Synoptics simply regard them as spontaneous manifestations of love for the needy. Wendt indeed seems to take a somewhat low view of the Fourth Evangelist's appetite for the

merely marvellous and thaumaturgic. He believes that he carried still farther that process of unhistorically modifying and expanding the original Synoptic tradition, the beginnings of which are observable in the secondary parts of the Synoptics themselves. And this he takes to be decisive proof that the Fourth Gospel, as we have it now, cannot have been written by the Apostle John.

While the Fourth Evangelist knew and employed the Synoptic Gospels, adopting words and phrases from one or another as memory suggested, and without any clear principle of selection, yet after all he borrowed comparatively little material from them. Where, then, do the discourses of Jesus come from? This question, of course, could hardly arise so long as the Gospel in its entirety was supposed to have been written by an Apostle. But now that the progress of criticism has raised it, Wendt brings forward once more a theory, started as far back as 1838 by Weisse, to the effect that in the composition of the great discourses the Fourth Evangelist employed an older documentary source. Two reasons, he says, combine to force this conclusion upon us. "First, between the view of the Evangelist himself and the thought of the discourses of Jesus which he records there exist differences such as would be unintelligible had the Evangelist composed these discourses freely out of his own head. Secondly, in many cases the discourses have been furnished with a historical setting which is singularly inappropriate." These two statements are expanded in the sections which follow. The Evangelist's tendency, according to Wendt, always is to give a material and temporal sense to words originally designed to convey a purely spiritual meaning; e.g., in the explanation he offers of the words of Jesus, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up". Next, Wendt discusses seven cases in which, he maintains, Jesus' discourses have been inserted in situations which are manifestly incongruous with their tenor. The searching examination to which he submits them displays, no doubt, much subtle ingenuity; but it is impossible not to ask oneself whether a writer of deeper insight still might not succeed

in elucidating in all these instances a real connexion between the words of Christ and the particular circumstances which, according to the Evangelist, suggested them. Incidentally we learn that in Wendt's opinion the original document contained Logia, and but little history; and that in working it up into the Gospel the Fourth Evangelist cannot have had a manuscript copy before him, but must have trusted to his memory, as the writers of the New Testament do when citing the Old. In this whole attempt to rearrange the various sections of the Gospel in their proper chronological order there is necessarily exhibited a good deal of purely subjective criticism; and it is difficult to believe that any writer of ordinary intelligence could have been guilty of some of the blunders in juxtaposition which Wendt claims to have exposed.

Wendt is willing to confess that the attempt to sift out those portions of the Gospel which were taken from this original source can only lead to approximate results. Still, he addresses himself to the task with considerable assurance, and besides a full discussion in the body of the text presents us in an appendix with a tabular statement, in which he traverses the first nineteen chapters of John and singles out those verses and sections which ought to be referred to this discourse-document. This self-imposed and somewhat difficult feat accomplished, the character of the document as a whole is described. It was essentially similar to the Logia of Matthew, *i.e.*, composed of sayings and discourses which had been provided with brief historical introductions. Its contents dealt exclusively with Jesus' visits to Jerusalem. Its author desired specially to put on record (*a*) how Jesus had repeatedly and emphatically assured the leaders of Judaism of His inward fellowship with God, and His saving purpose, but had met with nothing but misconception, soon deepening into deadly hatred, and (*b*) how He had opened His heart to His disciples at the Last Supper, in exhortation, and consolation and prayer. Echoes of the contents of this source, as distinct from the historical framework provided for it by the Fourth Evangelist, are to be found in the Johannine Epistles, the letters of Ignatius, and Justin Martyr.

Much of what Wendt submits as bearing on the historical value of this primitive document is to be found in any Introduction under the heading "Historicity of the Gospel of John," and need not be particularly alluded to now. It is of special interest, however, to observe the conclusions which he has been led to form about the discourses ascribed to Christ. *Formally* considered, he holds that they cannot be regarded as faithful to the reality, but a comparison of them with the teaching of Jesus recorded in the Synoptic Gospels proves that *in substance* they have every mark of truth. Not only is the general religious attitude of Christ the same in both, but even Christ's sayings in John regarding the transcendent dignity of His own nature and mission can be paralleled from Matthew, Mark and Luke.

The issue being thus narrowed, we come, under Wendt's guidance, to the final inference that this discourse-document owed its origin to the Apostle John, and was employed by a later writer in composing the Gospel as we now have it. This explains those indirect references to a particular "disciple" which are scattered through the Gospel, and which, while very artificial if meant by the Apostle John as covert allusions to himself, are extremely natural if used by a later writer to indicate the Apostle. On this hypothesis, too, the Fourth Gospel has exactly the same claim to be called the Gospel of John as the First has to be called the Gospel of Matthew. To all this it may be objected by extreme critics that the evident affinity with the Logos-speculation which can be traced in the Prologue vetoes the apostolic authorship of a document from which the Prologue is confessedly taken. Wendt rejoins that, while it is undeniable that the term Logos is borrowed from Philonic usage, it has no perceptible influence upon the rest of the Gospel. The relevant phenomena can all be explained by supposing that the author of the source was personally averse to the Philonic metaphysics, but that, finding the term Logos current in the Christian circle for which he wrote, he adopted it as the best available for his purpose. Wendt affirms that while Philo and the Fourth Evangelist conceive the Logos as personal, to the

Apostle John, who wrote almost the whole of the Prologue, the Logos is impersonal. Perhaps more proof is required for both parts of this assertion than Wendt has seen fit to furnish.

Wendt sums up by saying that the Fourth Gospel, as a whole, is a post-apostolic elaboration of apostolical tradition. Its character becomes intelligible if we assume that the Evangelist belonged to the circle in which John the son of Zebedee had lived to extreme old age. It was written after the Apostle's death, most probably in the first quarter of the second century. The author has worked into it many oral traditions regarding the evangelical history which the Apostle had communicated to the believers around him in Asia Minor. The Fourth Evangelist's chief purpose in composing the work was to publish the discourses of Jesus in a form suitable for use in the Church. But his secondary aim was to gratify the interest felt in the personality of John, and in doing so to make it clear that John had stood in a closer relationship to Christ than Peter. He also wished to correct an exaggerated and mistaken tendency in certain quarters to think too highly of John the Baptist.

From what has been said it is clear that Wendt occupies a mediating position among the critics of the Fourth Gospel. He does not reject the work as entirely spurious; on the contrary he acknowledges that there is a very considerable element of truth in it; but he is very far from admitting its authenticity as a whole. In holding that the discourses which the Gospel contains are a somewhat enlarged edition of a genuine Apostolic collection of Jesus' sayings, while the narrative has been supplied by a later hand, he is following in the track not only of Weisse, but of Schenkel, Schweizer, and to some extent Weizsäcker. It is obvious that the position maintained by these scholars runs counter to the conviction felt by nearly all students of the Johannine writings, whether conservative or critical, that the Gospel is above all things a *unity*, that it presents us with the spectacle of a perfect organic whole, all its parts possessed of a formal and material homogeneity, and the discourses inseparably conjoined to the narrative. Long ago Strauss said memor-



ably that "this Gospel is itself the seamless coat of which it tells, and though men may cast lots for it, they cannot rend it," and something of the same impression of indissoluble unity has been received by numberless minds the most diverse in sympathy and temper. It can hardly be said that in the present work Wendt has succeeded in proving that impression mistaken.

Many of the arguments employed in this volume to demonstrate the secondary and composite nature of the Gospel of John serve to remind us that it is idle to speak as though by bringing back a few years the dates of the various Gospels the ultra-critical school had in effect conceded their historicity. The questions of date and historical fidelity they regard as almost entirely distinct. The conclusions of Baur and Strauss may have been modified, but in many respects their methods and standards of credibility are employed unaltered by their more recent successors. Wendt really admits no more than that the Fourth Gospel contains valuable material derived from apostolic sources. His method of dealing with particular passages frequently recalls the violent and unnatural procedure of the Tübingen school, as when he tells us (p. 224) that the Evangelist elaborated out of his own fancy the entire episode of the raising of Lazarus, in order to provide a historical setting for the words of Jesus which he found in his documentary source: "Thy brother shall rise again; I am the resurrection and the life". And while there are many stimulating and suggestive pages, while the argument is developed with a lucidity and consecutiveness which are worthy of all praise and render the reader's task most pleasant, it is impossible to lay down what may be called an attempt to bring the discussion of the Fourth Gospel into line with Synoptic criticism without a certain feeling of disappointment. Less subjective criteria will have to be employed, and the influence of the critic's personal equation abated, ere the movement of thought in the Fourth Gospel can be finally exhibited, or the secret of its origin laid bare.

H. R. MACKINTOSH.

## **The Special Characteristics of the Four Gospels.**

*By H. M. Luckock, D.D., Dean of Lichfield. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 272. Price 6s.*

## **Christianity as an Ideal.**

*By Rev. P. Hatley Waddell, B.D. William Blackwood & Sons, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 211. Price 3s. 6d.*

THE volume by Dean Luckock on the composition and character of the Four Gospels is the outcome of a course of lectures prepared for the clergy of his diocese. The lectures attracted attention at the time of delivery, and in this revised and enlarged form they are now intended for wider circulation. As appears from the useful table of contents, the work consists of thirty short chapters, clearly written and arranged, and while readable and excellent in point of style, the various chapters, dealing with the special features of the Evangelists, are, in a considerable degree, fresh and suggestive in substance. In first dealing with the sources from which the Evangelists drew their materials, the author concludes that they had written histories as well as current tradition to fall back upon, and in course of time the Four Gospels came to monopolise the field by way of survival of the fittest. Dr. Luckock is liberal-minded enough to allow that while the Evangelists were selected and wrote under the supernatural guidance of the Holy Spirit, they were not reduced to passive instruments or pens, but were left free to represent the phase of Christ's life which seemed most striking and suitable to each writer, and which he made peculiarly his own. Inspiration, therefore, "did not interfere with the individuality of the writer, but left him free to follow out his own aim and purpose," and in certain matters of history which the

Evangelists deal with incidentally, mistakes are possible and "we have no right to claim unerring accuracy". In succeeding chapters the Dean presents carefully and intelligently the leading features and peculiar teaching of each of the Four Gospels, and in a manner that will convey much interest and information to the general theological reader. Dr. Luckock is led to refer to the influence of Christian Art in giving rise, in some instances, to erroneous conceptions of the Gospels, and he devotes chap. xvi. to a forcible protest against the identification, favoured and stereotyped by Art, of Mary Magdalene with the "woman that was a sinner". Perhaps the only chapters in which the author is apt, like Christian Art, to give rise to misconception are those which conclude the volume, and which point to so much dogmatic and sacramental teaching in the Gospel of John. Dr. Luckock makes much of the natural emblems which have come to be associated with the four Evangelists, but we think that the peculiar High Church and Sacramental teaching drawn in these chapters from the Fourth Gospel would not have been quite transparent even to the eagle eye of John. In a footnote (p. 131), Dr. Luckock holds that the support given in the temptation was only physical, "for our Lord's Divinity precludes the idea of His needing spiritual strength". We doubt if this is part of the characteristic teaching of the Gospels, or if the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews would preclude this idea. On p. 135 (footnote), the author of *The Divine Origin of Christianity* is given as "Dr. Stone" instead of Dr. Storrs. There is little otherwise that calls for criticism or correction in this volume, which is valuable for its purpose and excellent in spirit and method.

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The seven essays which make up Mr. Waddell's volume are offered in continuation of a line of thought previously attempted and "as a contribution towards a liberal theology". We are introduced to the fundamental thought of the book in the opening chapter, "The Ideal Postulated," where the author argues that religion or faith must start like science from a necessary postulate or presupposition, "namely, that

there is a final unity, a continuity of one principle throughout the universe, and a rational relation between the outer and inner worlds". In the next two essays, "The Ideal in Bondage," and "The Moral Ideal," it is shown that we are not to despair or lose sight of this final unity on account of inward dissatisfaction and opposition from the world. Man's happiness lies in keeping up the consciousness of the moral ideal within and in endeavouring to realise it in his outward conduct. The author deals thereafter with the course and progress of the ideal in Revelation, in Jesus Christ, and in the Church, and in the closing chapter takes notice of the changes brought about by the infusion of modern ideas, and especially by the application of the principle of evolution. Early and alien conceptions have had to be discarded or modified, and the religious and spiritual horizon is widening. It is said, "pious faith is beginning to seek more than mere salvation," and even "in the most evangelical churches the appeal has gradually been changed, and the old note is awanting".

As we are led to expect from the titles of these thoughtful and cultured essays, the treatment is somewhat abstract and metaphysical. We could have wished that Mr. Waddell had looked more at the contents of the Christian ideal as it shines in the New Testament, and traced more fully its influence on subsequent history. Less employment of Hegelian categories and of the formula, "the final unity of all for thought," and a more concrete and definite mode of statement and illustration would have added to the interest and stimulus of the discussions. The volume is without an index, and we do not think it would be easy to provide one.

W. M. RANKIN.

## **The Supremacy of Man.**

*By John Pulsford, D.D. London: Andrew Melrose, 1900.  
Fcap. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 309. Price 2s. 6d.*

## **The History of the Melanesian Mission.**

*By E. S. Armstrong. London: Isbister & Co., 1900. 8vo, pp.  
xxviii. + 372. Price 10s. 6d.*

IN the "Books for the Heart" series we have a second of Dr. Pulsford's characteristic volumes—*The Supremacy of Man*. It is really a prose epic on the creation, restoration and ascent of man through Christ, the Reigning Head and final example.

In an excellent introduction, the design of the book is set forth. Nature is taken as a progressive revelation of God, culminating in Christ. Indeed Nature, Scripture and Man, are but different manifestations and approximate expressions of the Eternal Unity, of which the most complete realisation is Humanity. In the universality of creation the Original Unity shows its wealth, and this universality finally converges or gathers itself up in Man. He is the last crowning result.

So the First Cause must be Personal, for the last effect reveals the character of the First Energy. If the universe consummates itself in a thinking personal unity, then clearly it is an evolution from One Personal Intelligence. This Argument is divided into four books with their subdivisions.

The first book deals with "God and His Creation," discussing such questions as: (a) *The possibility of a creation*. "It is impossible that God should be and not create. He is under necessity to His own nature to create others who shall drink of the river of His pleasures." (β) *The character of creation*. "God must have an order of creatures to whom He can make Himself known, . . . who shall be more than creatures—children to whom He can give Himself, and who shall be capable of knowing that He has given Himself to them." (γ) *This order of creation shall be principled in freedom and not in*

necessity. His chief race must be spirits, free spirits, even at the peril of permitting the ground or possibility of disorder.

This leads to a most suggestive treatment of the Restoration of Man, viewed as the Original Plan redeemed from failure and carried out through the Incarnation. The fair Beginning returns with Increase. "He shall see of the travail of His soul and shall be satisfied."

The second book treats of God and His creation centred and expounded in man. There are chapters on the testimony of Scripture and then of Art, concerning God under the Appearance of Man. Under this head the relation of Christianity to Art is beautifully worked out. "Art commends, not counterparts and copies, . . . teaches us, not jejunely, what we are, but *what we may be*, when the Parian block yields to the hand of Phidias." There is no divorce between Christianity and Art. "Faith and Art have all the sympathy of mother and child."

This reconciling view of the Universe is gathered up in a dialogue—the penultimate division of the book—"The Playground of all the Forces"—Man the Beginning and End of creation.

The last chapter, "The Final Home and the Fruit Gathering," is an exposition of the grounds of Christian optimism, the assurance of hope not for the Church merely, nor only for the Elect Nations, but for the whole human race, wherein the First Generations are waiting for the Last. It is a plea for humanity; to unite the men of all nations in a high reverence for their common origin, and in a noble Christ-like sympathy with one another. A poet's vision—for John Pulsford was essentially a poet.

One may think he neglects the irreducible antagonism of the human will in his shadowless picture of the End of Ends, and that, in the conception of the limitless range of the will with which he started, is involved the possibility of disaster, irretrievable within any thinkable limits. But to say that would be merely to repeat the well-worn objection to all unrelieved optimism, that it is too facile, and that it fails in doing complete justice to the strain and the agony of the New Testament doctrine of Redemption.

Nevertheless, this is the rich book of a ripe nature, at once devotional, thoughtful and suggestive. Those who remember John Pulsford and his fragrant speech will find here a bouquet of his choicest thoughts. Such books and men are to be appraised by the mystic standard. "God has a few whom He whispers in the ear, the rest may reason—and welcome. 'Tis we musicians know."

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The Melanesian Mission, whose story is so graphically told by E. S. Armstrong, was founded by Bishop Selwyn of New Zealand, and now celebrates its jubilee. The mission has all along been fortunate in having devoted and enthusiastic workers, and is fortunate too, in its historian. Personal acquaintance with the successive bishops of the diocese, a residence of ten years in New Zealand—the first base of the mission—and constant communication with the head of the staff during the years of development and expansion, entitle the writer to speak with authority on the various aspects of the work.

The field of the mission has certainly "ample room and verge enough". It extends over nearly a twelfth part of the circumference of the globe, and includes a hundred islands with as many separate languages or dialects. With pardonable pride the author emphasises "the importance of the fact that the development of so large a section of the world should have been in the hands of the great Englishmen who have freely given themselves, their powers, their strength, and in two cases, their lives for it".

The book follows the chronological order of grouping the details of the story round the names of the leaders in the work, from Bishop Selwyn to Bishop Wilson. The former has the credit of laying down the lines on which the mission has been worked. Henry Drummond once wittily hit off the scandal of sectarian rivalry in missions by speaking of a district in which the work was carried on by "Anglicans of every degree of height, Presbyterians of every degree of breadth, and Methodists of every degree of heat". Selwyn's

rules avoided this grotesqueness. He resolved "(1) Not to interfere with any Christian work already undertaken by any religious body or sect whatever, . . . so as never to bring before the islanders the great stumbling-block of divisions among Christians; (2) In taking to the natives the religion of Englishmen, they would in no way force upon them English methods and ways of life except in so far as they are part of morality and goodness".

On these lines remarkable results have been secured. Beginning with one solitary worker, the mission has now in its ranks, at its jubilee, nineteen English agents, 420 Melanesian lay workers, 210 scholars, and 12,000 native Christians. Apart from its thrilling missionary interest, and in this respect it is the book of the year, the *History of the Melanesian Mission* is a valuable contribution to the literature of the Kanakas question. The traders in human flesh were greater obstacles to the work than anything the missionaries had to encounter. It is unquestionable that Bishop Patteson, the martyr saint of the mission, lost his life through the animosities excited by the white "slavers". The volume before us is an ample confirmation of Sir Arthur Kennedy's report, who as Governor of Queensland wrote in 1881. "I have never concealed my opinion of the traffic in Polynesian savages, and I feel assured scandals exist which do not reach the public. The Polynesian labour-trade partakes of many of the evils both of the African slave-trade and the Chinese coolie-trade."

The author has done a good bit of work, and the book has a many-sided interest. It is a fine picture of Melanesia, it has many side-lights on manners and customs and curious folk-lore, and above all it is the record of an almost Apostolic success in bringing men to Christ.

It ought to be said that the publishers have done their part exceedingly well. With its map and excellent illustrations, clear type and ample margins, this is an ideal gift book and should be found in every church library.

W. M. GRANT.



### **Die Sprüche, erklärt.**

*Von D. G. Wildboer. (Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum A. T. von D. Karl Marti.) 8vo, pp. xxiv. + 95. Price M.2.50.*

### **Die Sprüche, übersetzt und erklärt.**

*Von Lic. W. Frankenberg. (Handkommentar zum A. T. von D. W. Nowack.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 8vo, pp. iv. + 169. Price M.3.40.*

BOTH Wildboer and Frankenberg approach the study of the book of Proverbs from the same point of view. They accord it the same place in the literary history of Israel, and they agree on the conception of religious life it presents. They both agree that it belongs to a late period in the literature and religious development of Israel, though they differ as to the influence this is to exercise on an accurate interpretation of its contents. Wildboer believes, and rightly believes we think, that the knowledge of the date of a book must exercise a great influence in discovering the meaning and the purpose of its contents (Introduction, xi., xii.), and makes it his first duty to find the time of origin of the book of Proverbs. On the other hand, Frankenberg believes that, in the case of the book under review, a knowledge of its date can exercise little influence on its interpretation (Vorwort), fortifying himself in this opinion by venturing the statement that one of the best commentaries on the book of Proverbs is from one who accepted the Salomonic authorship—from Mercerius. They agree in their general division of the contents of the book, and in their view of the relation of the parts to one another, though Frankenberg boldly disclaims the introductory character of chapters i.-ix. He asserts they form an independent work, and one has but to look at the style and the aim of these

chapters, which are of a critical and argumentative character, to agree with him as to their independent character, but there can be little doubt, after all, that the purpose of this opening section is to prepare the reader for what follows, and whether we give it the formal character of an introduction or not, it certainly forms an introduction. Both accept chap. vi. 1-19 as from another hand, Wildboer inclining to the opinion that somehow these verses have come into the wrong place and dislocate the context (*cf.* chap. xxx.); Frankenberg assumes they are an insertion pure and simple.

It is no part of our purpose to attempt any comparative estimate of these two works. They have both outstanding features of great excellence. They often disagree in their appreciation of individual expressions and the meaning and purpose of separate sections; we do not, however, propose to assume the delicate taste of saying which is the better or the more reliable. Frankenberg is fuller and bolder, but also arbitrary in text emendation and exposition. Wildboer is a model of condensation and chastened scholarship and criticism; in a sentence, as clear as it is terse, he gives his conception of a difficult passage; there is no unnecessary amplification. Where the student can gather the context from a judicious use of other passages, that task is left to him, for Wildboer goes on the principle of allowing, or at any rate encouraging, a student to pick his own brains. Frankenberg delights to exhaust his theme, and is often unnecessarily diffuse. He has an exaggerated estimate of his own judgment and the fruits of his own study, and often betrays an uncharitable estimate of riper scholars, whose contributions to criticism and exegesis have made them public benefactors. But perhaps a richer experience of literary enterprise may enhance in his mind the value of the labours of those who have preceded him, and subdue the self-satisfaction with which he surveys the treasury of his own acquirements, and chasten the complacency with which he utters his "*nicht zu verstehen*," "*unerklärlich*," "*unmöglich*," and such like about the Hebrew text and the exegetical labours of his predecessors.

Wildboer treats us to an excellent introduction, the leading

chapters of which are "the Place of the Proverbs in Old Testament Literature," and "the Place of the Proverbs in the History of the Religion of Israel," both of which are skilfully developed and designed to confirm the position he takes up in regard to the date of the book of Proverbs. He makes it his task to show that the book took shape in the last part of the Persian period, and received its final touches from the redactor's hand not later than the beginning of the Grecian period. This is no new theory, to be sure—Stade, Kautzsch, Cheyne, Guthe, have taken the same ground. In harmony with this purpose, Wildboer endeavours to show that the language has degenerated from Hebrew purity and has been contaminated by contact with Aramaic, Arabic and Greek, and that the type of religion assumed in Proverbs, is no longer purely national and particular, such as we find in the Pentateuch, the historical books, Isaiah, or even 2 Isaiah, but is universal and individual. And on the whole, we believe he has made out his case. We do not accept his evidence as sufficient to meet every objection, and we believe that in the lexical part of his argument he would have strengthened his case by excluding a number of doubtful terms. But we must see what kind of proof is possible in this case. Wildboer claims that the book of Proverbs is a post-exilic work, but he does not exclude pre-exilic elements from it. There are proverbs that he concedes to be pre-exilic. When that concession is made, it is clear we cannot look for an absolute uniformity and consistency of view throughout the book. There must be passages that will show an older type of thought than prevails in the book generally, or that may refer to institutions that had come to an end, or usages that had ceased to be venerated, when the book was finally put together. What we mean will become evident, when we point out that there are several proverbs in different parts of the book that refer to "the king," *e.g.*, xvi. 10, 12, 13, 14, 15; xix. 12; xx. 2; xxi. 1; xxix. 4. Some of them we grant may apply to any king, whether a Jewish king or not, and might therefore be apt in the mouth of a Jew at any time, but there are some we can scarcely believe any Jew could use in refer-

ence to any king of whom his people had experience in exilic or post-exilic times, *e.g.*, xxi. 2. To urge, then, that Proverbs cannot be post-exilic because it contains references to a king who had no existence among the Jews of the later period, when the book was compiled, is to misapprehend Wildboer's position and contention, and is not a legitimate argument against his conclusions. The proverbs on "the king" came out of an earlier age, and were retained because the Jews had not abandoned hope of a continued national existence under a king—a king who might be none the worse of the counsels of the Proverbs.

But to come back to Wildboer's evidence. It is marshalled with considerable skill, not to say artistic beauty, when we notice how delicately he digs out the scanty memorials of Greek influence to give confirmation to his belief, that the Greek period was still young, when the book of Proverbs was finally revised. He gathers from the text a large number of late Hebrew and Aramaic expressions, some of which are to be found nowhere else than in Proverbs, and are thus presumably late, *e.g.*, נטל xxvii. 3, פנק xxix. 21; others are to be found in late literature, *e.g.*, קרת viii. 3, *cf.* Job xxix. 7; ח תוגה i. 1, *cf.* Psalms cxix. 28; the late pl. אישים viii. 4, *cf.* Isaiah liii. 3, Psalms cxli. 4; and the substantive termination in ות iii. 8, iv. 24, etc., but forms like מצור xii. 12 (which Wildboer unnecessarily makes an Aramaic inf., and קדם (which Wildboer points as קדם Aramaic) are of doubtful validity and assistance, for in the first place, their value depends on the correctness of the suggested change, and in the second, their help is not needed when they come with doubtful credentials, seeing there is already a strong enough array of witnesses to support the writer's contention. Wildboer adduces v. 12, as an instance of the Aramaic use of the suffix before the noun to which it refers. We have assumed that he refers to עונותיו in v. 22, whose reference is to the following אתהדרשע. Frankenberg has no hesitation in striking out אתהדרשע on the ground that the words are clearly inserted to make the reference of the context clear. But Wildboer is certainly

right in retaining them, for we cannot infer from v. 21 that the **איש** there spoken of is a **רשע**, and so **אתה רשע** is necessary for a just apprehension of the text. But Wildboer labours his argument too finely, when in order to show that Proverbs had not passed out of the redactor's hand before Greek influence had begun to play on the Hebrew mind, he adduces **שמע** xxi. 28, as equivalent to *ἀκούειν* in the sense of "to be known as". The Massoretic text is confessedly difficult. Frankenberg has abandoned the translation of the second half of the verse as hopeless. But we believe Wildboer is misled in attaching so much importance to the Pesh. and the Targ. rendering of **נצח** as "truth" or "credibility". In any case we cannot accept Wildboer's translation as either satisfactory or likely. What is the **איש שמע** the writer has in view? He is evidently not a witness (**עד** 28a), but a listener (**שמע**), and though the expression is rather bald, we are inclined to believe that the **איש שמע** is the man who will hear all kinds of evidence, and who has presumably at the same time the power of sifting it, and coming to a definite and fair decision upon it. That man, the writer seems to say, may always speak, his words will always be worth listening to. We cannot believe we have here in v. 28, any trace of Greek influence. The only adducible evidence to support any shadow of Greek influence is the word **אמן** vii. 16, *ὁθόνη, ὁθόνιον*, occurring only here, and so presumably late. We have considerable hesitation in conceding that even the unusual length of the sentences in chapter ii. may be due to any acquaintance with Greek literature. The evidence is too scanty. The sentences may be long, unusually long, but their structure is simple, and not complex, and complexity rather than length is the feature of Greek style. Moreover, the book of Proverbs belongs to a new type of Hebrew literature, which may at times have revelled in long rolling periods. We confess to a sympathy with Kuenen in holding that the book of Proverbs betrays no touch of Greek life and influence.

Wildboer now leaves the text and seeks the help of the context in supporting a late date for the origin of the Proverbs. He searches for the historical presuppositions and

the assumed usages of the book, tries to find the current of thought, and the views of life at the time of its composition, and any indications of change or advance upon past ages. The changes in society and public opinion to which he attaches value are briefly these: (1) the old prophetic struggle against idolatry is now over—amid all the incentives to good living and abiding prosperity, there is no reference to the abandonment of idolatry as a first condition of the divine blessing and temporal success; (2) monogamy is the current view and practice of life; (3) the law and the prophets are the foundations of all moral and religious teaching, and supply the texts from which the wise preach—they supply the principles that the wise reduce to short, pithy maxims that may linger in the memory and rule the details of everyday life; (4) the religious unit is no longer the nation but the individual, and the exclusiveness of Israel's faith has been supplanted by a universalism that promises to make the religious wealth of Israel the common property of the nations. These are considerable changes, some of which may at first sight startle us. But when Wildboer's evidence is weighed by those who are not wedded to any particular theory, and are not pledged to defend any particular cause, the only fault they will find they can validly and effectively urge is, that the vision is somewhat grand and vast, and that its outline is clearer, and its details richer in colouring and moulding, than the context and the history warrant. The oft-repeated maxim, the secret of life and prosperity, "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom," shows that at last the aggressiveness and the persistency of the prophets had borne fruit in the unity of Israel's faith. There is no longer any indication of divided homage in Israel, as in Isaiah's days: xii. 4; xviii. 22; xix. 13, 14; xxi. 9; xxxi. 10 ff., all confirm the view that monogamy is the current practice of life. But there is so little evidence of polygamy subsequent to the age of Solomon, that we cannot say what amount of change—if any—had taken place in, and after, the captivity in this respect. Polygamy is so fertile a source of discord and dissension in family and state, that if Israel had suffered seriously from this blight, it

would have left its trail of malignant passions and burning jealousies in history. Still, as Wildboer reminds us, and calls us from the realm of probability to the world of fact, so late as the time of Deuteronomy provision was made by the law for the case of the man who had two wives (Deut. xxi. 15-17), so that polygamy was a possibility, whether it was a fact or not, in the seventh century B.C. The relation of the book of Proverbs to the law and the prophets, and the consideration of the type of religion it displays, will best be dealt with in connection with Wildboer's interesting and suggestive chapter on "the Place of the Proverbs in the History of the Religion of Israel" (Introduction xvii.).

The old religion was a people's religion (eine Volksreligion), and concerned itself only with the nation. The history of individuals, even pious and devout individuals, is not to be taken as an exposition of, or as a criticism upon, the religion of Israel. Piety and obedience saved the nation from misfortune and wreck; they did not always save the individual, and Israel was not disappointed in, or, at least, not alienated from, their God, if the nation survived, while the individual sank, puzzled with the mysteries of God's providence. Moses addressed himself to the nation, Isaiah and Micah tried to move the people—the pathetic "my people,"—Jacob, Zion to penitence or to faith, as the case may be. It was always the people, the folk as such. In Proverbs the nation as such sinks out of view; it is everywhere the individual and the individual's life and needs that are considered and provided for. Two or three passages, such as xi. 10, 14, xxix. 18, do indeed suggest a national or municipal outlook, but these are exceptional, and the change, says Wildboer, is an indication of a late date. The whole aim of the Proverbs is to communicate such instruction as will ensure the individual's well-being and safeguard him from evil, if consistently employed, and inasmuch as there is no evidence of such teaching and such a method of instruction up to the time of the captivity, Wildboer claims that both the teaching and the method are the products of post-exilic religion and life.

The goodness and the obedience of the nation could be

gained only by the goodness and the obedience of the individuals within it. So it may be argued. The religion of the nation was the religion of the individuals, and there could be no national religion without an individual personal religion. That may appear clear to us who have been bred in the atmosphere of individual responsibility, and under the fixed belief of the unity of God and God's regard of the individual. But in the pre-exilic age, and even up to the time of 2 Isaiah, there appears no final national conviction on either point, and so the audience of the prophet was the nation. It had yet definitely to choose its God, and the baffled or disgusted prophet nowhere turns from the nation to the individual to find a rallying point either for himself or for his cause. That would have been both unfaithfulness and cowardice. But when this is said, we feel that Wildboer has left the question in an unsatisfactory condition. What really is the change that has taken place in the religion of Israel, when we descend to particulars? Was there no individual personal religion in the earlier ages? Does not the "*thou*" of the Decalogue suggest a personal individual relation and responsibility to God? Is not the prayer of Hannah an evidence of individual religion? Is not the confession of David, "I have sinned against the Lord," an evidence of personal religion? And what is the meaning of Micah's counsel, "He hath shewed *thee*, O man, what is good" (Mic. vi. 8), if a personal relation between God and man is not assumed? Was personal religion a possibility only to the prophets? Could they alone enter into a personal relation with God? Was it denied to the ordinary Israelite to taste in any measure the joy of Divine light and communion? On these questions Wildboer throws no light. And what was the exact religious gain in the individualism of Proverbs we have no means of estimating. The question is in urgent need of further consideration, which Wildboer may well give it in a second edition. The only thing of which we can be certain is, that we have in Proverbs a different method of teaching, in which the individual, and not the nation as such, is addressed, but the primary object of both the individual and the national method of instruction



is the same, the building up of a pure and just, if also a prosperous and successful, people. And in so far as this method of instruction has no place in the earlier history of religion, it is an evidence of the late date of Proverbs.

But what is this individual teaching? Whence comes it? It is imparted by parents (i. 8; vi. 20; xiii. 1, 13, 14, etc.) and by the "wise" (ii. 1; iii. 1; iv. 4; vii. 1, 2, etc.) and perhaps also by the state, if we adopt Wildboer's application of xix. 16, which we consider quite unnecessary. The religious instruction is no longer given through definitely called prophets or leaders, but through a number of agents of whose life we know nothing. What guarantee is there of the correctness of their teaching? When we enjoin the young to adjust their life to the commands and the instruction of parents and elders, we have in view a standard of Christian instruction and living to which we expect both parents and elders will conform. And in the Proverbs we have a similar standard—the standard of the law and the prophets. In the Proverbs the existence and the substance of the law and the prophets are assumed, and nowhere is there anything that contravenes either, in spirit or in form (*cf.* ii. 17; xxx. 5, 6). The teaching of the "wise" simply reduces to practical maxims, such as a sanctified experience has suggested, the less obviously applicable general views and commands contained in the law and the prophets. Both *תורה* and *מצוה* are employed in Proverbs in describing this instruction, but it is impossible to say that *תורה* is anywhere used exclusively in the technical sense of the law, so-called. Wildboer, indeed, asserts that in xxviii. 4, 7, 9 and xxix. 18, the reference is undoubtedly to the *תורה* so-called, but his contention cannot be maintained. In the commentary, indeed, he relaxes his boldness, for he admits that in xxviii. 4, *תורה* may mean nothing more than "instruction," and xxviii. 7b shows clearly that paternal instruction is in the writer's mind. Wildboer emphasises the following points of contact between the prophets and Proverbs: (a) the superiority of obedience to sacrifice (xv. 8; xxi. 3, 27; *cf.* Amos v. 18-27); (b) the danger of pride (vi. 17; xi. 2; xiv. 29; xv. 1, 4, 18, 25, 33; xvi. 15, 18 f.; xvii. 19, etc.; *cf.* Isa.

ii. 11-17); (c) the consideration of the poor, accompanied with a protest against oppression (xiv. 31; xvii. 5; xviii. 23; xix. 1, 7; xxii. 2, 7; xxviii. 3, 6, 27; xxix. 13; cf. Amos v. 11). When we remember that the Torah did not become canonical till the fifth century B.C., the result of all these converging lines of proof is to lead us to the conclusion with Wildboer, that the most suitable date for the book of Proverbs is somewhere in the fourth or the third century B.C.

The commentary combines insight with judgment, is clear and crisp in style, terse in language and sympathetic in tone. Wildboer worms himself into the writer's mind and situation, and often deftly extracts an excellent rendering from an unkindly text. תשוב (i. 23) Wildboer translates "turn round". We expect Wisdom to be here conciliatory, and she invites the audience of v. 22 simply to "turn" to her, and listen to what she has got to say, for she has something to offer, הנה אביעה. ברית (ii. 17) has nothing to do with any marriage bond or contract, as Wildboer points out, or with any religious ceremony performed at marriage (Frankenberg) (cf. Ezek. xvi. 8 ff.), but simply expresses the idea of religion or early religious training which bound the נכריה or זרה (v. 16) to God, and which has now been forgotten. Wildboer makes מרים (iii. 35b) the Hiphil part. in the sense of "to carry" (cf. תרומה), but suggests the reading כסלים מומר בקלן, giving an echo of Hosea iv. 7. The suggestion is ingenious, the meaning is suitable, but the idea a little far-fetched. But even so, would it not be better to read the singular כסיל? for we have a surplus consonant, and the plural form may have arisen from dittography. Wildboer inverts the order of the verses, iv. 18, 19, which improves the connexion. In viii. 20 there is no strong reason for preferring the Sept. rendering בתך for בית, or for treating בית as Aramaic for בין; בית preserves a pretty figure. The meaning, however, cannot be affected, whichever be taken. In discussing viii. 22-31, Wildboer raises the question as to whether wisdom is a personification or a hypostasis, and in seeking an answer attaches too much value to the poetic language of exalted enthusiasm,

or at least gauges it by too prosaic a standard. We believe there is here but the climax of a highly imaginative and poetical delineation of wisdom. But Wildboer thinks there is here, not merely a distinct advance in the character of wisdom, but a totally different view of its place and function in the world. It is no longer an inherent quality in man and nature, but a creation, a creature fulfilling a purpose in the creative activity of God, in producing the Kosmos. Wildboer warms so much to this view of wisdom that he describes these verses (viii. 22-31) as an important chapter of Jewish dogma in the post-exilic age, and the object of the writer appears to him to be no other than to bridge the chasm between the transcendent God and His manifestation in the world of phenomena (p. 25). Such an interpretation of the passage we believe to be both unnecessary and unsound. If wisdom in these verses be no longer a personification, but a hypostasis, what relation do they bear to the rest of the introduction (chaps. i.-ix.)? They appear to us, then, foreign to the context, and destroy the literary structure and artistic character of the section. Wisdom, we are told, walks the pavements of the streets, speaks in the happiness and the success of the wealthy merchant and the comfortable artisan, is recommended even by the dissipated and ruined life of the profligate and the sluggard. She sits on the thrones of kings and in the courts of judges. She has a place in all phases of life and in all classes of society, and we are waiting to see the climax of her movements and actions in the manifestations of the divine life, when we are told we meet instead an important chapter of Jewish dogma, where we had no expectation of meeting dogma of any kind, but only poetry. No, we believe the figurative and poetic description of the universal and beneficent activity of wisdom is continued, and the peculiarly objective and personal character it is made to assume is to emphasise the fact, that from the very beginning of divine activity and life, God's actions have been marked with the same wisdom as manifests itself everywhere in the world. To suppose that the thread of the argument is here broken is to call us from the vision of the poet to the generalisation

of the philosopher, and to throw us into the thoughts of some later writer whose work has been here incorporated—but most inaptly. In xii. 12 Wildboer's treatment of the verse is neither happy nor apt. We do not share his opinion in requiring that רעים must be treated as a neuter substantive, and מצוד as an Aramaic infinitive. What would the plunder of "evil things" mean? The verse is confessedly difficult to understand and translate, but it appears to suggest that the wicked seek to live on the plunder of others, while the righteous find their own needs in their own activity. In that case there would be no need to change יתן into איתן. The suggestion of Perles to read רעים is good, but still requires מצוד to be taken as an Aramaic infinitive, and not as a constr. state. To xx. 26 Wildboer gives the only suitable meaning, "to bring on oneself the anger of another," though התעבר is exceptional in this sense. משבת (xx. 3) is preferentially the infinitive of ישב with מן, rather than infinitive of שבת. פעלר (xx. 11) as "character" makes very good sense, but is without textual support.

Wildboer's commentary, we repeat, is a model of condensed scholarship of the ripest and highest character, is full of suggestiveness and deserves the best study of the student of Proverbs. We have noted the following misprints: (Introduction, xiv.) v. 12 for v. 22; (Introduction, xviii.) xiv. 5, 18 f. for xvi. 5, 18 f.; page 4, לצים for לצים; page 28, Jes. for Jer.

As to Frankenberg's work, we confess to a feeling of disappointment with it, which we have some hesitation in expressing on account of its many merits, of which there is evidence on almost every page. There are independence of judgment, freshness, not to say boldness of treatment, critical acumen, searching analysis, fertility of textual emendation, wide knowledge of all relative literature fairly grasped and liberally used, if not always discriminately treated, but combined with these qualities we meet a certain inelasticity of mind, a kind of logical or mathematical restraint of thought that hampers the mind on voyages of discovery, when the text is somewhat of an unknown, or at least uncertain

country. There is a lack of sentiment and imagination, a dearth of literary feeling and sympathetic constructiveness by which the expositor often feels himself into the mind and the mental situation of the writer, when his language seemingly closes every avenue to his thought effectively. And what offends us more is the evidence of a certain satisfaction in the strength of his own judgment, and the boldness and the definiteness of his own conclusions, combined with a scant appreciation of names and services that have been long honoured in the history of criticism.

The introduction shows him at his best, in full command of the details of the book and the different currents of thought that move therein. The most interesting and fruitful chapters are those on *Hokmah* (חכמה) and *Mashal* (משל) and their inter-relation, and on the translations of the Proverbs in the Sept., the Pesh. and the Vulgate.

JAMES GILROY.

## **From Comte to Benjamin Kidd : the Appeal to Biology or Evolution for Human Guidance.**

*By Robert Mackintosh, B.D., D.D., Professor at Lancashire College. London : Macmillan & Co., Limited. 8vo, pp. xxii. + 287. Price 8s. 6d. net.*

THE appeal to biology for human guidance has been pressed with great urgency in many quarters, and with increasing vehemence ever since evolution has become the working hypothesis of workers in all branches of science. To Dr. Mackintosh, as to many others, has come the call calmly and dispassionately to look at the appeal, to weigh its worth, and to discuss its validity. The attempt to weigh the worth of this claim has led him into many fields of study, to the reading of many books, and to much thought and reflection, and some of the results of that investigation we have in these pages. Dr. Mackintosh is well equipped for this task. An able and distinguished student of philosophy, well acquainted with the history of philosophy, and with the bearings of the great philosophical systems of the past and present, a student of science as well, and able to grasp the bearings of scientific speculation on the accepted beliefs of mankind, patient and persevering in his work, and able to put the results of his thought in a way easy to understand, he is a man from whom good work is to be expected. The starting point of his present work was apparently the perusal of the noted book of Mr. Benjamin Kidd on Social Evolution. As a matter of professional work, too, he had to study sociology with a senior class for two consecutive years. Having to study the work of Mr. Kidd, he found that he had to study those works which are presupposed by the assumptions made by Mr. Kidd. This led him back and back along the line of sociological study, until he found the beginnings of sociology, or

the appeal to biology for human guidance in the philosophy of Comte. Beginning with Comte he leads his readers down the line of the development of that conception till he arrives at Mr. Benjamin Kidd. As he says in the preface:—

The appeal to biology, outlined by Comte, newly defined and emphasised by Darwinism, has now been stated in the most extreme form logically possible. Mr. Kidd's book holds that significant position.

The book is thus a contribution to the history of philosophy, and specially an account of the growth of one particular leading conception. It is expository and critical. Dr. Mackintosh has made it his work to understand the positions and systems of the writers whose works he has set himself to expound and criticise. He is conspicuously fair in his expositions, and sets forth the positions in all their strength. After an introductory statement, in which he states the question, and points out that science offers to supersede religion as a guide to conduct, he passes on to a description and a criticism of Comte and his system, then to what he describes as Simple Evolutionism, represented by Herbert Spencer and Leslie Stephen, then to Darwinism, or Struggle for Existence, and finally to Hyper-Darwinism, represented by Weismann and Mr. Benjamin Kidd. These are the titles of the four parts into which his book is distributed. But this short description gives only a faint idea of the extent of his inquiry, or of the thoroughness with which it is conducted. In the course of his investigation he has had to deal with the writers who have sought to apply the idea and the method of evolution to all those sciences which deal with man as an individual, or as organised into a society. The number of these is great, and the most significant and the ablest of them are passed in review by Dr. Mackintosh. Thus we have brought under review Comte himself, then Spencer and Leslie Stephen, then men of such eminence as Bagehot, Professor Alexander, Huxley, Drummond, A. Sutherland, and finally Weismann and Mr. Benjamin Kidd. The most elaborate of all is the part which deals with Comte, and this is due to the historical position of Comte, and also to the fact that he was the first

to appeal to biology as a guide to human conduct. With great skill Dr. Mackintosh enables the reader to see the position of Comte and his wide significance for subsequent speculation. The result of a powerful statement is summed up as follows :—

In point of fact, we find ourselves under Comte's guidance, in a world of caprice. Biology gives him a parable of moral truth, not a law; history offers suggestions to the philosopher, but does not control his judgment; the ideal of altruism, of which he is the prophet, is an unproved and unsafe assumption. A brilliant and erratic man, he rode his hobbies hard, and threw the reins upon the neck of his fancy as he approached the details of conduct. If science is definite, measured, certain in its utterances, then Comte, in spite of his aspirations, is no true scientific leader for the human race (p. 59).

A brief statement of Darwin's theory of organic evolution is given, in which the three main elements of Darwin's theory find a fitting place. These are natural selection, sexual selection, and use-inheritance. It is admitted that natural selection is a true cause, but it is asserted that it cannot possibly do the work asked of it.

Its effects are minute; being minute, they will be immensely slow in achieving anything. A blind and indirect method of selection, by striking out all the unfit—by trial and error—is the most tedious method possible. If at every cross-roads I have to follow each track in turn, taking them as they come, going on in each case to the next town before I can learn whether I am in the right road, if I am wrong, coming back from the town to the cross-roads and trying the next track till I find a town upon it, and so forth, and so forth—plainly, it may take me all my days to work my way to my chosen destination (p. 65).

After some pertinent remarks on sexual selection and on use-inheritance, Dr. Mackintosh passes to the system of Spencer. He shows the difference between the problem of Darwin and the problem of Spencer: he states Spencer's problem, and subjects the solution of it to a stringent criticism, and demonstrates its inadequacy. We cannot recapitulate the criticism, it is too condensed for further condensation, but it contains a great deal in little space, and well deserves the close attention of the student. Much might be said of the chapters dealing with Leslie Stephen, with Bagehot, with Professor Alexander, with



Huxley and with others, had we space, but we must leave our readers to study these excellent chapters for themselves. We would direct special attention to the excellence of the chapter dealing with the work of Mr. A. Sutherland. While doing full justice to the worth of Mr. Sutherland's remarkable work, and while making full acknowledgment of its great merit, Dr. Mackintosh subjects its main positions to a criticism which is as destructive as it is fair and adequate. This, also, we must leave untouched.

We would like to dwell on the chapter entitled "The Metaphysics of Natural Selection". But here, too, Dr. Mackintosh's habit of intense condensation is of great inconvenience to his critic. We shall permit Dr. Mackintosh to speak for himself:—

We help each other by influence, example, magnetism, and inwardly we are drawn or driven to righteousness, partly by the bitterness of sin, partly by (not the pleasures of virtue, but) the beauty of holiness. The great inspiring personality who helps the multitude of little lives may be unoriginal and hackneyed in thought. It is the glow of spiritual goodness, plus a mysterious personal endowment, perhaps of the nature of sympathy, that constitutes greatness and efficiency in this department. But the worthy little men are quite as important as the leaders. . . . Faithfulness is the greatest of the virtues, nor must we forget the stored wealth of the past in the form of moral institutions and traditions.

We have one proof of the all-sidedness of Jesus Christ in this, that He is both the supremely original teacher and the supreme personal influence. He so crossed the currents of dignity and respectability in His age that dignity and respectability, feeling what such men call the necessity of putting him to death, tried—strange behaviour!—to "eliminate" Him! Yet without strain or manifest extravagance the view can be advanced that it was His glory to put the great moral commonplaces into circulation as current coin. We go to Him for sweetness and light, He is the truth. We go to Him for transforming warmth, and He makes our cold ideals live, and melts our hearts (pp. 208-9).

Under the name of "A Fairy Tale of Science," Dr. Mackintosh sets forth the theory of Weismann, that theory which lies at the basis of Mr. Kidd's view of social evolution. It is a luminous statement, and the statement of the changes which Weismann has made, from time to time, on his theory is full

of interest, and not devoid of amusement for the reader. It is pointed out that Mr. Kidd, in building on the foundation laid by Weismann, has not observed the changes made by Weismann in the additions made to his theory.

Accordingly, when Mr. Benjamin Kidd builds his sociology on the absolute non-inheritance of acquired qualities, he is building on a rock, perhaps, but on a rock whose discoverer himself has undermined it and stored it with explosives.

Again, it is asked, whether where progress ceases you have in its place retrogression? This assumption is the second basis of the sociology of Mr. Kidd, and immense consequences are drawn from it, and yet the assumption is not justified by Mr. Kidd. Mr. Kidd lays the strongest possible stress on biology, and the main contention of Dr. Mackintosh, a contention which he makes good, is that such stress is illogical and unjustifiable. It is further shown that Mr. Kidd has a doctrine of reason which is utterly inadequate, and a view of religion which is untrue.

We quote a paragraph on reason, and with that quotation will finish our notice of this important book.

Every doctrine of "faculties" is to a large extent artificial. Reason and understanding shade into each other, however we may choose to contrast them. But, just on that account, the plain Englishman will find it hard to keep clear of the deeper and more mystic features of reason. He wants to be a practitioner of the simpler branch of the art. Well! the arts are not two but one. His own words will prove disobedient to him. Words are something more than the clothes of thought; they are its incarnation. We inherit words; we use them in our service, ennobling them, or, more frequently, debasing them; they lived before us, and they will long outlive our very memory. We are the fleeting shadows, they are the substance. Words are like homing pigeons; they will carry our messages, if we manage them wisely; but with an instinct surer than our choice—with an instinct not to be overborne by our caprice—they will go there, to that one point where each is at rest. If we take up the great task of the impersonal reason of mankind, it is in vain that we express our determination to keep clear of the transcendental or of the Logos! It is in us and we are in it; in it, or in Him, we live and move and have our being (pp. 248-9).

JAMES IVERACH.

## Notices.

Professor Emil Egli of Zürich publishes, under the title of *Analecta Reformatoria*,<sup>1</sup> an important collection of documents bearing on Zwingli's life and his times. Among them are a number of papers now printed for the first time, including notes relating to the Disputation at Bern in 1528, letters addressed to Zwingli from the Diet of Augsburg by Bucer and others, the protocol of the Synod of St. Gallen of the year 1530, Vadian's disputation with Zili, etc. There are also various interesting documents of other kinds, which are given here with certain sections or additions which have not been printed hitherto. The collection is most carefully edited and admirably printed. It is an important contribution to the history of the Reformation in Switzerland, and makes a valuable supplement to the series of *Zwingliana* previously issued under the editorial care of Professor Egli. It is the kind of work that all students of history desire to see accomplished.

Mr. Walker's book on *The Spirit and the Incarnation*<sup>2</sup> has attracted considerable attention, and has been very favourably received. This is not more than it deserves. It is the work of an able and open-minded man, and it will help any one who reads it with care. This will be heartily said by those who give it proper consideration, whatever they may feel to be lacking in its discussions of some parts of the lofty subject of which it treats. It is no hasty production. It is the result of nearly a quarter of a century's thought. The writer does not claim too much for it when he speaks of it as representing "much hard labour and not a little dearly bought experience".

<sup>1</sup> Zürich: Zürcher und Furrer, 1899. 8vo, pp. vi. + 164. Price M.5.60.

<sup>2</sup> *The Spirit and the Incarnation, in the light of Scripture, Science and Practical Need.* By the Rev. W. L. Walker of Laurencekirk. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. viii. + 388. Price 9s.

Its value and its interest lie, indeed, very much in the fact that it reflects the moods of mind through which the author has passed on the essential truths of Christianity, and shows us how he has come to clearness and certitude. For years he had difficulties, more or less serious and continuous, with the views of the religion of Christ which made his environment and in which he had himself been instructed. For a time he had lost all faith, as he tells us, in the ordinary evangelical conception of the Gospel. The course of study of which this book is the record made Christianity a living thing to him. He came back in this way to the evangelical conception with which he had been dissatisfied for a time. That is in brief the history of the volume.

It is obvious that a book written under these circumstances, and so much the reflection of personal experiences, must have a peculiar interest. And this makes itself felt all through. The writer was driven back upon the primary question—what is the really distinctive thing in Christianity, the new thing which it brought into the world of thought and faith? The answer which came to him was that this new and vital thing that makes the very essence of the Gospel is its revelation of the Spirit. The power of Christianity lay from the first in “the Spirit”. Whatever else it may be or may include, Christianity is first and foremost “the Dispensation of the Spirit”. It is “the entrance into the world, through Jesus Christ, of a new principle and power of spiritual light and life called ‘the Holy Spirit,’ ‘the Spirit of God,’ and ‘the Spirit of Christ’.”

So put, there is nothing very novel in the position advocated in the book. The special contribution which Mr. Walker claims to make is in the application of this to the Person of Christ and the Incarnation. He unfolds a doctrine of “the Spirit and its work, culminating in the Incarnation,” as he explains it, “and again proceeding in greater fulness therefrom, including in it the actual presence and power of the living Christ, and of the Incarnation as the result of a *process* embracing the entire Divine working in Nature and in Grace (while at the same time the actual personal entrance of God

into our Humanity)". This, he thinks, is a view of the Spirit which has not yet been presented with sufficient fulness and distinctness, and it is along this line that, in his opinion, a Christian theology is to be constructed which shall at last do justice to both the Divine nature and the human in Christ.

This is Mr. Walker's theme. In developing it he is not always by any means clear. This is most felt in what he says of the Incarnation as a *process*. But he has the merit of opening up important avenues of thought, and his whole treatment of the subject is both reverent and suggestive. He says much that is of value on the revelation of the Holy Spirit in the Old Testament and in the New, on His "personal influences" and His personal presence and work. He has some far-reaching reflections on the Incarnation as a necessary result and yet free; on the relation of the Divine Sonship of Christ to our Sonship; on the immanence of God, on miracle, on the Church in relation to the Spirit, etc. Mr. Walker has done a real service to Christian thought, and he may do more hereafter.

The important series of lectures delivered last winter by Professor Harnack on the *Essence of Christianity*<sup>1</sup> are now to be had, we are glad to say, in book form. They excited great interest at the time, and drew an audience of some 600 students from day to day in the University of Berlin. They are printed now from a shorthand report taken as they were delivered. They are sufficiently popular in form to appeal to a much wider circle than the academic, while they give a scientific statement. It is good to have them in the German. It will be better to have them in an English translation. It will be a satisfaction to many to see that a translation is announced as in preparation.

There are many statements in the book which will not be accepted but by the adherents of a certain school. There

<sup>1</sup> *Das Wesen des Christenthums*. Sechzehn Vorlesungen vor Studierenden aller Facultäten im Wintersemester, 1899-1900, an der Universität Berlin gehalten von Adolf Harnack. Leipzig: Hinrichs. Cr. 8vo, pp. 190. Price 3s. 6d.

are also some positions which it is difficult to adjust the one to the other. But it is always worth while having the opinion of a scholar like Harnack, and there is much in these lectures that will be helpful to minds disconcerted and in difficulty with regard to the claims and the meaning of the religion of Jesus Christ. He gives us here the results of much thought and lengthened research, clear of all the details and the stiff scientific terminology. He speaks also devoutly and with the tone of sincere conviction.

He takes us back to our Lord's own conception of Himself and His work. He finds this to be very simple. It is a curious circumstance that he attaches much importance to the dogmatic definitions of the Church, the great Creeds, etc., while at the same time he looks on the *Logos* doctrine, the definitions of the two natures in Christ, etc., as refinements that have obscured and misinterpreted the real contents of the Gospel. Even the doctrinal teaching of Paul and John is similarly regarded. What Harnack recognises as true is that Christ knew Himself to be Messiah, and to have the Father with Him and in Him. And the essence of His work is declared to be this—the impartation to men of that living conviction of the Fatherhood of God which He Himself had. What Christ did was to deliver a message to men which had three circles of ideas, *viz.*, first, the kingdom of God and its coming; secondly, God the Father and the infinite value of the soul of man; and thirdly, higher righteousness and the law of love. His message, therefore, is entirely moral, in no sense dogmatic. It does not belong to its essence to inculcate any such doctrines as a Last Day and a Final Judgment, nor does it depend on miracle, not even on a historical resurrection. There were appearances, no doubt, of the Risen Christ, as the Apostles believed and affirmed. But it is impossible for us to understand these, even as they are reported by Paul, and to rely on them would be to “base our faith upon a shifting ground”. The essential thing is that Christ overcame death. At the same time *miracle* is not peremptorily rejected. Harnack's attitude to the miracles recorded in the Gospels is to some extent indeter-

minate. He thinks that the fact that the Gospels contain so much miraculous incident, is not a just ground for rejecting them as historical authorities. There are miracles indeed which, he declares, we no longer believe and never again can believe. But there are others of a different order, *e.g.*, "that lame men walked, blind men saw, and deaf men heard, we must not summarily dismiss as an illusion". Nay, more, the religious man cannot but believe that "the course of nature serves higher ends, that by means of an inner Divine force, it may be so used that everything shall serve the best".

Harnack's interpretation of the essence and meaning of Christianity is founded on the Synoptical Gospels alone. The Fourth Gospel is excluded, as giving a later view of Christ, and one in the formation of which "the writer has acted with sovereign freedom." And the Gospel which the Synoptists, who are the only real authorities, present is a very simple thing. It is a moral message, which stands apart at once from dogma, external Pharisaic rules, and social programmes—a gospel within the gospel, which makes love to God and to man the one ground for all action.

The present is peculiarly the time for a statement of the principles and general results of the Higher Criticism as applied to the Old Testament, and for an exposition of the Pentateuchal question in particular. We have reached a period when the novelty of the critical methods and conclusions has so far worn away, but when we also see on the one hand a disposition to carry things to extremes and on the other hand a considerable conservative reaction. Along with this, much has been made of archæology of late. There has been a tendency on the part of some, to make little of its results, while others have been tempted to place them in an unwarranted antagonism to the findings of literary and historical criticism. This is just the time, therefore, for an explanation and vindication of criticism, and for a fresh presentation of its main conclusions. The opportunity has been seen by the Society of Historical Theology in Oxford, and

in their book on the *Hexateuch*<sup>1</sup> Messrs. Carpenter and Harford-Battersby have made timely and able use of it.

Of the two volumes the first is given to Introduction, the second to the text. Both are as satisfactory as well could be, in view of the aim and object of the whole undertaking. The text of the *Hexateuch* is given in its constituent documents. As it is exhibited here it helps us to see at once to what extent critics are practically at one in the arrangement of the matter of which the six books consist, and to what extent allowance has to be made for textual corruption, lack of material for continuous literary analysis, and difference of opinion. The first volume is of great value. Nothing could be better in the way of Introduction, in respect of clearness and caution in the statement of the various questions and conclusions, the selection of the points of view, and the general vindication of the Higher Criticism of the Old Testament as a literary process that is in no sense peculiar, but simply applies to the literature of Israel "the principles of criticism which have long since been acknowledged as valid in other fields".

The earlier sections of Vol. I. deal with the ancient historiography of Israel, the claim to contemporary authorship, the use and progress of literary criticism as applied to the Old Testament, etc. What criticism discovers in the historical books of the Old Testament, is shown to be analogous to what we find in the old chronicles and laws of England, the literature of India, etc. The tradition which connects the name of Moses with the laws and history contained in the Pentateuch is carefully investigated in respect of its origin and growth. Justice is done to the importance of De Wette's work in the story of Old Testament criticism, and enough is given to enable us to see the great stages

<sup>1</sup> *The Hexateuch according to the Revised Version.* Arranged in its constituent documents by Members of the Society of Historical Theology, Oxford. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, Marginal References and Synoptical Tables, by J. Estlin Carpenter, M.A., London, and G. Harford-Battersby, M.A., Oxford. In two volumes. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900. Pp. xii. + 279, 359. Price 36s. net.



through which that criticism has passed—from its first emergence, its earlier literary form, the passing of the literary analysis into the historical, the elaboration of constructive theories, etc. The later sections of the volume deal with the history and characteristics of the various documents, the processes by which the separate documents were combined, the relation of archæology to criticism, etc. The last mentioned question is handled by Canon Cheyne. His statement is full of information, and is on the whole a reasonable and cautious review of the position. He shows how uncertain many of the results of archæological investigation yet are, and he is very restrained in his appreciation of the value of recent Egyptian discoveries.

There are things in these volumes to which exception may justly be taken. Too much is claimed by Professor Carpenter when he compares the position of the Biblical critic dealing with his documents, to that of the geologist dealing with his groups of rocks. The position of the former cannot be said to be like that of the latter in degree of scientific certainty or probability. But there is not much to stumble at in the view of the case for criticism which is given in these volumes. They are the best contribution yet made to the subject. All students of the Old Testament should have these masterly summaries at their hand.

A volume of his *Letters*<sup>1</sup> is a welcome addition to the *Life* of the late Master of Balliol. Messrs. Evelyn Abbott and Lewis Campbell have given us a considerable selection, for which we owe them cordial thanks. The letters are of interest in themselves, and they will be valuable aids to us in forming an estimate of the singular character of Benjamin Jowett. They show us something of the secret of his personal influence and the impression he made not only upon Oxford and a long succession of pupils, but upon a wide circle beyond. They deal with a large variety of subjects—Church Reform, Educa-

<sup>1</sup> *Letters of Benjamin Jowett, M.A., Master of Balliol College, Oxford.* Arranged and edited by Evelyn Abbott, M.A., LL.D., and Lewis Campbell, M.A., LL.D., with portrait. London: John Murray. 8vo, pp. 262. Price 16s.

tion, Politics, India, Religious thought, Ecclesiastical movements, etc. On most things that engaged the public mind Jowett has something to say, always characteristic of the man, sometimes of not much moment, but usually shrewd and worthy of attention. Among his correspondents we find Dean Stanley, the Marquis of Salisbury, Sir R. B. Morier, Frederick Harrison, Miss Cobbe, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Lady Tennyson and many more. One gets here the Master's opinions on such celebrities as Cavour, Darwin, Tennyson, Louis Napoleon, Jane Austen, Robert Burns, Matthew Arnold, John Bright, T. H. Green, Bismarck, etc., etc. The letters on India, which deal really with the best training for the Civil Service in the East, are full of sound advice and sagacious remark which have their value for the present day. His pronouncements on questions of theology are often indeterminate, but on some things, such as the gulf between clergy and laity in the Church of England, the attitude of the High Church clergy, etc., he has very definite opinions. The volume, which is a handsome one, has many interesting things in it.

Mr. T. Herbert Bindley, B.D., Principal of Codrington College and Canon of Barbadoes, publishes a very useful volume in his *Oecumenical Documents of the Faith*.<sup>1</sup> The book gives the creed of Nicæa, the Three Epistles of Cyril, the Tome of Leo, and the Chalcedonian definition, in the original texts. Good historical Introductions are provided, and each document is supplied with abundant explanatory notes. The Nicene Creed is accompanied also by the creeds of Cæsarea, Jerusalem, Alexandria, Justin Martyr, Antioch, Epiphanius, and the Apostolic Constitutions. The whole is carefully done, and will be of much service to theological students.

Several additions have been made to the useful series of *Books for Bible Students*, edited by the Rev. Arthur E. Gregory. Professor J. S. Banks contributes a concise but useful and instructive sketch of *The Development of Doctrine in the Early Church*.<sup>2</sup> Much is compressed here into little space. The

<sup>1</sup> London : Methuen & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 311. Price 6s.

<sup>2</sup> London : Charles H. Kelly, 1900. Small Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 213. Price 2s. 6d.

account of Augustine and the Pelagian Controversy is particularly good. Mr. Herbert B. Workman, M.A., brings down the story of the *Church of the West in the Middle Ages*<sup>1</sup> from the death of Bernard to that of Clement V. He tells the story well, making use of the best authorities. He confines himself to the history of events, and does not include the development of doctrine. The sketches of the Fall of the Empire, the reign of Innocent III., and the Mission of the Friars are full of interest. The statements on the Fall of the Papacy and the things that contributed to bring it about are careful and discriminating. The book makes a very useful manual. Another volume that deserves a cordial welcome is Alfred S. Geden's *Studies in Eastern Religions*.<sup>2</sup> It is a sequel to his *Studies in Comparative Religion*, and deals with Brahmanism and Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. The author has acquainted himself with the best literature on these great subjects, and also with the religious and philosophical books themselves so far as they have been translated. He writes also in a clear and pleasant style. The result is a remarkably useful compendium which does not attempt to go into the deeper reaches of these systems, but gives a very good idea of their main levels and outstanding characteristics. Among other things which are very well handled are the idea of *Karma*, the difference between the Buddhist theory of re-birth and the Hindu doctrine of metempsychosis, and the different attitudes of Jainism and Buddhism to the surrounding Brahmanism. The volume makes a good first book for the study of these religions.

The third number of Dr. Erwin Preuschen's *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums* is to hand. It is a very good number. There are some very brief papers by Dr. Nestle and the editor himself which are of interest, among which is a concise account of the recent acquisition made by the National Library of Paris—

<sup>1</sup> London: Charles H. Kelly, 1900. Small Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. + 322. Price 2s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> London: Charles H. Kelly, 1900. Small Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. + 278. Price 3s. 6d.

the splendid *Codex aureo-purpureus Parisinus*, with a text obviously like that of the purple MSS., *N* and *Σ*. There is a judicious review of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, and a communication by H. Achelis on a Gnostic grave in the necropolis at Syracuse. In addition to these we have two long and elaborate articles—one by W. Bousset on the “Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,” and another by W. Soltau on the “Origin of the First Gospel”. The latter article takes special notice of the recent publications on the synoptical problem by Hawkins and Wernle, who are held to have demonstrated, as far as demonstration can be had, that our existing Mark, and not some earlier vanished Mark, is the fundamental document on which Matthew and Luke have worked, and that these Gospels had a second source in the Logia. Herr Soltau’s object is to show that our first Gospel is not by one hand; that we must distinguish between the original work, the Proto-Matthæus, and a quantity of supplementary matter due to another hand; and that our existing Matthew is a second, enlarged edition of an older Gospel. Dr. Bousset’s paper goes into a careful comparison of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and the *Book of Jubilees*, and assigns them both to the period of the Maccabaean rule, most probably to the time of Alexandra or the first years of Aristobulus.

The tenth part of the eighth volume of the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, edited by Messrs. St. Chad Boscawen and H. M. Mackenzie, contains two papers of peculiar interest. One deals with the “Romantic Side of the Talmud” (by Moses Levene). In the other Dr. L. C. Castarelli writes of the “Zoroastrian Theology of the Present Day,” and prints a communication from N. M. Kanga, showing how modern Zoroastrian theologians approach the problem of *physical and moral evil*.

The thirtieth Fernley Lecture was delivered in Burslem in July last by Dr. Charles Joseph Little, D.D., LL.D., President of the Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois, U.S.A. It is now published under the title of *Christianity*

*and the Nineteenth Century.*<sup>1</sup> It begins with a somewhat rapid sketch of the Christianity of the Czar, the Pope, and the people, and then passes on to deal with the Christianity of experience, and what the author describes as the Leaven and the Lump. The lecturer carries us with him in the main, and never lets the interest flag. He does not take us far into the heart of things, but he makes many good remarks, and calls our attention to some features of the religion of our century that are of importance. His estimate of the meaning and power of the Reformation is one of the best things in the book. "The hidden root of the Reformation," he says, "was and is the attainment and paramount authority of a living experience of Christ in the soul of the believer". As to the theology of the Reformation he rightly claims that, "like the mechanics of Galileo, it started from experience". And in well chosen words he points out how soon theology became something different from that, and what it might have been with us now, if it had kept true to its beginnings.

A series of papers on the "Doctrine of the Atonement," appeared recently in the *Christian World*, in the form of a theological symposium. They are reprinted in a volume now with the title *The Atonement in Modern Religious Thought*.<sup>2</sup> The contributors represent various churches and various countries. Three come from the continent of Europe, three from the American continent, and eleven from England and Scotland. The papers are of very different degrees of insight and helpfulness. Some are written mainly from a subjective or philosophical point of view; others with an admirable loyalty to Scripture. Some of them are vague and most remarkable for the repugnance with which they view the confessional doctrine; others are more definite and more conservative. Among the most satisfactory is one by the late Professor Frédéric Godet of Neuchâtel—alas that we have to speak of him as "the late"! It is a real contribution to the subject. Other papers of value which take the more positive and

<sup>1</sup> London: C. H. Kelly, 1900. 8vo, pp. 96. Price 2s.

<sup>2</sup> London: James Clarke & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 376. Price 6s.

Biblical view of Christ's work are those by Dr. Dods and Dr. Forsyth. From different points of view the papers by Har-nack, Sabatiër, T. T. Munger, W. F. Adeney, A. Cave, etc., are of interest. The volume will be of use as indicating in what respects the old ways of construing the Atonement have been left, to what extent the substance of the old doctrine is conserved, and in what directions the thoughts of divines who claim to be specially modern-minded have been travelling.

Mr. Stopford Brooke's study of *Tennyson*<sup>1</sup> has taken a foremost place among books of its kind. Much has been written on the late Poet Laureate, but nothing has appeared as yet that is on the whole so satisfactory. We know of only one book, that by Dr. Van Dyke, that we should place alongside of it so far as it goes, and even above it in the exposition of the religious teaching of the poet. Lovers of Tennyson have now the advantage of having Stopford Brooke's admirable work in two small volumes of the daintiest form, suitable for the pocket and surprisingly cheap. They owe this to the taste and enterprise of Messrs. Isbister & Co.

Dr. Orello Cone edits a series of essays on *Evolution and Theology*<sup>2</sup> and other subjects by Professor Otto Pfeiderer. The most important, perhaps, is the one that gives the title to the volume. There are others little less important on "Theology and Historical Science," "The Essence of Christianity," and "Luther as the Founder of Protestant Civilisation". There are also interesting papers on "The National Traits of the Germans as seen in their Religion," the "Task of Scientific Theology," "Jesus' Foreknowledge of His Sufferings and Death," "Is Morality without Religion possible or desirable?" etc. They are all written in the clear and pointed style which has gained for Professor Pfeiderer so eminent a position as lecturer and expounder. No one can miss his meaning.

<sup>1</sup> *Tennyson, his Art and Relation to Modern Life.* By Stopford A. Brooke. In two volumes. London: Isbister & Co., 1900. Pp. 254, 253. Price 2s. 6d. net each.

<sup>2</sup> *Evolution and Theology, and other Essays.* By Otto Pfeiderer, D.D. Edited by Orello Cone. London: A. & C. Black. Cr. 8vo, pp. Price 6s.

These essays have nothing that we do not find in the writer's larger works. But they show him in his lighter vein as well as in his more serious, and they give us a good general view of his ways of thinking. Above all they present in vivid, popular form his conception of Christianity and his idea of the methods and results of an evolutionary theology. We see here what kind of thing the evolution is to which he attaches himself, how it differs from the evolution that is advocated by others, and in what sense it is related to the Divine Logos and means the creating, purposeful, regulating thought of God. We see, too, how by the exclusion of miracle, whether as nature-miracle, or as spirit-miracle, he comes into difficulty and inconsistency in his account of Christianity, and to how little, comparatively speaking, he is under the necessity of reducing it. The book is of much interest for the insight which it gives us into the working of an acute mind earnestly occupied with the great questions of religion.

It is difficult to express oneself satisfactorily on such a book as Dr. Percy Gardner has given us in his *Exploratio Evangelica*.<sup>1</sup> He describes it as a "brief examination of the basis and origin of Christian belief," and presents it as "essentially the work of a layman". He intends it to be neither destructive nor primarily constructive, but critical and "of the nature of Prolegomena". It has all the attractions of a well-written and ingenuous book, one in which the writer discloses very frankly the extent to which he has "felt the stress of the revived interest in the problems of theology and science which marks our age and country"; the difficulties which he has experienced; and the methods by which he has reached conclusions which seem to him to strike the proper balance between old ideas and new science.

It is impossible not to feel sympathy with much that Dr. Gardner says. He says indeed many good and true things, and many more which, though of very doubtful foundation,

<sup>1</sup> London: Adam & Charles Black, 1899. 8vo, pp. x. + 521. Price 15s.

carry you on almost in spite of yourself. Yet the criticism at the basis of all is nothing more penetrating than that of Matthew Arnold or that of Amiel. On "Christian Miracle" and such subjects we get only what we are very familiar with. Again and again, indeed, Dr. Gardner surprises one by the way which he revives solutions of difficulties in the Gospels and elsewhere which have been refuted over and over again, and supposed by most to have given place to other methods of explanation. The main attempt of the book is to "transfer the burden of support of Christian doctrine from history to psychology". All the chief doctrines of Christianity are considered anew in this point of view, and psychological readings of them are devised which are supposed to relieve them of difficulty and present them as reasonable. But we cannot say that this is done with any large measure of success. The book, nevertheless, has many sensible and even brilliant things. It sets the mind a thinking in new directions, and it leads one to suppose that its writer may have something more definite to say by and by on certain things which he leaves very indeterminate here.

The Rev. Arthur Wright publishes a volume on *The Gospel according to S. Luke in Greek*,<sup>1</sup> which makes a very useful supplement to his former book on the *Synopsis of the Gospels*. It gives the third Gospel according to the text of Westcott and Hort, and accompanies it with parallels, illustrations, various readings and notes. The volume is admirably printed and will be of much use in studying the problem of the Gospels, especially in the class-room. It will both guide and stimulate inquiry, and will no doubt help to direct attention anew to the questions connected with Luke's Gospel. The critical notes are concise and always to the point, and the whole work is prepared with great care.

*Calvinism*<sup>2</sup> is the title given to a course of lectures by

<sup>1</sup> London : Macmillan & Co., 1900. 4to, pp. xl. + 230. Price 7s. 6d. net.

<sup>2</sup> Amsterdam-Pretoria : Höveker & Wormser ; Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 278. Price 4s.



Professor Kuijper on the L. P. Stone Foundation in Princeton, N. J. They are not particularly well printed or got up, but they are of much interest in themselves. Professor Kuijper discourses, with much eloquence and with abundant command of facts, of Calvinism as a life-system, of what it has been and is capable of being to religion, politics, science, and art, and of its future. He writes with enthusiasm, and gives an estimate of Calvinism, its nature and its service to the Church and to the world, which will present the system in a new light to many readers. The strength of the book lies in its constant appeal to historical facts. It is far from being a *doctrinaire* book. It makes out a strong case and puts it brilliantly.

The well-known and interesting *Life of Dante*,<sup>1</sup> by the Dean of Wells, appears in the charming form in which the Dean's edition of the great Florentine's poems is re-issued. The *Life* is given substantially as before, but with some curtailments due to the progress of inquiry since it was published fourteen years ago. It is carefully edited by one very competent to do such work. It is a pleasure to have it in this most handy and tasteful form.

The second volume of the large and important study of *Christian Missions and Social Progress*,<sup>2</sup> by the Rev. James S. Dennis, D.D., deals with two topics. These are the "Dawn of a Sociological Era in Missions" and the "Contribution of Christian Missions to Social Progress". It is a heavy task to which Dr. Dennis has committed himself. It is nothing less than to "collate the manifold results of modern missions, and to present in an orderly and comprehensive survey their bearings upon social progress". He has overtaken now two-thirds of that task, and has done it well. It is a most informing work.

<sup>1</sup> By the late E. H. Plumptre, D.D., Dean of Wells, edited by Arthur John Butler, author of *Dante and his Work*. London: Isbister & Co., 1900. Pp. 252. Price 2s. 6d. net.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1899. 8vo, pp. xxvi. + 486. Price 10s. 6d.

Dr. Rigg's *Oxford High Anglicanism and its Leaders*,<sup>1</sup> when it was published in 1895, was recognised as an important contribution to the study of a chapter in the ecclesiastical history of England, which is likely long to retain its interest. We are glad to see it in its second edition, revised and enlarged. The religious movement of which it treats is one containing so many elements and occupying so remarkable a place in the history of our time, that it requires to be looked at from several distinct points of view. Only thus can it be understood, and Dr. Rigg's study of it from the side of Wesleyan evangelical faith is one of unmistakable value. That value is enhanced by the additions made in this new issue. We have a supplementary chapter which sketches the course events have taken, especially in the direction of reaction against Romanising ritual, since 1895. Two appendices also are given, which deal respectively with the Primate's charge on consubstantiation and with correspondence relating chiefly to Newman, Pusey and Manning. The ability and calmness of the Archbishop's charge are fully acknowledged. But the position taken up by him on the cardinal question of the Eucharist is pronounced "peculiarly unfortunate," both in view of the fact that the English Reformers certainly disavowed both transubstantiation and consubstantiation, and because the Lutheran divines, "while professing to hold a certain metaphysical doctrine of consubstantiation, have so taught that doctrine as not to involve the consequences stated, and justly stated, by Archdeacon Taylor, as necessarily flowing from the Neo-Anglican doctrine of consubstantiation". With this most theologians outside the Anglican Church will agree.

We have received two volumes of a new series of studies of the various books of Scripture, to be known as *The Messages of the Bible*. It is edited by Professors Frank Knight Sanders of Yale University and Charles Foster Kent of Brown University,

<sup>1</sup> By the Rev. James H. Rigg, D.D., Principal of Westminster Training College. Second edition. London: Charles H. Kelly, 1899. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 425. Price 7s. 6d.

and is to consist of twelve volumes of moderate size, handy form and modest price. It promises to be a very useful and scholarly series. The two volumes now to hand cover the prophetic books of the Old Testament; the first volume giving *The Messages of the Earlier Prophets*<sup>1</sup> and the second *The Messages of the Later Prophets*.<sup>2</sup> Both are by the editors, Professors F. K. Sanders and C. F. Kent. The idea of the series is to arrange the writings in the order of time, analyse them, and render them in paraphrase. "The paraphrase aims at giving the thought in the clearest possible terms, and, as far as may be, in the language of the present day, so that the unlearned reader may fully understand the message of the writer." Introductions dealing with the general character of the writings are furnished, and the critical positions of the most reliable scholars are adopted. The first of these two volumes, therefore, begins with Amos and Hosea, and takes up in succession the earlier prophetic activity of Isaiah, the message of Micah, the later prophecies of Isaiah, the messages of Nahum and Zephaniah, Jeremiah's prophetic activity during the reign of Josiah, the message of Habakkuk, Jeremiah's activity during the reign of Jehoiakim, and finally the same prophet's work during Zedekiah's reign. The second volume carries on the story of prophecy through Ezekiel, Obadiah, Isaiah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Joel, Zechariah (ch. ix.-xiv.), Jonah. Jeremiah comes in again here (ch. xiii. 8-xiv. 30), and bits of Isaiah are scattered here and there throughout the volume as is the present fancy. The chronological order is open to challenge at various points, but it is not dogmatically given, nor is it asserted to carry with it, all uncertain as it is, serious doctrinal consequences. The authors have carried out their idea with a large measure of success.

Mr. W. Rhys Roberts, Professor of Greek in the University College of North Wales has done a very good bit of

<sup>1</sup> London: James Clarke & Co., 1899. Sm. 4to, pp. xv. + 304. Price 3s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> London: James Clarke & Co., 1899. Sm. 4to, pp. xx. + 381. Price 3s. 6d.

work in his edition of *Longinus on the Sublime*.<sup>1</sup> His previous work on the *Ancient Boeotians* won him much credit in America and on the Continent of Europe as well as at home. This new effort will add to his reputation. The Greek text is carefully edited after the Paris manuscript. It is accompanied by a translation which is not only correct but very readable. An ample Introduction is furnished, facsimiles are given, and there is a series of Appendices, textual, linguistic, literary and biographical, which omit nothing that is of any importance for the appreciation of the treatise. The volume, the author tells us, has been in preparation "for some years in connexion with a larger undertaking, *A History of Greek Literary Criticism, or An Account of the Literary Opinions of the Greeks during the Classical, the Alexandrian, and the Graeco-Roman Periods*". It bears witness to the extent and thoroughness of the writer's studies, his trained judgment, and his capacity for historical investigation and literary interpretation. The bibliography, which is very complete, is full of interest. The explanatory notes on terms have much that will be helpful to students of later Greek. Carefully compiled indices add to the usefulness of the book. The chapters on the authorship of the work and its contents and character are models of clear, cautious and convincing discussion. Professor Roberts refers to the fact, so singular in view of the later fortunes of the book, that this remarkable treatise is "not quoted or mentioned by any writer of antiquity". His own judgment of its merits is given briefly at the close of the Introduction. He pronounces it, taken as a whole, "the most striking single piece of literary criticism produced by any Greek writer posterior to Aristotle". Among its great qualities he mentions its noble tone, its apt precepts as to style, and its judicious attitude to fundamental questions, such as those of "the errors of genius, the standard of taste, the relation of art to nature and of literature to life". Its value for the modern world lies chiefly, he thinks, in two things, *viz.*, that it reminds us

<sup>1</sup> Cambridge: University Press, 1899. 8vo, pp. x. + 288. Price 9s.

that there is a "real continuity in the principles of criticism," and that it is well adapted to "form an aid to the systematic study of Greek literature," especially by the impression it produces of the enjoyment due to that literature.

Dr. James Houghton Kennedy of the University of Dublin, to whom we owe the Donnellan Lectures of 1888-9, writes an able and interesting volume on *The Second and Third Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians*.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Kennedy takes up the line of inquiry followed by Semler, Hausrath and others, and more recently by Schmiedel. But his work is entirely his own. He neither pursues the same course nor uses the same arguments as these. While agreeing with them in the broader aspects of the case, he puts many things in quite a different way. He first sets himself to show that the epistle known to us as 1 Corinthians must have been written about a year earlier than the spring in which Paul left Ephesus, and that, therefore, it cannot be the "painful letter" referred to in 2 Cor. ii. 4. In this he has considerable support among scholars. But his task is more difficult when he proceeds to establish the position that we find that epistle, or large part of it, in the last four chapters of our 2 Corinthians; and consequently that these chapters make the original second epistle, while the earlier chapters of our 2 Corinthians form the third epistle. It is impossible to go into the details of Dr. Kennedy's reasoning. It must suffice to say that it turns not merely on the apparent dislocation between the two parts of our 2 Corinthians, but upon the order and coherence which his hypothesis introduces, and upon the tenses in the statements made in the paragraph of the present second epistle in which Paul speaks of the missing letter. Dr. Kennedy's argument is developed with much acuteness, and demands consideration. ✓

Canon J. H. Bernard, of Trinity College, Dublin, contributes the volume on *The Pastoral Epistles*<sup>2</sup> to the *Cambridge*

<sup>1</sup> London: Methuen & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxviii. + 202. Price 6s.

<sup>2</sup> Cambridge: University Press, 1899. Sm. cr. 8vo, pp. lxxviii. + 192. Price 3s. 6d.

*Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges.* It is worthy of its place in this scholarly series. The exegetical notes are very carefully done, and are sufficiently full without being overloaded with detail. The introduction handles the literary history of these epistles, their place in Paul's life, their style and vocabulary, etc., with much ability. Dr. Bernard regards the documentary evidence, of which he gives a good summary and discussion, sufficient to throw these Pastorals back into the first century, and to compel us to conclude that, if they are not by Paul, they must have been forged in his name and accepted on his authority all over the Christian world, within fifty years of St. Paul's death—within twenty-five years if we accept the testimony of Clement of Rome. There is a special chapter on "Bishops and Presbyters in the Primitive Church," in which Dr. Bernard argues for these positions, *viz.*, that the Episcopate and the Presbyterate were distinct in origin and in function; that the bishops were originally selected by the presbyteral council; that there were often several bishops in one place; and that a "conspicuous part of the bishop's duty was the administration of worship". At several points he has to meet the reasonings both of Lightfoot and of Hatch, with only partial success.

The *Theologisk Tidsskrift*, ably edited by J. O. Andersen, C. E. Floystrup and F. E. Torm, and published in Copenhagen, deserves the attention of those interested in Danish religious thought. In the part now before us, the fourth part of the first volume, they will find articles worth reading on the Sirach question and on Jülicher's work on the Parables.

The eleventh volume of the *Expository Times*<sup>1</sup> is before us. Under the discerning editorship of Dr. James Hastings this magazine makes itself a welcome visitor in many a study. The qualities which have won for it deserved success are as conspicuous in this volume as in any other. We wish it increasing acceptance.

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. viii. + 568. Price 7s. 6d.

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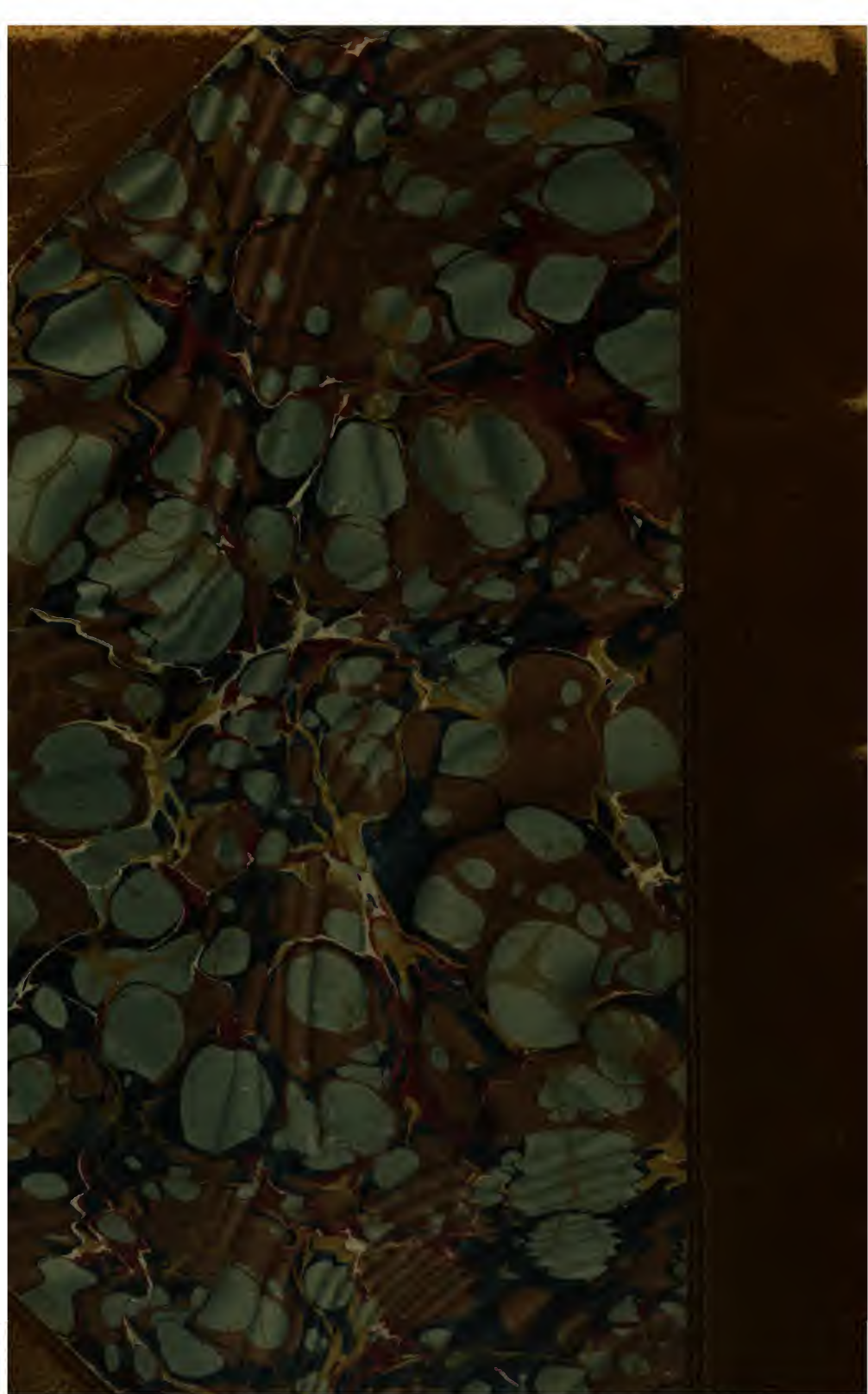














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## The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation.

*By Albrecht Ritschl, the Positive Development of the Doctrine. English Translation. Edited by H. R. Mackintosh, D. Phil., Tayport, and A. B. Macaulay, M.A., Forfar. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 1900. Pp. 670. Price 14s.*

AT last there is provided what has been a desideratum for years—a really reliable translation of the great dogmatic work on *Justification* by which the most noted of modern theologians chiefly made his mark on the thinking of his age. “Ritschl” and “Anti-Ritschl” have been long bandied about as watch-words of controversy, but the English reader has hitherto had a difficulty in getting to close quarters with the man whose thoughts have been the occasion of so much stir. “Ritschlian Theology” is a term made to cover a great deal more than Ritschl’s own contributions to theological system ; yet, while books like Kaftan’s *Truth of the Christian Religion*, Herrmann’s *Communion with God*, Harnack’s *History of Dogma*, supposed to represent Ritschlianism, have been translated, there has always been a shrinking—due, it may be presumed, to the ponderous and involved nature of Ritschl’s style—from grappling with the master himself. The courageous translators who undertook the task of rendering Ritschl’s dogmatic tome into lucid and readable English were certainly not to be envied in their work. It is all the more to their credit that the difficulties of their enterprise have been so successfully overcome, and that we are at length in possession of a translation which, in point of accuracy, clearness, and frequently even felicity of expression, is nearly all that the most exacting could desire.

Of the *collaborateurs* in the translation the main responsibility has lain with the Rev. Dr. Mackintosh, of Tayport, to

whom also the greatest individual share in the work belongs. The freshness and intelligence of Dr. Mackintosh's part of the translation speaks not only to his mastery of the language, and happy faculty of conveying its meaning in nervous and idiomatic English, but to his grasp also of Ritschl's ideas and general scheme of thought, without which the most skilled of translators must often feel himself fumbling in the dark. It is a guarantee of the excellence of the work as a whole that Dr. Mackintosh declares himself in every case responsible for the rendering finally adopted. His coadjutors, however, the Rev. A. B. Macaulay, M.A., of Forfar, the Rev. A. R. Gordon, M.A., of Monikie, the Rev. R. A. Lendrum, M.A., of Kirkliston, and the Rev. James Strachan, M.A., of St. Fergus, show by their independent work that they need commendation from no man. The distribution of chapters seems to have been skilfully made, and the translation generally reaches a high level of excellence. The English reader, therefore, may rest satisfied that he has in this volume a faithful reproduction of Ritschl's principal work; and that, in founding on it, he is in practically as good a position for judging of the system as those who have access to the original. In some respects he is even more favourably situated, for, in reading so extensive and cumbrous a book, one may catch points in English which are apt to be overlooked in exploring at first hand the dense jungles of the German.

The translators are specially to be congratulated on the way in which they have often succeeded in disentangling Ritschl's intricate and lumbering paragraphs, and brought daylight into statements disconcerting in their obscurity. If, in spite of all, the translation is heavy to read, if one often feels as if wandering in a mist, or tends to lose patience with iterations and circumlocutions that might easily, one may think, have been avoided or curtailed, this is to be laid at the door, not of the translators, but of the author. For this is Ritschl's greatest defect in method—his mind works with large, vague, looming conceptions, which it is difficult ever to reduce to precise or consistent expression—which he

is constantly going round and round, and stating in new and varying forms, while his course of exposition obeys no recognisable law, but is marked by the most provoking desultoriness and repetition. If one pictures the task of hewing a path through a forest with a dash of fog thrown in, he will not have a very inaccurate idea of what working through these chapters of Ritschl's means. On the other hand, to avoid a false impression, let it be said that the reader who perseveres will soon begin to realise that it is a remarkably powerful, original and penetrative mind that is working behind all this apparent vagueness. He will feel growing up in his apprehension a sense of unity of another kind, of a range and concatenation of ideas that hold together in an original combination from their author's point of view. He will discover that he is moving in a world of thought different from that to which he is accustomed, and that there is gradually shaping itself in his consciousness a knowledge of what really constitutes the inwardness of Ritschlianism. Even where he disagrees, he will be compelled to acknowledge that it is always the deepest questions that are being raised, and that the criticism of current conceptions is of the most searching kind. This might *a priori* be expected in view of what Ritschl's influence has actually been.

In a translation to which such praise is given it may seem invidious to point out minor blemishes and defects. These in any case are not numerous, and no one who has ever tried to put Ritschl into English for himself will be disposed to make much of faults or slips of others. Misprints, so far as we have observed, are rare in the volume. "Primitive" for "punitive" (p. 255), and "alternitatis" for "æternitatis" (p. 325) are examples. For the rest, sometimes a choice of renderings may be a matter of taste; sometimes it may depend on difference of understanding of the author's meaning. But there remain instances—happily none of them serious—in which the point, if not missed, appears at least blunted, or is not made perfectly clear by the translation. In the definition of Christianity, *e.g.*, it would have been

better, we think, if, instead of co-ordinating the clauses, "involves the impulse to conduct from the motive of love, aims at the moral organisation of mankind" (p. 13), Ritschl's form of statement had been adhered to: "involves the impulse to conduct . . . which aims at the moral organisation of mankind" (das auf die sittliche Organisation der Menschheit gerichtet ist). Distinguishing between "concomitant" and "independent" judgments of value, Ritschl says, on p. 205: "But all perceptions of moral ends or moral hindrances, in so far as they excite moral pleasure and pain . . . are *independent* value-judgments," adding a sentence or two further down: "Religious knowledge forms another class of independent value-judgments". The translation unfortunately transposes subject and predicate in the former sentence to the obscuring of the sense—"But *independent* value-judgments are all perceptions of moral ends," etc. The soul's "self-existence" is hardly the best equivalent for "Existenz an sich" and "Ansich der Seele" (pp. 20, 21). "Self-existence" has the suggestion of *causa sui*. Perhaps, on p. 25, "generally" would be better than "universally" in the sentence "the Christian ideal of life, and no other, satisfies the claims of the human spirit to knowledge of things universally". Ritschl does not mean that the Christian ideal confers omniscience, but that it accords with the demand for a satisfying general view of things. On p. 28 we read: "From the social character of religion we can gather that, in a complete view of it, its relation to the world must necessarily be included". Ritschl, however, is not thinking of a complete view of religion, but of the complete view of things (*Gesammtanschauung*) which religion leads us to form, in which he says a relation to the world is necessarily included. In the same context (p. 29) is not "professes to possess" for "zu besitzen verspricht" a little aside from Ritschl's idea, which tallies rather with such a usage as the day "promises" well? The point of view is the subjective. Man is sustained by such a view of God as awakens the confidence that he possesses, etc. In describing justification (p. 38), religious "peculiarity" or "character-

istic," might be better than "character," which is apt to suggest the idea of moral renovation Ritschl wishes to avoid. As a statement of Tieftrunk's view, the sentence "not merely as a result of the law" (p. 93) should surely rather be "not merely for the sake of the law" (nicht bloss um des Gesetzes willen). In this connection "reconcilability" (Versöhnlichkeit) and "irreconcilability" (Unversöhnlichkeit) do not convey quite a clear idea in such a sentence as "the second (pre-requisite) when reconcilability becomes a commandment of outstanding importance in the law, and when irreconcilability, conceived as the law of a moral kingdom, would be self-contradictory" (p. 93). It is the element of placability (reconcilableness) and implacability in God which is in view, and the meaning is (expounding Tieftrunk) that placability in God is an obligatory demand or prescription of the moral law (eine hervorragende Pflichtvorschrift im Gesetze), and that the opposite supposition would be self-contradictory. On p. 86, "to estimate the characteristic note of faith which is to be found in the objects of justification along with, and apart from, their consciousness of guilt," is surely an unfortunate periphrasis for "to estimate the mark of faith which, besides the consciousness of guilt, has to be taken account of in the objects of justification," which is the plain sense of the German (das ausser dem Schuldbewusstsein zu beachtende Merkmal des Glaubens zu beurtheilen). Similarly, on p. 106, in place of Ritschl's statement: "The marks which distinguish Christianity as a religion, and those which denote its ethical purpose, must not be confused with one another, if Christianity in both respects is not to be distorted and falsified" (nicht in einander gewirrt werden dürfen, wenn das Christenthum nicht in beiden Beziehungen getrübt und verfälscht werden soll), we have the needlessly paraphrastic form: "The characteristic marks . . . are therein confused with each other; whereas, if Christianity is not to be distorted and falsified in both respects, they ought to be clearly distinguished." In the chapter on Sin, the translator, we think, in one or two instances misses the idea. Thus, on p. 345, we read:

"The sin of individual persons, as Paul declares, then arises only because the doom of death is already valid for all individuals in virtue of the divine decree". The "because" and "only" here completely change the sense, which, as the context shows, is that the sinning of individuals takes place in a condition of things where already death is valid for all (apart from such sinning, *cf.* p. 347) by an act of divine judgment. This, too, is the meaning of the German (*Das Sündigen der Einzelnen finden statt, indem schon jenes Todesverhängniss für alle Einzelnen in kraft des göttlichen Urtheils giltig ist*). On the next page (346) the rendering "the sinful state of the many which, in his (Paul's) opinion, is latent in Adam's disobedience," might suggest the idea of transmission of depravity by generation, which Ritschl seeks to exclude. "Sündenstand" had better be translated as on p. 347, "status of sin," and "involved" (*enthalten*) might be less ambiguous than "latent". The discussion of the distinction of sin and crime on p. 334, throws light back upon an earlier passage where that distinction is a little blurred. On p. 27 we read: "The conception of sin committed by men is also, it is true, a religious one, as distinct from injustice and crime". What Ritschl aims at saying is, that the notion of sin is certainly also a religious one, in distinction from that of injustice and crime. Materially the acts are the same, but in describing them as *sin* we estimate them in comparison with God's precept and honour. To take only another instance, it is distinctly ambiguous if we read, as on p. 330: "On that basis Christ can be understood only as the Bearer of God's operation against sin". This *might* be understood in the sense of endurance of the consequences of transgression (sin-bearer). The ambiguity would be removed if some such expression as "the representative of the divine operation in counteracting sin (or directed against sin)" were employed (*der Träger der göttlichen Gegenwirkung gegen die Sünde*). A verbal criticism may be offered on the word "primitive" on page 390, "the primitive formula of the One Person in two natures". Ritschl would hardly grant that this formula was "primitive"

"Old ecclesiastical" (altkirchliche) would better express the meaning.

As already hinted, even to bring these stray illustrations together is almost an unfairness to the book, the general and all but uniform excellence of which casts such criticisms into the shade. In the event of a new edition being called for, however, some of them may be felt worthy of consideration.

The scope of this notice does not permit of lengthened review of the theological positions of the book, for which in other circumstances the publication of a translation might afford a tempting opportunity. The reader will readily discover to his satisfaction that throughout the work there breathes the profoundest conviction of the reality and completeness of the revelation of God in Jesus Christ; of the truth and worth of Christianity as the perfect spiritual and moral religion; of the dignity of Christ's Person, and indispensableness of His work, within the limits set by the rejection of everything which Ritschl would call metaphysical (pre-existence, union of divine and human "natures") and legal; of the freedom of access to God accorded to believers, unhindered by the consciousness of guilt; of the religious elevation and freedom from the world attainable through trust in God, and the sublimity of the moral task imposed by the ideal of the kingdom of God. In one sense the closing section of Ritschl's book—that on the religious and moral functions springing out of reconciliation—is the key to the whole, for the goal to which all religion is directed is attained by faith in God's Fatherly providence, and devotion to the ethical ends of the kingdom. It is when the reader goes a little deeper that he finds reason to doubt whether these ideas, which have so remarkably Christian an imprint, are apprehended in a manner truly in accord with the Christian revelation and consciousness of reconciliation. This question will be specially pressed upon him by Ritschl's withdrawal of the whole sphere of religious knowledge from contact with theoretic thought, and the setting forth of such knowledge in the form of what he is pleased to call "independent value-judgments"; by his polemic against



an abiding nature in the soul and in God; by his thoroughgoing attack on the idea of a divine essential righteousness, and his rejection of a punitive or retributive moral order; by his substitution of the revelation-Person of Jesus Christ, which has for us the "religious value" of God, for an essential Deity of the Redeemer; by his denial of hereditary sinfulness; by his view of justification, which, if contrasted with the Roman Catholic "Gerechtmachung" is just as little, in a real sense, the "Gerechtsprechung" of Paul and of the Evangelical Church, seeing that legal or forensic ideas are altogether excluded from it; with many other points that will readily occur. He will find, at any rate, abundance of paradoxes to solve, and apparent inconsistencies to reconcile, in one place, *e.g.*, the contention that "religion and theoretic knowledge are different functions of spirit which, when they deal with the same object, are not even partially coincident, but wholly diverge" (p. 194); in another, a rebuke of Kant for opposing practical and theoretical reason, since "knowledge of the laws of our action is also theoretical knowledge, for it is knowledge of the laws of our spiritual life" (p. 222); in one place, an energetic combating of the idea of an essential nature in God (pp. 240, 283), in another, mention of "the law of love, the authority of which is based in the very nature of God" (p. 253); in one place, the representation of God as "the Author and the Active Representative of the moral law" (p. 58), and agreement with Kant in his description of God as "the Moral Creator and Ruler of the world" (p. 219), in others, a keen antagonism to every conception which makes "law" in any degree determinative of the relations of God and men (*e.g.* pp. 95, 261). Throughout the book "forgiveness of sins," or "justification," is rightly put in the forefront as the first necessity of the sinner, and is frequently spoken of as an act or judgment of God altering the relation of the sinner to Himself; in passages that take us more into the interior of the system we learn that forgiveness is not an act in time at all, and relates, not to the individual, but to the community, does not denote, therefore, any change in God's relation to the sinner other-

wise than as that is implied in a change in the sinner's relation to God. From the "religious" or "temporal" point of view, we may "have the impression of a change from divine wrath to divine mercy," but this is simply "because we cannot but regard and judge our relations to God under the form of time" (pp. 323-5). "Forgiveness," in truth, is, in the strict sense, a misnomer in the system. Ritschl's theology, if it is to be rightly apprehended, needs to be taken as a whole, and if it is so regarded, it will present itself as a very unique and striking, but in many respects also very challengeable, product of a strong, but not always particularly coherent, mind.

JAMES ORR.

**Kurzer Hand-commentar zum Alten Testament. Lieferung 10. Das Buch Jesaia erklärt.**

*Von Karl Marti. Tübingen, Freiburg i. B., und Leipzig : J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). London : Williams & Norgate, 1900. Large 8vo, pp. xxvi. + 428. Price 7s. net.*

MARTI'S commentary on Isaiah has been eagerly looked for, and will not disappoint its readers. So much has been written about Isaiah during the last ten years that he has the best of opportunities for bringing some of the problems to be solved some steps nearer to a final solution. The best of scholars cannot afford to disregard his predecessors, and Marti shows no disposition to neglect them; he is therefore sure to produce a better book than a self-centred scholar. The comparative narrowness of his limits is no doubt a disadvantage, but such a well-equipped scholar and such a skilful writer as Marti will know how to minimise this hindrance.

Passing over the introductory summary of results, the due criticism of which would expand this article too much, I turn at once to chap. i. There the unity of vers. 2-17 is ably maintained; this is facilitated by omitting ver. 6b as a gloss. Marti's restoration of vers. 10-17, metrical superfluities being rejected, is certainly very attractive. For the rest of the chapter Marti proposes views which are partly new. Ver. 18 is an independent utterance of Isaiah of uncertain date. Vers. 19 f. belong to the period of the negotiations with Egypt (705); vers. 21-26 are a little poem of about the same date; vers. 27-31, a late passage, referring to the early Samaritans, about B.C. 440. To this separation of ver. 18 from vers. 19 f. I am at present disinclined. Wellhausen's and Duhm's well-known explanations are forced; Marti's also fails to

commend itself to me. The redactor of chap. i. certainly saw no sarcasm in ver. 18. But just admit the correction of **חרב** in ver. 20 which I proposed in the *Expositor*, June, 1899, and Isaiah's authorship of vers. 19, 20 receives a blow; it was not Isaiah who said, "If ye be willing and obedient, carob-pods shall ye eat". That neither ver. 18a nor ver. 20b is Isaiah's, is admitted by Marti; if we further admit that vers. 19, 20a is not Isaiah's, it becomes hardly worth while to defend the Isaianic origin of ver. 18b. Treat this passage as post-exilic, and a reference to the possible forgiveness of the sins of Judah is no longer improbable (*cf.* Ps. li. 7 [9]).

Marti's view that vers. 27-31 possesses literary unity, seems to me doubtful. There is colour and definiteness in vers. 29-31, but not in vers. 27 f., which are also more effective at the close of the poem, vers. 21-26. Marti's defence of **חסן** and **פעלו** (ver. 31) does not go to the root of the matter. But the passage no doubt needs further correction. Ruben has corrected **ניצוץ** into **נעיצוץ**; in **נערת** I have lately ventured to recognise **תנור**; **הַחֶסֶן** should probably be **הַחֶמֶן**. If I am right in these suggestions, we should render ver. 31:—

And the **Ḥammân** shall become a furnace,  
And his maker thorns;  
And they shall both burn together,  
And none shall quench them.

That the author should still (as in 1899 in his *Geschichte der Israelit. Religion*) deny the Isaianic authorship of ii. 2-4, ix. 1-6 and xi. 1-9—passages of the greatest interest and of historical value for the time to which they really belong—is not surprising. Three clearly written small type *Excursus* justify the post-exilic date here assigned to these passages. The author's adhesion to the most prevalent rendering of **אבי עד** (ix. 5), combined with Toy's suggestion of **מֶבִין** as a possible correction, has led me to reinvestigate the whole passage. That my own correction of **אבי עד** into **אֲבִי הוֹד** "glorious father, or, governor" (not, "possessor of majesty,"

as Marti gives the rendering) is only plausible, I admit. But no explanation of **עַד אֲבִי עַד** seems to me even plausible, and the other difficulties of the fourfold title assigned to the great king in our Bible compel one to look more sceptically into the text. The result is to my own mind highly satisfactory. The title, it is true, loses in magniloquence, but the whole prophetic vision gains, and the twofold name, which is all that I can find justified, is grand enough even for such a hero as the Messiah. It would not be fair to turn aside from Marti's work to give even a condensed description of the steps by which I arrive at this result. But I am in great hopes that the critical and therefore exegetical problems of the passage have been solved.

Marti's metrical treatment of ii. 6-22 seems to me admirable; it is only the text which needs a keener criticism. I have exchanged ideas privately with the author with regard to ver. 6*b*, and find that we have independently worked on the same lines. I cannot help preferring my own solution of the problem, which will be found in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, s. v. "Haran"; my solution of the textual problems of ver. 16 exists in the same work, s. vv. "Ebony" and "Ivory". Once more, let me express my sense of the difficulty of such problems, which need to be revolved in the mind again and again at intervals, as one's grasp of critical method becomes firmer, and at the same time my appreciation of Marti's bold stand for a re-examination of the text. On iii. 1-15 the new commentary is very instructive; vers. 4 and 12*a* have been misunderstood, they do not really require us to place the passage at the beginning of the reign of Ahaz. Robertson Smith, however (in a letter quoted in *Sacred Books of the Old Testament, Isaiah*, Heb. ed., p. 81), had already indicated the right course. But surely the puzzling **תַּעֲלֹלִים** in ver. 4 has arisen out of **מַעֲלֹלִים**, miswritten for **מַעֲלָלִים**; and in ver. 12*a* also we should probably read **מַעֲלָלִים**. And should we not correct either **נַעֲרִים** in ver. 4 into **נָשִׁים** "creditors, exactors" (*cf.* Marti on ver. 12) or **נָשִׁים** in ver. 12, perhaps a corruption produced by **נִגְשָׁיו**, into **נַעֲרִים**?

("common soldiers," see *Ges.-Buhl*, יָעַר 1b). The date of the prophecy is of importance, because in it the prophet declares the ruin of the kingdom of Judah to be imminent, and Marti's determination of the date is very probable.

Passing on to chap. vi., I would call attention to the frank and lucid explanation of the "inaugural vision" of Isaiah from a psychological point of view (pp. 69 ff.). The exegetical details are treated with much care, and with a condensation which does not produce obscurity. Marti recognises (against some recent critics) that "this people" in vers. 9, 10 means Isaiah's fellow-citizens in Jerusalem and Judah; "at any rate it is not *only* the northern kingdom which is concerned". Exegesis is simplified by the view that vers. 12-13<sup>ba</sup> and 13<sup>bβ</sup> are two later additions, the second of which, as Marti and others hold, is indicated as such by its non-existence in *Ġ*. Marti mentions (but rejects) the opinion of Meinhold (*Jesaia und seine Zeit*, p. 37), that ver. 12 is the only addition, and that ver. 13 is the continuation of the Divine speech in ver. 11. I would venture, however, to ask for an arrest of judgment. The whole of the second part of ver. 13 is awkward and improbable; the text needs re-examination upon the basis of experience of the ways of the scribes. כָּאֵלֶּה נִכְלָיו surely must be wrong: and מִצֵּבֶת "stump" is purely imaginary. וְרַע קִדְשׁ מִצֵּבֶתָהּ appears to be a second editorial attempt to extract sense out of a corrupt passage; it is valuable, however, for the purpose of comparison with the preceding editorial effort. Ver. 13<sup>b</sup> in the original text must have run nearly thus, וְשִׁדְפוּן בְּצִמְחָהּ בִּירְעִיָהּ בְּזֶרְעֶיהָ; the whole passage will become, "And should there yet be a remnant (שְׁאֵרִית) therein, it shall once more be destroyed; for consumption shall be on its (*i.e.*, the land's) plants, and parching on its sprouts". It seems to me that considering the strong feeling expressed in vers. 9, 10, the announcement in ver. 11 is unaccountably meagre as the close of the whole passage. In Isaiah v. 15 a pathetic description is given of the effect of the judgment on the population; we expect here

an equally pathetic description of its effect on the land. The land being so utterly desolate, the scanty remnant will have no means of livelihood.

Chaps. vii.-ix. 6 suggest many interesting notes. Suffice it, however, to remark that Marti adopts the now familiar view that "Immanuel" is not the Messiah, and that the entire stress is laid on the name, which, for those who give or bear it, will be a reminder of the great mercy of Judah's deliverance from Rezin and Pekah. Like Duhm, Marti fully realises the religious significance of the encounter between Isaiah and Ahaz; he illustrates his view by a reference to Robertson Smith's *Prophets of Israel*, pp. 274 f. I note also that he takes viii. 8b-10 to be a later insertion (*cf.* "Isaiah," ii., *Encyclopædia Biblica*), and that, with Oettli, he takes the whole of viii. 19 from יְרֵשׁוּ onwards to be the speech of the advocates of necromancy. Passing on to ix. 7-x. 4 (to which, with almost all critics, he joins ver. 26-29, but see Peiser and Winckler), I notice that he defends the plausibly supposed reference to Beltis and Osiris as Isaiah's, which seems to me hazardous (*cf.* a similar question as to Am. v. 26), and that he recognises the large non-Isaianic element in x. 5-34. On x. 27b-32 there is, I think, much more to be said from a text-critical point of view (see *Expositor*, Sept., 1899, and *cf.* the relevant geographical articles in *Encyclopædia Biblica*). That Isaiah wrote such a passage, is highly improbable, as Marti has shown. That Giesebrecht (*Berufsbegabung der Propheten*, p. 73), should assert that there is an Isaianic basis, is very difficult to understand.

I reluctantly skip over to xiv. 24-27, which, as Marti's clear exhibition of the arguments convinces me, is certainly not Isaianic. This result is of importance for an estimate of Isaiah's view of the future; it also obliges us (again following Marti) to question the Isaianic character of xviii. 3, 7, which passage, equally with xiv. 24-27, assumes the world-wide significance of the judgment upon Israel's enemies. Chap. xiv. 28-32, is also to be regarded as post-exilic (so Duhm and Marti). Surely the (supposed) occasion of the composition is the death of Sennacherib, whose history possessed a typical

significance for the later Jews (*cf.* Ps. xlvi. 11); a restoration of the corrupt portions is offered in the *Sacred Books of the Old Testament, Isaiah*, Heb. ed., p. 195, where, too, the late date is admitted. Marti's commentary on chaps. xv.-xvi. is particularly helpful. In xv. 9. he corrects **אֲדָמָה** into **אֲדָרִים**, "for a lion do I appoint for the escaped Moabites and for the remnant of the Edomites". The original elegy, he thinks, related to Moab, but an editorial insertion (xv. 9<sup>ab</sup>-xvi. 4<sup>a</sup>, 6, 12) introduced a reference to the calamity brought upon Edom by the Nabathean Arabs. The epilogue (xvi. 13 f.) Marti is disposed to assign (with Duhm) to the time of Alexander Jannæus. I will not here refer to textual questions, except so far as to remark that the disputed **בְּאֵלֵי עֲלֵה** in xv. 8, seems to have arisen out of **בְּאֵלֵי עֲלֵה** "in Elealeh". In chap. xviii. two distinct passages are recognised, vers. 1, 2, 4 and 5, 6; the latter passage is viewed as the close of the oracle in xvii. 1-11. This is, in fact, the necessary consequence of the excision of ver. 3, as a late insertion. Looking at my own restorations (*Sacred Books of the Old Testament, Isaiah*, Heb. ed., pp. 195 f.) of xvii. 11 and xviii. 4 f. respectively, I am struck by the way in which the two passages fit together; I think that students in general, and Professor Marti in particular, will also be impressed by this. A valuable *excursus* on the date follows the commentary.

That Marti (like Duhm) should assign the main part of chap. xix. to the time of Artaxerxes Ochus is not wonderful. But that he should prefer the reading **עִיר הַהָרִים** in ver. 18, which, like Duhm, he even renders "lion-city," *i.e.*, Leontopolis) is somewhat strange. The reading in the common text of  $\tilde{G}$  ( $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma \alpha\sigma\epsilon\delta\epsilon\alpha$ ) is really a confirmation of the reading **עִיר הַחָרָם**; **חָסֵד** and **צֶדֶק** are liable to confusion (so *e.g.*, **חָסֵד** in Ps. cxliv. 2 should be **צֶדֶק**), and we actually find another  $\tilde{G}$  reading  $\alpha(\epsilon)\sigma\epsilon\delta$ , **הַחָסֵד**, *i.e.* **הַחָרָם**. Chap. xxi. 1-10, is assigned to the period between 549 and 538, and the commentary seems to me nearly as satisfactory as it could



possibly be made on the basis of an imperfectly corrected text. But the fact that two scholars of our own day (Dr. W. H. Cobb and Dr. W. E. Barnes),<sup>1</sup> still hold out against the prevalent critical view—and perhaps I may add that other fact that two earlier English writers did for a time, following a German scholar (Kleinert), also reject that view—might perhaps have suggested to Marti the desirableness of a deeper investigation. I feel that I am myself to blame for not having made such an investigation before him. Marti has really done more for the text of this passage than I was able to do in the *Sacred Books of the Old Testament* in treating Isaiah. But I have now repaired my omission, with the result that I feel confident that the poem (for such it is, as Marti points out) has been greatly misunderstood owing to corruptions of the text. I will not occupy space by a too brief condensation of my conclusions, which might tempt some critic to attempt a premature refutation of it. But I will at least say that in my opinion the poem has nothing to do with Babylon, but is parallel to Ps. cxxxvii. (which, as Barnes nearly suggested, and as I am in a position to prove, refers exclusively to Edom), and also, of course, to the prophecy of Obadiah (*cf.* Mal. i. 2-4). It is a poetic prophecy on the fall of Edom, which since Nebuchadnezzar's time had more and more come to be regarded as Israel's arch-enemy, and it is very fitly placed beside the oracles of Seir and Arabia.

Earnest support is given to Duhm's interpretation of xxi. 1-18, as referring, not to Tyre, but (altering צֵר in ver. 8 into צִידון) to Sidon, which was destroyed by Artaxerxes Ochus, B.C. 348. I must confess that בִּישׁוֹ צִידון in ver. 4, seems to me to imply that "Sidon," in the sense (whatever it was) in which the port was the town, was still borne by the community referred to. Perhaps further study of the text may convert me to the new view! I perceive that Marti has over-

<sup>1</sup> Cobb, *Journal of Biblical Literature* (Boston, U.S.A.), 1898, pp. 40-61, carefully criticised by Marti; Barnes, *Journal of Theological Studies* (Oxford and Cambridge) July, 1900.

looked my restoration of ver. 10; but **כִּי־אֵר** is almost certainly a corruption of **מִצְרַיִם** (Egypt); **כִּי** passed into **מ**, and **צ** into **א**; parallels need not be here given. On chaps. xxiv.-xxvii., Marti again follows Duhm's bold suggestions as to dates. I cannot here enter into these. I think he will agree with me that **אֲוִרָתָא** in that famous passage, xxvi. 19, should be **אֲרֻכָּתָא** (*G ἰαμα αὐτοῖς*); other hard passages I pass over. In xxviii.-xxxiii. Marti, like myself, is much indebted to his Basle colleague. I must be brief, but may remark that he adopts corrections of xxxiii. 17 and 18, which seem to me most important, and venture to say that both (not only that of ver. 18) are my property; there seems to be a slight error in Marti's statement. He also adopts my explanation of **אֲרִיאל** in xxix. 1, 2, 7. I have come to see, however, that this is only a stage on the road. The true reading must be **יִרְחַמְאֵל** which would appear to have been an old name of Jerusalem (in 2 Sam. v. 6, 8, **פַּסְחִים** and **עִוְרִים** both represent fragments of the true reading **יִרְחַמְאֵלִים**; **צִנּוֹר** should be **צִיּוֹן**). The prophet says, The old name of David's city was Jerahmeel ("God has mercy"), but too soon it shall become **לֹא יִרְחַמְאֵל** Lo-jerahmeel ("God has not mercy"), ver. 2. The restoration seems to me not unworthy of adoption; compare the symbolic name Lo-ruhamah in Hos. i. 6.

It is time however to pass on to the second part of the Book of Isaiah, which presents peculiar problems, much discussed at the present time among critics. Questions of text cannot be left out of account, but I hope, even within my limited space, to be able to do some justice to Marti's treatment of that difficult section, chaps. xl.-lv. The question of primary importance is that of unity or plurality of authorship. To this Marti gives a clear and definite answer. Chaps. xl.-lv. (the prophecy of consolation) belong to a prophetic writer (2 Isaiah), whose date was about B.C. 540, and who probably lived in Egypt. Chaps. lvi.-lxvi. come from a writer influenced especially by 2 Isaiah and by Ezekiel, who lived at Jerusalem shortly before the first advent of Nehemiah, *i.e.*,

before B.C. 445. To the view that the original prophecy of consolation consisted of chaps. xl.-xlix., in an earlier form, and that this great prophecy was expanded by the insertion of the passages uttered by or descriptive of the Ebed-Yahwé (servant of Yahwé) and of chaps. l.-lv. (including l. 4-9, lii. 13-1iii. 12), he is, like Budde and König, decidedly opposed. At the close of the commentary on 2 Isaiah, he gives a condensed but lucid summary of the results as to the Ebed-Yahwé poems to which he has been led in the preceding exegesis.

1. To separate liii. 1-11a as an independent poem relative to an individual (Bertholet) is not possible, nor can we venture to assert (Schian, Kusters, Laue) that lii. 13-1iii. 12 is the work of a different writer, since it is the culmination of the entire series of passages.

2. Nor can l. 4-9 be supposed to have a different origin from the other passages (Ley, Laue), with which in reality it presents close affinities.

3. Everywhere the term "Servant of Yahwé" means Israel. The personification of Israel does not go beyond that of Zion (*i.e.*, the community of Jerusalem, or the entire people). All attempts to explain the passages of an individual—Isaiah (Ewald), Jeremiah (Duhm), Zerubbabel (Sellin), the aged scribe Eleazar (Bertholet), or the Messiah of the future (*cf.* Ley, Laue) are mistaken. So too is the view that the reference is to the inner circle of the pious, or the company of the scribes, or those who taught in the spirit of Deuteronomy (Kusters, Bertholet).

There is, therefore, according to Marti, nothing to differentiate the conception of the Ebed (servant) in the passages referred to from that in the undoubted 2 Isaiah. Add to this that at every step in the exegesis of 2 Isaiah, we find glances at the Ebed-Yahwé passages, and that the metres of these passages are used by 2 Isaiah. The result is that these passages must, from the first, have formed part of the prophecy of consolation, which indeed would be seriously injured by their removal.

That scholars like Marti and Smend should take opposite

sides on this question shows that the question is a difficult one. Marti means well in endeavouring to simplify it, but the presumption is that it is complicated, and that further study of the texts is required. When Marti adds the remark that to remove the passages on the Servant is to tear out the heart of 2 Isaiah I am startled. Is it the keen critic of Isa. i.-xxxix. who writes this? Truth does not need such arguments, which do indeed show that a warm human heart beats underneath the armour of the critic, but which nevertheless imply a temporary forgetfulness of the functions of criticism. Perhaps however I misapprehend Marti's meaning; if so, it is only an accidental excess of language, such as may easily happen even to a clear-sighted critic. Certainly I for one shall pay attention to Marti's arguments. We have to penetrate deeper into the genesis of 2 Isaiah than has hitherto been possible. If Marti stimulates us to do this, his work will not have been in vain. It is a less important question whether a single person wrote chaps. lvi.-lxvi. Marti, like Kautzsch, follows Duhm in accepting a Trito-Isaiah; I confess I think this view scarcely tenable, even apart from the question of the date of lxiii. 7-lxiv. A Trito-Isaiah, for me, does not exist—only a group of writers, not in minute agreement, but all looking in the same direction; the advent of Yahwé to deliver his faithful ones. With regard to lxiii. 7.-lxix I note with much interest that in lxiii. 18, Marti expresses the opinion that not destruction, but only contemptuous treatment of the temple on the part of the heterodox party is referred to. Also that lxiii. 15 f. and lxiv. 9-11 are rather boldly treated as insertions, due to a writer who lived in the great Syrian persecution when part at least of the temple was burnt and the country laid waste (1 Macc. iv. 38). Rightly enough, he compares Ps. lxxiv., which he regards, with doubtful accuracy, as a Maccabæan psalm.

I will now take up the remunerative task of reporting some of Marti's interpretations. On xli. 22, he remarks that "the former things" is a comprehensive phrase for prophecies and events belonging to the past. In xliii. 18, however, "former" events and not prophecies are referred to. In both passages

the "new things" are the deliverance and restoration of Israel, together with the consequences for Israel and mankind. "No politician could foresee that Cyrus would treat Israel differently from the other peoples, and that this would lead on to the future importance of Jerusalem as the centre of the world; only a prophet could so speak, who had such a full conviction respecting Yahwé and his aims that God's honour would be imperilled if the great political movement were not subservient to the bringing of salvation." On that difficult passage, xliii. 22-28, he says:—

It is first of all emphasised that Israel has done nothing to impel Yahwé to interpose with help. Israel has not called upon Yahwé, much less accompanied its call with sacrificial offerings. The prophet here passes over the fact that during the exile the Israelites were precluded from sacrificing. During the exile—for we are not to refer this passage on sacrifices to the entire history of Israel. Before the exile the Israelites had by no means been backward with sacrifices (*cf.* i. 10-27), and 2 Isaiah is not an Ezekiel, that he should regard these sacrifices as not having been offered to Yahwé (*cf.* Ezek. xvi. 22). In ver. 22, "not me hast thou called," requires to be supplemented by "but I thee," not by "but rather the idol-gods," and in vers. 22-24 it is absolutely denied that any sacrifices whatever had been offered. On the other hand it is said in ver. 23*b* that Yahwé lays no stress on sacrifices, but this does not mean that sacrifices are altogether rejected (*cf.* xl. 16); but to throw a bright light on the spontaneity of the help of Yahwé. To suppose that sacrifices were entirely rejected would take away all justification for the argument. Then (vers. 24*b*-28) it is shown how Israel, by its conduct, had worked in opposition to the Divine grace. Israel loses all merit, but Yahwé's grace becomes all the more splendid. That in vers. 24*b*-28 2 Isaiah is thinking of the pre-exilic period, is unmistakably shown by ver. 27 *f.* It will be seen that 2 Isaiah's object is, not to bring accusations against the Israelites, but to comfort them, and to give some explanation for the preceding period of calamity.

On ver. 27 Marti comments thus:—

"Thy first father is not Adam, who was not the father of Israel alone, nor Abraham, who is called in xli. 8 Yahwé's 'friend,' but Jacob (*cf.* Hos. xii. 3 *f.*). מְלִיצִיךָ 'thy middle-men, mediators' (*lit.*, interpreters, Gen. xlii. 23; *cf.* Job xxxiii. 23), means the prophets; of the unfaithfulness of such the older history has much to relate; *cf.* also Jer. xxiii. 11-18)."

This is no doubt the best that can be said. But it is not quite satisfactory. Using the methods of the newer textual criticism, we should, I think, correct the text thus :—

וּמִשְׁלִיָּה פָּשְׁעוּ בִי :	אָבוּ רִזְנָה לַחֲטָא 27
* * * *	וַיַּחֲלִלוּ שָׂרָה קָדְשִׁי 28
וּמִשְׁרָאֵל לַגִּדּוּפִים :	וַאֲתָנָה לַחֲרָם יַעֲקֹב

The restoration of ver. 27 was made before I had read Marti's note, in which he objects to my restoration of the next verse (in *Sacred Books of the Old Testament, Isaiah*, p. 135) that it is not in accordance with the context ("cf. patriarch and prophet, ver. 27"). It is in accordance with the true context; the patriarch and the prophets owe their existence to corruptions of the text. As Marti has pointed out, vers. 25 and 26 are later insertions, so that ver. 27 fits on to ver. 24b, unless indeed vers. 25 and 26 occupy the place of an illegible passage. מִשְׁלִיָּה supports my original reading מִשְׁלִיָּהם for מִשְׁלֵם in xlii. 19. Perhaps the writer of the gloss (see *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, and Marti *ad loc*) in xlii. 19bβ had xliii. 27 in his mind.

The book of Isaiah is so full of problems that a simple *compte-rendu* of a commentary like Marti's is impossible. It was time indeed that such a work should be written, and its inevitable *lacunæ* are no discredit to the author. As Prof. Jastrow lately said of histories of Babylonian religion, finality is out of the question. But Marti is young enough to do much more both for Isaiah and for other Old Testament writings, and his scrupulous respect for scholars of the past and the present makes it a pleasant task to interchange ideas with him. As such an interchange the present article, which is of course very far from complete, may be regarded.

T. K. CHEYNE.

## The English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.

By *W. W. Capes, M.A., Honorary Canon of Winchester.* London: Macmillan & Co. Pp. xi. + 391. Price 7s. 6d.

CANON CAPES'S book is the third volume of the "History of the English Church," now appearing under the editorship of the Dean of Winchester and Mr. Hunt; in date of publication it follows immediately on the first volume, which was noticed in these pages some months ago. Mr. Capes is fortunate in a subject less familiar than the story which it fell to Mr. Hunt to relate, in the first volume of the series. There are, of course, portions of his history about which "every schoolboy knows" something—the period of Wycliffe and Chaucer, or the quarrels between Edward I., Peckham and Winchelsey. But students of English history have long desired a work like this, the main theme of which is the *Realien* of Mediæval Church life in England, the organisation of dioceses and cathedrals, the constitution of religious houses, and the arrangements for parish work, and in these respects Mr. Capes has given us a notable addition to our available information; within narrower limits and on a smaller scale, he has done for ecclesiastical institutions part of what Mr. Rashdall's great book did for Universities and academic life. In this, rather than in the narrative of the political relations between Church and Crown, lies the permanent value of the book.

The earlier chapters, which deal with the reign of Edward I., afford additional proof of how thoroughly Papal was the English Church in mediæval times. Yet Mr. Capes, in discussing the policy of Archbishop Winchelsey—"so strong a partisan of Papal power"—permits himself the reflection that the archbishop's wisdom was questionable, because "it

was clearly not the true policy of a National Church to appeal to the authority of the Pope against the Crown in the question of temporal possessions". The reflection is itself irreproachable; but it is difficult to find in the writer's own pages any traces whatsoever of a National Church, if the phrase is to have any meaning at all. Any attempt to make the Church national came from the Crown and was bitterly opposed by the clergy, from the time of Henry II. to that of Queen Elizabeth. There is no evidence that the Church sympathised even with the feeling against the pretensions made by the Pope to Scotland, "as a fief of the Apostolic See," which, "naturally provoked an outburst of passionate protest throughout England". One may, however, pardon Winchelsey for withholding his assent to this passionate protest; the passion is natural and intelligible; but the protest came somewhat strangely from a nation whose only legal claim to the possession of Ireland was a gift from the Pope, who had as much right to preserve Scotland from Edward I. as to give Ireland to Henry II. Whether his readers find themselves in agreement with Mr. Capes or differing from him, on such points as these, it will be freely admitted that his narrative is scholarly and accurate, and he never yields to the temptation of placing out of their due proportion, facts that tell rather against than for his own controversial sympathies. In spite of limits of space, he has done much to state more clearly disputed questions of various kinds. His account of the downfall of the Templars is remarkably just to that much maligned Order, because he has taken the trouble of actually reading the evidence against them, instead of trusting to general tradition. His chapter on the persecution of the Lollards states with fulness and in a complete form what must have been evident to any student who has ever looked through the pages of an Episcopal Register—that Lollardry was very far from being completely suppressed under the House of Lancaster. It has frequently been regarded as "a passing eccentricity of religious sentiment, soon to be forgotten," while, in point of fact, it was silently preparing



the way for the changes of the sixteenth century, and for the realisation of the faith of the Lollards themselves, that though they should "be in a manner destroyed, notwithstanding at length they should prevail and have the victory against all their enemies".

The later chapters in Mr. Capes's book explain why the Lollards lingered on, after they had ceased to be an organised sect, for the picture which he draws of the condition of the Roman Church in England is indeed lamentable. There are, of course, exaggerated statements in common circulation, and the considerations on the other side are not always stated. It must be remembered that if the great statesmen bishops did not devote themselves to the work that we should now regard as the main duty of a great ecclesiastic, they yet did for England work of another kind. Education has owed much to the munificence of such prelates as Wykeham and Chichele (whom Canon Capes defends from the accusation of having forced on the French wars of Henry V.) and Waynflete. But when all is said that can be said in defence of the Mediæval Church, there remains a strong indictment which its advocates will not attempt to answer. Even with regard to the parochial clergy, among whom we may hope that there were many exceptions like Chaucer's poor priest, Mr. Capes, after a very fair review of the evidence, sums up thus : "The shortcomings of the clergy have in all ages furnished ample materials for satire ; but such sweeping charges of coarse vices as Gower recounts at length would now be simply impossible for any satirist or critic, and even after allowance has been made for the ruder spirit of those times, it must be owned that the level which they imply was very low". With regard to the regular clergy, Mr. Capes points out that somewhat ignorant prejudice has affected the popular judgment, but his own opinion is scarcely less severe. For good and evil alike, the monasteries have been misunderstood. Men have judged them from the standpoint of the general good ; while they existed for the individual alone, they have been credited with services to education, and have acquired a reputation which they little deserved. From the date of the

Norman Conquest, the schools attached to monasteries were, as Mr. Leach has shown, comparatively unimportant, and the men who taught in them were not monks. As to their charity, Mr. Capes considers that it "took the worst form of doles spread broadcast from time to time, provided for the most part by special benefactions, and not to any great extent out of the common fund, which had been itself given originally in 'free and perpetual alms'." It is, however, pleasant to find a good word for the nunneries. Even "the lighter literature of the times deals tenderly with the nuns, and drops its tones of coarseness and satire in their presence".

Canon Capes has written out of very full knowledge, in a fair spirit, and in a pleasant style. His book adds another, and a very valuable, source on which the student may draw, and the general reader who wishes to understand something of the actual life of our forefathers will find it indispensable for his purpose.

ROBERT S. RAIT.

## Handkommentar zum Alten Testament herausgegeben

*Von Dr. W. Nowack, etc. Das Buch Ezechiel übersetzt und erklärt von Richard Kraetzschmar. Goettingen : Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. Edinburgh and London : Williams & Norgate, 1900. Pp. xv. + 302. Price M.6.*

WITH the publication of Kraetzschmar's *Ezekiel* the indispensable series of Old Testament commentaries, edited by Professor Nowack of Strassburg, takes a long step towards its approaching completion. The leading features of the series are now well known to readers of the CRITICAL REVIEW, the most characteristic being the presentation on the same page of a full translation in addition to the commentary, by which feature it is distinguished from the other two series of Old Testament commentaries now in course of publication—Clark's *International Critical Commentaries* and the more condensed German series under Professor Marti's direction.

The volume before us follows the usual plan by which the commentary proper is preceded by a short introduction of fifteen pages, in which the prophet's name, person, period and book are discussed. On the very threshold Kraetzschmar provokes dissent by departing from the familiar tradition that Ezekiel was a member of the Jerusalem priesthood. Our English versions, it will be remembered, expressly speak of "Ezekiel the priest, the son of Buzi" (i. 3), but the original may equally bear the rendering, which is Kraetzschmar's, "the son of Buzi the priest". It is after all a small matter, but we mention it for the sake of the principle involved. Here is a passage of which two renderings are possible; one of these renderings, however, has the support of a venerable tradition. Now, even if the case for Ezekiel being himself a priest, which is furnished by the latter portion of his book,

were much less strong than in our opinion it is, we maintain that in a case of ambiguity of rendering, the tradition of the synagogue should be decisive in favour of "Ezekiel the priest, etc.". That is to say, where a tradition like this holds the field, it is entitled to be respected by us until evidence of its falsity is forthcoming, and is not to be set aside by the mere *obiter dictum* of the most respected scholar. This we take to be a true canon for our Old Testament work, though it is so frequently disregarded by workers at home and abroad.

In this discussion of the prophet's personality, and more fully in the commentary (see especially, pp. 45 ff.), Kraetzschmar avows himself a disciple of Klostermann in regarding Ezekiel as a study in pathology, an ecstatic epileptic, subject to aphasia and other mental diseases. No purpose would be served by entering on the vexed question of realism *versus* symbolism in our interpretation of Ezekiel. We agree with Kraetzschmar that the case of the realistic interpreters stands or falls with the interpretation of ch. iv. 4 ff.; but despite all that is here said in favour of their view, we are still unconvinced that this way lies the truth. All the more cordially do we endorse the sympathetic estimate (p. 7 ff.) of Ezekiel's unique position in the history of Israel's religious development. That Israel in exile did not lose itself in the surrounding heathenism, but emerged a purified remnant to be the depository of revelation until the fulness of the time—for this, as Kraetzschmar truly says, we are in the main indebted to Ezekiel. One is likewise glad to see our prophet vindicated from the charge of exalting the ceremonial elements of religion at the expense of the ethical.

With regard, further, to the steps by which the book of Ezekiel took shape (pp. 11-14), the most interesting feature of the discussion, one by which this commentary is differentiated from its predecessors, is the attempt to grapple with the fairly numerous parallel texts or doublets to be found throughout the book. Some of the more evident examples of such doublets—*e.g.*, the opening verses of ch. i. and the section ch. vii. 1-9—have indeed been recognised by previous commentators, but Kraetzschmar has greatly extended their number, and sought

to account for them. We think that on the whole he has proved his thesis, with this caveat, however, that in some at least of the passages where he would detect a doublet, it is perhaps sufficient to remember the prolixity of style which, as we see it in the Priestly Code, seems to have been a characteristic of writers of the priestly caste. The thesis in question is this: Just as we have two recensions of the text of Jeremiah represented by the Massoretic text and the Greek text respectively, so there existed two recensions of Ezekiel's writings. But while the two former remained distinct, in the case of Ezekiel a textual harmony was sought to be established by placing the more striking variations side by side. In addition to the examples cited above, we may add the following: iii. 4-9; iv. 9-17; ix. 5-7; xii. 21-27; xvii. 8-10, 16-20, etc.

The commentary, including the translation of the emended text, fills 300 of the large pages of this series. In its arrangement one notes a lack of proportion, common however to most commentaries, between the earlier and the later parts of the book. Thus the last sixteen chapters (chaps. xxxiii.-xlvi.) receive only sixty-five pages, which, remembering the relatively large space occupied by the translation, is very "step-motherly treatment" (to borrow the German phrase) compared to the same number of pages devoted to the first five chapters alone. The purely exegetical work of Dr. Kraetzschmar is worthy of the highest praise. The ampler space and the smaller type give Nowack's collaborateurs a great advantage over Marti's, and Kraetzschmar has used his opportunity to produce the fullest modern commentary on Ezekiel. Here and there, indeed, it is perhaps too full, and the unusual number of contractions will make its study no easy matter for those whose German is somewhat rusty. It is impossible in a short review to enter into matters of detail for the purpose either of giving or of withholding assent. No one, however, can read many pages of the commentary without being struck by the thoroughness of the work. The best and latest results of research have been utilised, such, for example, as Hilprecht's recent excavations in Babylonia, which have settled

the identity of the Chebar. The commentary was no doubt in print before the appearance of Cheyne's study of the Cherubim in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, otherwise it would have been utilised in the proper place. Another praiseworthy feature is the extent to which the vocabulary of Assyrian, and to a less extent of Egyptian, has been drawn upon for the elucidation of rare and difficult terms. In the matter of textual criticism, Kraetzschmar in addition to giving an independent judgment on the emendations of his predecessors, Hitzig, Cornill, Toy and others, is quite competent to strike out a path for himself. Like older critical hands among his compatriots, however, he is now and then too ready simply to delete a difficult word or phrase.

In so difficult a book as *Ezekiel*, the opportunities for dissent are almost on every page. One only need here be touched upon, namely, the quite untenable view, as we consider it, that in the "Descent of Pharaoh" (xxxii. 17 ff.) we are to distinguish between "Sheol" and "the pit" as separate parts of the underworld, each with its appointed inhabitants (p. 233). That these terms are (as used by *Ezekiel*) convertible and synonymous it would not be difficult to prove. It is a pity that the editor has not seen fit to include an index of subjects discussed, as is done in Marti's series and in the *International Commentaries*.

The honourable title of "Father of the Higher Criticism" is assigned by writers on Old Testament Introduction, now to one luminary of the past, now to another. May we here ask consideration for the claims of an almost forgotten student, Khananiah ben Hezekiah? This contemporary of the first Gamaliel it was, who, at the cost of 300 measures of oil, succeeded in reconciling the last nine chapters of *Ezekiel* with the Pentateuch, and by so doing saved for Church and Synagogue the most extensive, and in some respects the most profound of the prophetic writings.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

## **Un Essai de Religion Scientifique: Introduction à Wronski, Philosophe et Réformateur.**

*Par Christian Cherfils. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1898.  
8vo, pp. 230.*

THE fame or notoriety of Wronski (1778-1853) has not echoed much in the English-speaking world. It may not be improper, therefore, to refer the reader for a sketch of his life to an article by Bertrand of the Academy in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1st Feb., 1897). The account is well worth reading as a very curious study in psychology. For in Wronski we have to do with one who makes an array of claims no less than this: "He has discovered 'the supreme law of mathematics,' and resolved equations of all degrees; he has reformed celestial mechanics and substituted for the law of Newton a principle more exact, more general, and derived from reasoning alone; he has made known the law of temperatures and densities at all depths, in the interior of the terrestrial globe; corrected the theory of the tides left imperfect by Laplace; created a new philosophy of physics and chemistry; deduced from the true laws of motion a new and perfect system of steam-engines; indicated the veritable laws of locomotion which, were we not ignorant and barbarians, should long ago, and from the outset, have effected the suppression of railways; reformed, lastly, the calculus of probabilities, and deduced from rigorous formulæ the certain means of mastering chance and of winning at all games. These grand discoveries—it is the glory of Wronski—are derived from one principle which governs them all, and the applications of which to philosophy, to politics and religion, are to solve the social problem and, much more, that of the future life." So far M. Bertrand. Of this man, too, more than one distinguished authority has found himself baffled to pronounce whether he was "a charlatan, a madman, or a genius". That he should have disciples—be, in a small way, the founder of a sect—is less surprising.

With reference to the whole circuit of Wronski's professions the present writer is not qualified to judge. In any case, painful groping through the circuit of his philosophic and religious departments—even under the guidance of a calm and assured initiate—but brings one to the situation in which Lagrange and Lacroix found themselves when charged by the Institute with the examination of one of his algebraic memoirs. They were constrained to report “that they did not understand the demonstrations, and that the results did not possess the importance which the author attributed to them”.

The purpose of the work before us is to clear away some of the “défaillances” and “bizarreries indéniables” of Wronski as a philosopher and philosophico-religious teacher, leaving the acceptable and solid body of his doctrine. All that is attained is to make evident to the reader that in Wronskism we have a peculiarly trying phase of the romantic and New England “Brahmanist” style of philosophising. In other words, there is no lack of striking thoughts by the way; but those hardest transitions which science is able to effect only by proof, or at which it is compelled to call a halt, are here accomplished in happy unconsciousness or by a confident sweep of orphic involution. Add that, in the present case, you have the constant formal show of science along with excess of undeniable analytic acuteness, and the special irritation of the thing is readily understood.

The few central ideas, whether of Wronski or of the book on hand, seem to be no more nor better than about this: To the present time, Being and Knowledge have remained, for philosophy, two primitive and essentially heterogeneous elements. Triumph has been permitted neither to realism nor to idealism. And yet all use of intelligence—ordinary commonsense not excepted—accuses this primitive diversity between Being and Knowledge of illusoriness. How, then, is the opposition to be resolved? According to Wronski, the answer is given in the transcendental method of philosophy, first apprehended in the *Cogito ergo sum* of Descartes, definitively established by Kant, and finally perfected by Wronski



himself. Kant "voulait expliquer la nécessité attachée aux connaissances rationnelles, en attribuant au savoir humain, à l'instar de l'être, une *forme* particulière suivant laquelle ce savoir aurait été forcé d'exercir son action. C'est cette *explication mécanique* de la nécessité impliquée dans les connaissances rationnelles, qui porta une atteinte funeste à la sublime tendance développée par le même génie." Kant, that is, failed, except in the domain of morals, to recognise unqualifiedly the spontaneity of Knowledge. Wronski takes his stand unreservedly on the absolutely spontaneous, creative nature of Knowledge, and, thereby overcoming the dualism of Being and Knowledge, is able to attain to unconditional verity and "the Absolute Philosophy".

With Wronski, Knowledge means several things. It means, first, the whole cognoscible, rational character of things (like the Platonic hierarchy of Ideas), not, however, as an externalised product or dead "Form," but as containing the life itself of Knowledge ("l'essence même du savoir"). Secondly, it signifies a faculty, or (when it suits to speak of it as more than a possession either of God or man) a principle, which, in its unconditioned spontaneity, issuing out of itself, embodies itself in the order of things. This latter process it is that constitutes the "Self-creation of the Absolute". For, Knowledge itself is the Absolute—as bare faculty or principle, merely the "virtual" Absolute; but when it has effected its self-creation, the, so to speak, absolutely Absolute. The question of the connection of Knowledge with a knower or, still more, with multitudinous finite knowers, seems to call for no enlightenment. And as to the opposition of Being and Knowledge? This difficulty is solved by recognising in the distinction simply the first act of self-differentiation on the part of the Absolute or Knowledge, whereby the latter renders itself also a relative and "mere created" Knowledge, dependent on Being; but at the same time makes possible its orderly self-realisation.

Wronski and his interpreter are always working up to and around a "Law of Creation" which, in some sort, is again the heart and chief organ of the Absolute, and, as such, "the

summit of the Wronskist doctrine". Wonderful are the virtues of this law ! Out of its inexhaustible, teeming depths Wronski will evoke, not alone the basic principles of the several sciences, but, seemingly, all the remainder as well. Nay, by possessing man of this law, he will put him not only in the way of mastery of all technic, but of achieving his own immortality and becoming, at the end at least, *as God* ! Unfortunately, the secret of his law Wronski has reserved to himself and carried it with him to the grave ; and his disciple, so far as can be made out, only awaits the resurrection.

Further, we have here not a philosophy only, but likewise a religion. The transition is effected in this wise : Knowledge, Reason, is equal to the Logos, the Word that was with God and was God, the Messiah who is the mediator between Man and God, by whom believing men are regenerated and saved. Likewise, " the absolute Reason, placed above physical conditions and earthly pollution, is the Virgin who is to crush the head of the serpent ". And much more, no worse than most of its kind. Clothed thus, at length, in the vesture of tradition, the Wronskist philosophy acquires what was needed to complete its appeal to sentiment ; and since this appeal touching ultimate things is the essence of religion, the Absolute Philosophy becomes the Absolute Religion also, as well as a Christian orthodoxy and a " Messianism," to whose higher realisation, through the philosophic culture of mankind, is needed the erection of a new order superior to either the existent State or Church. As a matter of fact, this order already does exist in the " Wronskist Union " ; and, as suggested before, it has its members.

The book before us is an introduction to Wronski. The reviewer may have failed vulgarly to comprehend ; but he does not believe that, outside of Theosophist and Christian Science circles, the world will be found ready to be introduced. Nor do the ideas set forth in our philosopher call for special criticism. They are simply Fichte and Schelling carried into the Witches' Kitchen.

GEORGE REBEC.

**The Book of Judges : Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text, printed in colours, exhibiting the composite structure of the Book, with Notes.**

*By the Rev. G. F. Moore, D.D., Professor in Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. London : David Nutt, Strand, 1900. Pp. 72. 6s. net.*

**Israel's Messianic Hope to the time of Jesus : A Study of the Historical Development of the Foreshadowings of the Christ in the Old Testament and Beyond.**

*By George Stephen Goodspeed, Professor in the University of Chicago. New York : The Macmillan Company ; London : Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1900. Pp. 315. Price 6s.*

**Handkommentar zum Alten Testament: Allgemeine Einleitung in den Hexateuch.**

*Von. Lic. Dr. Carl Steuernagel, Privatdocent d. Theol. in Halle a. S. Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1900. Pp. 249-280. Price 1s. net.*

**Das Buch des Propheten Habackuk.**

*Erklärt von Dr. Otto Happel, Prediger in Kitzingen. Würzburg : Andreas Göbel, Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1900. Pp. 71. Price M.2.*

PROFESSOR MOORE'S volume of the Polychrome Bible, the *Book of Judges in Hebrew*, is an admirable sequel to his splendid commentary on the same book in the International series. His second task has been twofold—to analyse the book into its sources, and to reconstruct the Hebrew text. He gives us here the combined results of the higher and the lower

criticism. In both cases the problems for solution are difficult and delicate, and the results are no more than provisional; but, as the author has said, "the uncertainties of criticism are infinitely preferable to the exegetical violence which is the only alternative". In Dr. Moore's opinion the Book of Judges is of great historical value. A glance at the colours shows that the sources of by far the greater part of the book are the ancient prophetic narratives J and E. While the Song of Deborah is stainless white (J, B.C. 850), the corresponding prose narrative of the victory of Barak is dark blue (older stata of E, B.C. 750). The story of Samson is substantially white; so is that of Gideon, with bits of dark blue (E) and light purple (redactor of JE). The story of Jephthah is dark blue and light purple, with patches of dark purple (composite JE) and light blue (later additions to E). Streaks of light green (Deuteronomic expansions) are few and far between. The colour one dislikes is yellow. It means late and pragmatic, after the manner of the Chronicler. It predominates only in the last three chapters, the story of the crime and punishment of the Benjamites. Dr. Moore differs from Wellhausen in regarding the kernel of this narrative as ancient and historical.

In Dr. Moore's reconstruction of the Hebrew text there are many points of interest. He has great faith in the LXX. version of this book, and in some cases has made extensive changes to bring the Hebrew into harmony with it. In xix. 18, there is an evident lacuna, which he fills up by inserting seventeen Hebrew words. In ii. 1, Bethel takes the place of Bochim. In vii. 20, חרב is omitted, so that the war-cry of Israel becomes simply "For Jahweh and Gideon!" In xiv. 15, הלם for הלא is a distinct improvement. In xv. 16, חמור חמרתים are treated as verbs instead of nouns, and the boast is translated, "With the jaw-bone of an ass I have heaped them up". In xix. 18, the LXX. reading, "I am going to my house," is clearly better than the Massoretic "to the Lord's house". It is instructive to compare Dr. Moore's Commentary with his Hebrew Text. He does not in every

case adhere to the opinions expressed in the former. In ii. 3, the Commentary rejects לָצִירִים (suggested by LXX. in place of Massoretic לְצִדִּים) as "having the marks of a bad, though old and natural, conjecture". But in the amended Text it is preferred. Chap. iii. 2 is overloaded and clumsy, and while the omission of one Hebrew word relieves the worst of the difficulty, the Commentary wants "a more satisfactory, though bolder" treatment. But the milder measure is preferred in the revised Text. In the Commentary הַפְּרָשָׁה "may have arisen from accidental conformation to הַכְּסִדְרִינָה" (iii. 22, 23); in the notes to the Text "it seems to be intentional, artificial assimilation". As one observes these little changes, one sees that the critic's mind is incessantly active, checking and improving its own conclusions. Altogether the work is one of the first importance—an immense boon to students of this book. Is "canceled" (p. 39) a printer's error or an American spelling?

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One of the clearest gains of critical science is a truer understanding of the Christ of the Old Testament. Professor G. S. Goodspeed gives us a most suggestive study of this fascinating subject. His material arranges itself under three heads. There is in the Old Testament, Messianic prophecy of the past, of the present, and of the future. (1) "Prophecy of the past" may seem an awkward expression, but the writer's idea is both true and important. He refers to the prophetic idealising of the past. The prophet "looks back on the history of mankind and his people, as it has come down to him in legends, songs and story, in chronicles and annals, in oracles and institutions; he studies it in the light of the Divine inspiration in his own spirit and experience, and combines, organises, interprets it for his generation in its bearing upon the eternal purpose of Jehovah, his blissful designs for his people in the days to come". All these ancient materials "are idealised under the influence of the religious conceptions and aspirations of later ages". The prophet interprets the meagre memorials and reads into them

his own grander ideas; the rude and fragmentary relics of the national past are transfigured. (2) There are prophecies of the present, "expectations of blessing arising out of present conditions and extending on into a far distant day". (3) When the prophet can find nothing of hopefulness in the present situation, he overleaps all temporal bounds and "passes as if by reaction into a future which is as much brighter and more glorious as the present is forbidding". In order of time, the pre-Mosaic and Mosaic ages contribute their ideals; ardent expectations are connected with the monarchy; fervent hopes are born in the time of the earlier prophets, in the epoch of Isaiah, in the age of Jeremiah; lofty ideals spring out of the conditions of the exile, the post-exilic times, and the Maccabean period. Each age has its outlook, each prophet or singer his background. Each ideal is the thought, not of an individual, but of a nation or people which finds in the prophet or poet its mouthpiece. Jehovah as the God of Israel, Israel as the people of Jehovah, is a basis for the loftiest idealism. In order of subjects, *man* is first presented "in his ideal character as created and inspired of God. . . . Then follow all those details which have for their inspiration the *nation* and its career. . . . Then comes the drawing out of the various *institutions* of this national life in their promise and potency. . . . And last of all is disclosed *an individual*, the apotheosis of a lost leader or a present deliverer in an ideal figure, humble and kingly, triumphant in defeat and death." The vindication of the Hebrew ideal is the person and work of Jesus Christ. "As Son of Man, he rounded out the human side of the Messianic hope. . . . As the Saviour of men, he met the Hebrew longing for redemption. . . . As the Son of God, he embodied the Hebrew expectations of the Divine advent and the union of man and God" (284). This summary will indicate the quality of Dr. Goodspeed's book. He splendidly vindicates his assertion that "Messianic prophecy is the very essence and life of the Old Testament book, the vital breath, the ideal inspiration of the Old Testament life". His treatise is written with enthusiasm. The style is fresh and vigorous. One catches a breath of the West in phrases

like "back of this promise," "the main plank of the prophet's platform". Ill-built sentences like "scholarship has sought, and succeeded in part, in disentangling the maze," are rare. The selected bibliography at the end is judicious. As a whole this book, intended chiefly for "the intelligent reader of the English Bible," will serve as an excellent introduction to Riehm's more elaborate and classical work.

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Steuernagel of Halle, the author of the volume on Deuteronomy and Joshua in Nowack's *Handkommentar* (CRITICAL REVIEW, July, 1898), has now written a general introduction to the *Hexateuch*, designed to be bound up with that volume. This *Einleitung* "is meant in the first instance for the use of students," and it would be difficult to give them in so brief a compass—thirty-seven pages—a better account of the essential points. The tradition regarding the authors of the *Hexateuch* and its value, the necessity and possibility of separating the various strata, the history of the course of Hexateuch criticism, the combination and redaction of the sources, are clearly represented, and the present *status questionis* indicated. On one point Steuernagel joins issue with Dillmann, Wellhausen and Kittel. What was Ezra's Law-book? The entire Pentateuch, say these writers. Only the Legal parts of it, says Steuernagel. He points out that on the second day on which the people "gave attention to the words of the law" (Neh. viii. 13), the scribe got as far as Lev. xxiii. 33, in his reading and expounding. On the first hypothesis "it would follow that *the whole* of Genesis and part of Exodus was read *and expounded* on the first day!" Besides, "the hearing of the familiar tales would hardly have caused the sensation described in Neh. viii. 9". And nothing could have been farther from Ezra's purpose—the reforming of Jahve's community—than to becloud his legislation with other writings of an entirely different stamp (p. 277).

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Dr. Happel's exposition of Habakkuk is rather out of date. He begins in the usual way by expressing dissatisfaction with all the previous critical solutions of the problems connected with the prophecy. Budde's theory is that the oppressor of Israel, whose doom the prophet foretells, is not the Chaldean but the Assyrian. This theory has been accepted by Cornill and G. A. Smith. Happel dismisses it with some points of exclamation. He himself deliberately goes back to the allegorical method of the Church Fathers. The oppressor of Israel is not a real and historical, but an ideal and eschatological enemy. "The immediate subject of the prophecy is the spiritual conflict between the people of God and the great enemy of God." Again, "the time of the *Syrian* oppression is the only suitable background for our book". The prophecy is Messianic. "The coming Deliverer is Christ. . . . The sea, the rivers, hills and mountains are the hostile world-powers. This view is the only one which does justice to the significant language of the prophet." Dr. Happel writes with confidence. He is also a scholar. But he is out of touch with reality. When an interpreter reaches the state of mind in which mountains and rivers are seen as men, he is lost. Henceforth he will wander in a wonderland of his own imagination.

JAS. STRACHAN.



## **Die Paulinische Rechtfertigungslehre im Zusammenhange ihrer geschichtlichen Voraussetzungen.**

*Von Hermann Cremer, Doctor der Theologie und der Rechte, ord.  
Professor der Theologie in Greifswald. Gütersloh : Bertels-  
mann, 8vo, pp. 448. Price 7s.*

THE work of Dr. Cremer has produced a considerable impression in the theological circles of his own land. It has already, in the course of little more than a twelvemonth reached a second edition, a somewhat remarkable circumstance, considering that it is an elaborate treatment of a doctrinal subject, and is by no means light reading. The author's high reputation as a scholar who has successfully treated New Testament subjects, has no doubt to do with this reception of his book. That so systematic a work on *Justification* should have commanded so ready a sale may also be taken as evidence of the revived interest in evangelical truth in Germany. Apart from its merits as a work of scholarship the book is worthy of notice. Its conclusions on the subject differ widely from those that are accepted where the confessional theology of the Reformation is dominant. Dr. Cremer works out his views without reference to the findings of other authors in the same field ; except an occasional fling at Ritschl and his school, notwithstanding the fact that there are striking points of agreement between him and Ritschl on the subject on which they have both written so fully.

Is Paul's doctrine of justification peculiar to the Apostle ? Does his view that the Gospel is a revelation of the *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ*, in the sense of the justification of the sinner, correspond with the teaching of the Old Testament ? If it does (and Paul himself thought it did), how is it that we hear so little of it in the teaching of Christ ? If Paul was the first to understand the salvation of God in this way, what are we to

make of the view of it presented in the words of Christ? Are we to regard the latter as a lower stage of doctrine which we may leave behind us, or as a higher than Paul's to which we must return? Is Christ or Paul to rule our thoughts in the great matter of a sinner's acceptance with God? These are some of the questions to which this book is intended as an answer. The position of the author is that the Apostle's doctrine of salvation is not peculiar to him, that it is in reality the doctrine of the entire Bible. "Properly speaking, it is false to speak of a *Pauline* doctrine of justification. Paul set up no new dogmatic; it is indeed a fundamentally different one from that of the Pharisaic school, of which we find no trace in Paul, but it is neither more nor less than the dogmatic of the Old Testament, and of those who remained true to its spirit" (p. 329). This is a very different account of the matter from what we find in the more modern works on Pauline doctrine, where the Apostle's special treatment of the subject is represented as a sort of survival in a Christian dress of a theologoumenon which he had learnt in the schools of the Pharisees. Dr. Cremer's book is an elaborate refutation of that view.

Paul's teaching, he says, cannot be understood except in connexion with its historical presupposition. These are to be found in the Old Testament. We have first, then, an exposition of the Old Testament ideas that bear upon the subject. This is followed by a pretty full section on the modification which the ideas of the Old Testament received in the teaching of the synagogue, and then by an account of the teaching of Christ and of Peter and James. This preliminary matter occupies about 300 pages. The remaining 140 are devoted to the "Pauline Gospel". The book is really a review of the Doctrine of Justification as set forth in the teaching of the Bible, and as finally formulated by the Apostle of the Gentiles.

A very brief outline of his argument may be given; but this will furnish no idea of the rich suggestiveness of the volume.

Our author accepts the view of most critics that the *righteousness* of God in the Old Testament stands in close

connexion with His goodness. It is that form of the Divine activity that is directed, not to the punishment of sinners, but to the protection of the righteous and the maintenance of their rights against their foes. Redemption is in this way regarded as a deed of God's righteousness. Israel, therefore, was taught to rest its hope of salvation on a judicial act of God, resulting in its justification from its sins. And if we ask, how, in spite of its sinfulness, Israel could place its hope of salvation on the Divine righteousness, the answer is, that this arose from God's gracious relation to Israel, as their Father and King. As King He bound Himself to defend His believing people, to manifest Himself in acts of judgment on their behalf, the claim on His judicial righteousness which their faith and obedience gave them being a claim that had been conceded to them, and rested entirely on His grace.

This doctrine underwent a serious change in the teaching of the synagogue. The books of the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha show that the original significance of the Divine righteousness as a ground of hope for Israel was gradually lost sight of. The *justitia Dei* came to be regarded not as *salutifera* but as *punitiva*, and judgment became an object, not of hope but of dread. From a God whose righteousness was displayed in the infliction of judicial penalty, a people conscious of their sinfulness could expect no justification until indeed satisfaction was rendered to His righteousness, and room had been made thereby for the exercise of mercy. This idea, taken up into the legal system of the Pharisees, had disastrous consequences for the religion of Judaism.

The old Jewish type of piety, however, formed on the original ideas of the Old Testament, continued to flourish, Cremer shows, in the land alongside of the more corrupt form that reached its full bloom in Pharisaism. Of this we have interesting evidence in the figures that come before us in the early chapters of Luke's Gospel, of the devout men and women who waited for the manifestation of the saving righteousness of God in acts of judgment that were to result in the redemption of His people.

Christ addressed Himself in the first instance to those "meek ones in the land". In His preaching of the coming of the Kingdom of God, He proclaimed a salvation that was to be ushered in by a judicial act of God, having for its object the justification of those who believed in God and waited for the promised good. He indeed delayed the crisis. Instead of inaugurating this era of judgment, He consented to suffer and die, for Israel needed forgiveness, in order that that era might not issue in destruction to them, and forgiveness implied their acceptance of Him as the Messiah in penitence and faith. Hence He appeared not as a king or a judge but as a Saviour who had to suffer and die, and thus bring near to men the grace of forgiveness.

The peculiarity of Paul's view of salvation is accounted for by the circumstance of his conversion. Unlike the other disciples whose faith in Jesus as the Messiah was reached by their following the instinct of the normal type of Jewish piety, Paul was a Pharisee to begin with, and represented the perverted form of the religious consciousness of Israel. The question that was first with him was how he was to attain to the righteousness that would save him from the judgment of the Messiah. He hoped by good works in obedience to the law to make it possible that he would thus escape judgment. But he had consciously failed to achieve a righteousness that could be valid for that end. When converted, he found the true answer: "The righteousness that would stand him in good stead was the forgiveness of sins which he found by faith in the Crucified One. The forgiveness of sin was the justification he had received, the justification of the *godless*. This was the form in which he had manifestly to give expression to his Christianity and to the grace of God that he had to announce to the world" (p. 312).

In the chapter on *The Faith of the Apostle*, the author enters fully into the nature of the faith that is the equivalent of righteousness in the eye of God, emphasising the union with Christ it implies, and the Divine agency that effects it. In the chapter that follows on *Justification by Faith alone, and of Grace alone*, he examines Paul's use of the term *justify*.

As in the Old Testament, it is with Paul strictly a forensic term. The reckoning of faith as a righteousness that frees the ungodly from the imputation of sin is a judicial act of God. His faith is in the judgment of God reckoned as righteousness, and this faith is accepted as a substitute for the righteousness that is wanting, as giving him who has it a quasi-right to justification. All this is of grace. It is the procedure of One who is Judge because He is in the first instance King and Father, revealing in the act of forgiving His royal prerogative to save the sinner, and graciously giving to him who believes in Christ, a claim to be accounted righteous and to be forgiven.

The difference between the Old Testament and the Pauline view of the matter is thus put : "The righteous in the Old Testament are, although sinners, still righteous ones, and as such become partakers of the salvation which brings to light their righteousness, covers their unrighteousness, and establishes them thereby in righteousness. They are righteous ones, therefore, who are justified by the judgment of God, and receive forgiveness and full salvation. It is otherwise with Paul. "All sin and come short of the glory of God, being justified freely" (Rom. iii. 23). After Israel had crucified the Son of God, what was true of the heathen world became true also of Israel. It became a question not of *being* but of *becoming* righteous. How is a sinner to become a righteous man? In no other way than hitherto, *viz.*, by faith ; and so Gen. xv. 6, and Hab. ii. 4, are brought into correspondence, and that not artificially but in accordance with the proper fundamental view of the Old Testament. For even the righteous man, as we have described him, and as Hab. ii. 4 speaks of him, could have had no righteousness, no right to hope in God, if God had not first given it to him. This right flows to him from grace in consequence of God's covenant with him, and he has it because he believes. This was Abraham's righteousness, a righteousness before the law and independent of the law, and this righteousness bestowed by God's grace was the righteousness of the New Testament. God bestows it as the gift of His grace, for He works the

faith that is accounted righteousness. Thus we become righteous, and this is what Paul announces. The sense in which he appeals to Hab. ii. 4 is really the same. There is reference there to the righteous man who manifests his righteousness in his steadfast cleaving to God. But how has he become righteous? He would have no right to trust in God (for before Him no one living is righteous) if God had not given him the right, had not thereby put him, in spite of his sin, in the position of a righteous man. Therefore this righteousness also consists in the forgiveness of sin" (pp. 348-9).

I cannot refer to the interesting chapters that follow on Judgment according to Works, Election and Adoption, The Significance of the Law, Justification and Baptism, The Agency of the Holy Spirit in the Grace of Justification. A word remains to be said on the concluding chapter on the connexion between our justification and the death and resurrection of Christ. The old idea that the suffering and death of Christ availed to the sinner's justification because the righteousness of God required to this end that the punishment of sin should be borne by a substitute, if it was to be remitted to the sinner, is repudiated by the author as an idea alien to Paul's thought, and betraying the influence of Pharisaic teaching on Christian theology. His own view is indicated in these sentences: "It is the crucified Christ in whom Paul recognises the Messiah, in whom he discovers that God's judgment is in man's favour. That supplied the knowledge that Christ suffered death from God for us, in order that death might not inflict on us the judgment we had deserved" (p. 435). But why was this necessary? The answer is that "the suffering and death of Christ is the accomplishment of the world's pardon or redemption. In pure grace God sends His Son. The presence of His Son is the gracious pardon of the world (*die Begnadigung der Welt*). For He suffers all that men in their alienation from God inflict upon Him without uttering a word of complaint. His suffering and death is the exercise of the grace of forgiveness towards the world. The sin of the world against God (in the rejection of His Son), is, on the side

of God, the covering and forgiveness of sin " (p. 435). " His union with us brings death to Christ, but He endures it without separating Himself from us or abandoning us to judgment, and the Father suffers Him to die, or surrenders Him to death, that we might be spared judgment. He raises Him from the dead and gives Him back to us that we might have in Him a Saviour and Helper " (p. 438). The virtue of His death lies in His maintenance and manifestation of the spirit of forgiveness to the end.

It will be seen that the results of this biblical inquiry are at variance in important particulars with traditional orthodoxy. At the same time they approximate very closely to those of inquirers in the same field who are not such pronounced Biblicists as Cremer is. Ritschl and he are substantially at one in their findings on this subject. Cremer's exposition of faith is indeed worked out in a simpler and more evangelical way, and contrasts favourably with the stiff and somewhat scholastic treatment of it by Ritschl. But both agree in refusing to father upon the Apostle that view of the Divine righteousness that lies at the root of the scheme of thought employed in the scholastic theology of Protestantism to formulate the great reformation doctrine of justification. This revolt against the current dictum of the Pharisaic origin of the Pauline type of doctrine is significant.

DAVID SOMERVILLE.

## **Das gesetzesfreie Evangelium des Paulus nach seinem Werdegang dargestellt.**

*Von Dr. Paul Feine, ord. prof. der evangel. Theol. in Wien, Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. 232.*

THIS is a most elaborate and scientific study of the personal life of Paul before and after his conversion, showing what his spiritual attitude was in the pre-Christian period and what the spiritual processes were by which he advanced to that which is represented in his apostolic teaching. In a short introduction Dr. Feine clearly indicates his position. He objects to the point of view from which the Tübingen school of Baur and Holsten has framed its theory of Paul's doctrine as one sided, inasmuch as it regards the construction of the Pauline system from the purely intellectual side as a pure dialectical process. The other extreme is maintained by a young theologian, J. Müller, in an interesting and suggestive work published a year or two ago, *Das persönliche Christenthum der paulinischen Gemeinden nach seiner Entstehung untersucht*. He finds in the Epistles no theology, but only intuition and loose reflection, and represents Paul as a theosophist rather than a theologian; not a religious teacher, but a passionate religious agitator. The truth lies between these two extremes. While recognising the enthusiastic, emotional and mystical element in Paul's nature, Dr. Feine sees in him also a thinker of no ordinary measure, who, with a thoroughly logical mind, traces back every phenomenon to its original ground and seeks to reduce all the facts of consciousness to an undisputed unity. As apostle, Paul broke through the limits of contemporary Judaism without ceasing to be a Jew in his thinking and sentiment.



In the first chapter, pp. 12-46, our author discusses the content of Paul's pre-Christian consciousness in his sections on the Pharisaic and the Hellenistic elements. In this latter section we have a careful discussion of 1 Cor. xv. 45 *ff.*, on the first and second Adam, which may be compared with the admirable treatment of the subject by Dr. Somerville in his Cunningham Lecture, pp. 51-53. The conclusion reached by Dr. Feine is that we cannot prove that Philo's theory of the double creation of man and the consequent conception of the Messiah as the pre-existent heavenly man, influenced Paul's pre-Christian thinking, and that the supposition is contradicted by 2 Cor. v. 16, where Paul declares that before his conversion he had held the Pharisaic doctrine of the Messiah. As a Christian, he makes use of Philo's mode of expression, but in an opposite sense. But whatever modes of thought and expression he may have borrowed, his whole circle of thought differed from that of Greek philosophers and Jewish traditionalists in this, that it was created out of his own Christian experience.

Another passage of very special interest is that, pp. 131-168, which treats of Paul's doctrine of the Christian's relation to sin, as set forth in Rom. vii. On the much-debated question of the interpretation of this chapter, Feine concludes that, with certain reservations, we must understand this passage in the sense of Augustine and the Reformers, as giving the experience of a regenerate man—of one, however, who has not made the highest attainments in the spiritual life. The apostle, as a genuine Pharisee, could not, before his conversion, have had a full knowledge of sin, and the attitude of the unconverted Paul to sin and the law is not that of Rom. vii. 7, for such a view of the history of mankind and of the experience of the individual is attainable only by faith in the Christ who is dead to the flesh and the law.

After two very interesting and important chapters on "The Law," and "The Law, Flesh and Sin," both of which are full of instruction and rich in exegetical studies on some of the most characteristic sayings of Paul, our author sums up the results of his investigation. Paul's system is not so

much a speculative outline or a thinking out in a philosophical way, of the problems with which he met, but rather a statement of necessary consequences from the experience of his life. His knowledge follows the objective facts on which he stands, which he allows to unfold themselves. The pre-Christian thinking of Paul has in it Hellenistic elements, only in so far as these were in Pharisaism, and so Paul is to be understood from the point of view of a religious and not a philosophical interest. His whole theology depends upon his doctrine of God—all his Christian thoughts take shape from his doctrine of Christ and the Spirit. Only from this centre, or starting point, can we get a right understanding of the Pauline anthropology and of his theory of the relation of the flesh and sin.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

## Glaubensregel, Heilige Schrift und Taufbekenntniss.

*Untersuchungen über die dogmatische Autorität, ihr Werden, und ihre Geschichte, vornehmlich in der alten Kirche, von Dr. Johannes Kunze. Leipzig : Dörffling und Franke. 8vo., pp. xii., 560. M.15.*

WHAT is the Rule of Faith? This question is still the battleground of Catholic and Protestant, of Episcopalian and Presbyterian, of Ritschlian and Evangelical. Prof. Kunze seeks to solve the problem by a thorough investigation of the historical origins and subsequent development of the conception of a rule of faith. He has already won his spurs in this field of inquiry;<sup>1</sup> the present work shows a still more masterly grasp of the whole field of early Christian literature, and proves Dr. Kunze well qualified to speak even with Zahn and Harnack in the gate. Prof. Zöckler of Greifswald<sup>2</sup> has referred to Dr. Kunze's work as the first serious attempt to combine in a larger synthesis the valuable researches of Overbeck, Zahn, etc., in the history of the Canon, and of Kattenbusch, Swainson, Burn, etc., in the history of the Creed; and, on this ground alone, his work must be reckoned with by those who would red the marches between the authority of Scripture and that of Christian tradition, or who would restate, in the light of history and of modern criticism, the relation of the Church of Christ to the written Word. The keen conflict which has been waged in the Lutheran Church over the authority of the Apostles' Creed has evoked not a few writings of interest and value, but probably none which excels this work of Dr. Kunze's in width of outlook, in thoroughness of research, in calmness of judgment, and in permanent scientific worth.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. his *Marcus Eremita*, 1895; *Das Nicänisch-Konstantinopolitanische Symbol*, 1898.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, July, 1899.

The familiar conception of a "rule of faith" (*κανὼν τῆς πίστεως* s. *τῆς ἀληθείας*, *regula fidei*) meets us in Christian theology from about the year 170. According to Zahn, it was simply another name for the creed confessed by the Christian convert at baptism, of which we have a later form in the so-called Apostles' Creed. According to Harnack, the baptismal confession was erected into an infallible rule of faith by the Church at Rome, which thus laid the corner stone of Catholicism, and took a long step in the fatal road that led away from the historical figure of Christ, than which there ought to be no other rule of faith. Prof. Kunze's researches make both the one position and the other untenable. In particular, he shows that the rule of faith embraced, sometimes explicitly, but always implicitly, Holy Scripture; and that both a collection of apostolic Scriptures and a fixed type of baptismal confession, which was regarded as the essence of these Scriptures, already existed, and had supreme and authoritative worth for the whole Church, before the two, in their mutual relation and interdependence, were employed in the conflict with heresy as a *rule of faith*. Dr. Kunze defines the original meaning of the rule of faith in two alternative statements of equal validity, the first of which is more apposite to the Western, the second to the Eastern Church. "The Rule of Faith in the Old Catholic Church is the Baptismal Confession, in so far as it is employed against heresy, and is supplemented and explained from Holy Scripture, Holy Scripture itself being always included." Or, "The Rule of Faith is the Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testaments conceived as a unity and employed against heresy, in so far as Scripture has for its content the faith expressed in the primitive Baptismal Confession, this Confession itself being always included". This twofold definition is explained and established by means of an exhaustive inquiry into the writings of the early Fathers, and from the vantage ground thus gained, a flood of light is thrown backward upon the origins of the rule of faith, and forward upon the whole course of its future development.

After a short introduction, setting forth the nature of the

problems which gather round the conception of a rule of faith (chap. i., pp. 1-4), and an inquiry into the origin, meaning and distribution of the various terms in which this conception is expressed (chap. ii., pp. 5-16), there follows a careful investigation of the "Baptismal Confession in the Pre-Nicene Church," and ample proof is given that in the Eastern, as well as in the Western Church, a short Trinitarian confession of the same general type had been in use from the very earliest period in connection with the sacrament of Baptism (chap. iii., pp. 17-71). Under the heading "Rule of Faith and Baptismal Confession" (chap. iv., pp. 72-91), it is shown that these two conceptions were not identical, that the Baptismal Confession even in the Western Church became the rule of faith only when directed against heresy, and that the rule of faith always included something, and often included much, beyond what is contained in the Baptismal Confession. The Confession was the skeleton or framework; the clothing, the flesh and blood, came from Scripture. An elaborate inquiry, entitled "Rule of Faith and Holy Scripture" (chap. v., pp. 92-184), shows in detail how, for the Fathers of the second and third century, not excluding Tertullian, Holy Scripture, and more particularly Apostolic Scripture, was always included in greater or less degree under the conception of the rule of faith. Tertullian's advice to discard Scripture, and employ only the rule of faith for the condemnation of heretics, was the conscious innovation for ecclesiastical purposes of a practical lawyer, and was not always followed by Tertullian the theologian. A "Comprehensive View of the Rule of Faith in the Old Catholic Church" (chap. vi., pp. 185-215) justifies, as against Kattenbusch on the one hand and Harnack on the other, the twofold definition already quoted of the rule of faith. This definition explains what Harnack has failed to explain—the triumph of orthodoxy over Gnosticism. Harnack is historically inaccurate when he says that the Church vanquished Gnosticism at one stroke by transforming a baptismal confession into a statutory and infallible rule of faith. At such full-blown Catholicism the Church arrived by very gradual

steps. The course of this remarkable development, its relation to the canon of faith and the canon of Scripture, its gradual exaltation of the Church above both Scripture and Creed, is traced in a long and interesting chapter, "The Later Historical Development of the Rule of Faith in the East and in the West" (chap. vii., pp. 218-312).

Having endeavoured by a wide induction to reach the true historical conception of the rule of faith, Kunze now returns to the problem of its origin, which he describes as in a sense the main problem of the history of Dogma. This subject is treated at length under the title "The Evolution (Herausbildung) of the Rule of Faith in the Conflict with Gnosticism and Marcionitism" (chap. viii., pp. 313-442). The fundamental conception of Harnack's *History of Dogma*, according to Kunze, is that the New Testament Canon, and the Baptismal Creed were creations of the (Old) Catholic, and especially of the Roman Church, in order to crush out heresy. Against this conception Kunze raises an emphatic protest; and it will be difficult to withhold assent from his carefully won conclusions. By means of a thorough investigation of the characteristic features of Gnosticism and Marcionitism, he proves conclusively that an apostolic canon and an apostolic creed were already the inalienable possession of the Church before they were employed as a rule of faith against heretics. Apostolic origin, not ecclesiastical sanction, had already given both to creed and canon their supreme authority; the conflict with heresy only made the Church conscious of the worth of what she already possessed.

After an interesting discussion of the light thrown upon the history of the *Regula fidei*, or dogmatic authority, by the parallel history of the "Regula disciplinae," or ethical authority, (the vow of renunciation, etc., which preceded the baptismal confession), (chap. ix., pp. 443-464), Prof. Kunze brings his task to a close by a "General Review of the Development of the Rule of Faith and its Issues in the Reformation" (chap. x., pp. 465-548). This is pre-eminently a chapter for the

times. The early Fathers, who had to defend the truth against heresy, rendered this fundamental service to the Church that they made her conscious of the existence of a supreme authority or rule of faith, first—and the order is essential—in the Apostolic writings, then in the Apostolic Confession, and lastly also in an Apostolic Church. The original relation of these three elements in the rule of faith was grievously altered in the course of the succeeding centuries; but the Reformers, and in particular Luther, went behind the first beginnings of Catholicism and revived the primitive rule of faith in its purest form. According to Harnack, Luther “refused to have his mouth stopped even with the authority of an apostle,” and at the same time brought over with him into the Protestant Church such rags of Catholicism as the Apostles’ Creed, and a verbally inspired Canon. Kunze emphatically repudiates both these statements, offers a spirited defence not only of the consistency of Luther but of the soundness of his Christian judgment, and maintains that the Evangelical Church of to-day has no other choice than to find her rule of faith where Luther and the early Fathers found it, *viz.*, in what is Apostolic. Thus in her canon of Scripture she cannot give an equal place to all those books “of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church” (*Art. of Religion*, vi.); that were to set the authority of the Church above the authority of the Apostles; the true canon both of Scripture and of the Faith is *das apostolische*.<sup>1</sup>

So bald a survey does great injustice to the contents of a rich and important volume, and space forbids either greater detail or the discussion of individual points. Even those who occupy a different standpoint from Dr. Kunze will be grateful to him for his accurate and wide research, and for his fresh, vigorous and lucid discussion of a great subject; while very many will hail his work as an invaluable contribution to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kunze's *Evangelisches und Katholisches Schriftprinzip* (Leipzig, Dörffling und Franke, 1899), an interesting lecture delivered to the *Hohensteiner Pastoral-Konferenz*.

a right understanding of early Christianity, and to the settlement of some very modern and very pressing problems with regard to the authority of Scripture, of the Church, and of tradition. Students of the history of the Creed will find in an appendix a valuable collection of original documents (with notes) entitled, "Materials for the History of the Baptismal Confession in the Eastern Church since the Fourth Century".

ROBERT A. LENDRUM.



### **Anecdota Oxoniensia.**

*The Letters of Abu 'l-'Alā of Ma 'Arrat Al-Nu'mān. Edited from the Leyden Manuscript, with the life of the author by Al-Dhahabi, and with translation, notes, indices and biography. By D. S. Margoliouth, M.A., Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 4to, pp. xlv. + 152, 148. Price 15s.*

THE contents of this volume of *Anecdota Oxoniensia* are not of wide literary or historical importance, though Abu 'l-'Alā, whose letters are here reproduced, occupied a prominent place among the literary men of his time, and gained considerable distinction as a poet. It is needless to say that the book is excellently printed (the Arabic text is very beautiful); while the translation and the editorial work are such as we expect from the distinguished Oxford Professor of Arabic.

The Arabic text of the forty-two letters here published covers 128 pages. This is followed by Dhahabi's life of Abu 'l-'Alā, in nine pages, and by eleven pages of indices—all in Arabic—the whole amounting to 148 pages, as given in the title above.

It is of some interest to note that an edition of these letters appeared at Beyrout when Professor Margoliouth's work was in the press, and the Oxford editor gives in an appendix "a comparative table of pages of the Beyrout and Oxford editions". The English index, though not so detailed as the Arabic, is sufficiently helpful; and the most important dates are given in years A. D., as well as A. H.—for which a word of thanks is due.

But it is time to turn to the writer of these letters. Ma 'Arrah (Marrah) is a Syrian town lying some distance to the south of Haleb (Aleppo). Here in the year A.D. 973 was

born Abu 'l-'Alā Aḥmad, son of Abdallah. He belonged to a family of some distinction. His father was a poet, not without renown, and appears to have been a man of high character and retiring disposition. He died while his famous son was still young. At an early age—before he was four years old—Abu 'l-'Alā had a severe attack of small-pox which resulted in the loss of his eyesight, and handicapped him for life. As a compensation, he had an extraordinary memory—as may be inferred from the numerous quotations in his letters. His life divides itself into three periods: "(1) that of his youthful studies, which terminated in A. D. 993; (2) his life in Marrah ending with his visit to Baghdad, which lasted from 1008 to 1010; and (3) his seclusion in Marrah, which lasted from his return from Baghdad to his death". In the first of these periods, which extended over twenty years, he received a careful training partly at home and partly in neighbouring cities. Learning and literary distinction were duly appreciated by Abu 'l-'Alā's contemporaries. Study was encouraged. Books were provided. It seems to have been a custom (which might advantageously be followed in our own country more generally than it is) for men of wealth, whose tastes lay in the collection of books, to leave their libraries to the public. In Aleppo a single library is said to have contained 20,000 volumes. Young Abu 'l-'Alā, notwithstanding his blind eyes, took full advantage of the provision thus offered, and, at the age of twenty, returned to his native town with a mind well trained and stored with knowledge. He remained at Marrah for fifteen years, and then left for Baghdad.

The occasion of this journey has been made matter of debate. The loss of a small pension which he had enjoyed in Marrah has been adduced as the chief reason. It may be so. But a visit to the world-renowned capital of Haroun Al-Raschid, on the part of a savant like Abu 'l-'Alā, does not seem to require any such reason. It may not be so easy to explain why he left Baghdad after a stay of only about a year and a half.

It is obvious that he meant to make a prolonged, if not permanent residence in the capital on the Tigris. In a letter

to his maternal uncle, written after his return from Baghdad, he says: "Now I had thought that the days would vouchsafe to me to abide there; but the wild beast sticks tight to his bone . . .; and I found learning at a greater discount at Baghdad than gravel at the 'Akabah heaps,<sup>1</sup> cheaper than dates at Medinah, more common than palm branches in Yemamah, more copious than water in the ocean. However, there is some obstacle in the way of every blessing, and some storm cloud or roller in the way of every pearl." . . . "Had I known that I should have to come back I should not have gone upon this journey; however, 'misfortune attends the tongue'; and fortune is fickle; and events are like waves of the sea—some of them revealing foul vegetation, others fair rows of pearls. Man knows not to what his mind is attached, nor to what thicket his luck will bring him. Had I known the future, I should have got myself great good fortune, and no harm should have touched me." The truth is that he was too independent. Like Samuel Johnson, he would not bend the knee to the patrons of his time.

This feature of his character was apparent in Marrah before he went to Baghdad. And it was not likely to serve him well among the sycophants and self-seekers of the capital. It is true that his fame preceded him, and he received a warm welcome from many. But others looked askance. And within little more than eighteen months he deemed it expedient to leave the place. He himself gives as reasons for his departure his mother's illness, and his failing resources.

This may be accepted; but it is highly probable—as reported in this volume—that some straightforward criticism gave offence in influential quarters, and Abu 'l-'Alā thought it advisable to return home, when he was only beginning to be familiar with the life of the gay capital. It can scarcely be doubted but that he could easily have earned a comfortable livelihood, if he had fallen in with the customs of the savants of the city. That he left the capital with reluctance and

<sup>1</sup> See Keane, *Six Months in the Hijāz*, where it is stated that after each pilgrimage these heaps are removed.

regret may be inferred from what he says to a friend in letter xxii. : "Damascus is the dearly-loved bride of Syria, and the chief jewel of her necklet ; and I may hope that the Mosque of Damascus has made you forget the Mosque of Al-Medinah, and that its water has consoled you for the water of the Tigris. I have indeed told you ere this, that he who leaves Baghdad finds no place that will do instead, however well watered it be ; for there the old learning is still fresh, whereas sound knowledge is sickly elsewhere. Syria is more friendly and less expensive."

Disappointed by his visit to Baghdad, and stricken with sorrow through the death of his mother, which took place before he returned to Marrah, Abu 'l-'Alā sought a life of seclusion. But it was not to be. The blind poet who had associated with the savants of Baghdad became the hero of Marrah. Travellers visited his humble home. His advice was sought from every side. Students resorted to his lecture room. He was invoked as intercessor with the governor on behalf of his native town when, on account of a riot, it was exposed to severe treatment. Another governor endeavoured to secure his services as court poet. He declined the honour in a letter full of quaint illustrations, the last sentence of which is as follows : "I send his highness, the prince, the greeting of a grateful and loving servant, a greeting which joins sunrise to sunset, and continues the attack with the rise of Hesperus till the time when the garments of night are rent ; a greeting which, passing by the dusty plain, renders it fragrant as Indian perfume " (letter xxiv.).

In short, Abu 'l-'Alā became a great man in Marrah, and appears to have continued so till, in A. D. 1058, he passed from this life after three days' illness, at the ripe age of eighty-five years.

The third period of his life was spent partly in teaching, but chiefly in writing. His most popular work was a collection of his early poems, including a few composed soon after his return from Baghdad, published under the title, *Sakt Al-Zand (Primitiae)*. Of his other works (said to have numbered fifty-five) the best known, according to Professor Margoliouth,

is a collection of poems, "in which every verse of a poem is made to rhyme in two consonants instead of one, whereby the difficulty of manipulation, which in all the Arabic metres is considerable, is very greatly increased". This book is of special interest, because a charge of heretical teaching was founded on it, and Abu 'l-'Alā's orthodoxy was gravely questioned. Certainly some of his opinions were peculiar. But he seems to have belonged to a family that claimed considerable freedom in matters of faith. When he was taken to task "for having neglected the pilgrimage, one of the essential duties of a Moslem," his answer was, "that neither his father, nor his cousin, nor his maternal uncle had performed it. If they were forgiven, he might expect forgiveness too; if they were lost, he would sooner share their fate".

The letters here reproduced belong to a selection from his correspondence made by Abu 'l-'Alā himself. They abound with specimens of oriental imagination and illustration. There is not a page without its hyperbole, or quaint conceit of phrase or figure. Every region—the heavens, the earth, the sea—seems to be at the beck and call of the writer. But it is not possible to convey a conception of these epistles by any words of criticism. We give a quotation or two which may serve the purpose, and, perhaps (?) induce the reader to peruse these wonderful productions for himself. The first letter shows us what we may expect. A public letter had been addressed to Marrah by the famous Al-Maghribi, and Abu 'l-'Alā rises to the occasion. "To us, the inhabitants of this town, a great honour has been given, and 'there has been delivered unto us an honourable missive'; proceeding from the residence of the great Doctor, who holds the reins of prose and verse; a missive which it is an act of piety to read, and whose peroration, or rather whose entirety, is frankincense. 'Imitate it who can!' It is too grand to be kissed, kisses are for its shadow: too precious to be handed about, let that be done with copies. For us it is a sort of Sacred Book! Were we not so chary of its witty contents, and so afraid of its ink running, and the light of its ideas being blurred, every mouth would have hastened to kiss it, and

every nose to inhale its perfume. Its lines would have become the cherry-colour on the lips, the scar produced by prostration on the brow" (and so on).

Here is a sample of the writer's *wisdom*: "The envious man is like a prattler, and 'the prattler is like one who gathers wood at night,' who cannot be sure but that he will lay hold on a viper, and whoso lays hold on that is face to face with death, and whoso is face to face with death is like yesterday when it is gone. This is to show the seeker after truth that replies are of three kinds, indirect, direct, and one of which mankind are incapable; and that interrupters are of three sorts, the correcting, the captious and the vexatious; and that poets are of three sorts, those who write correctly, those who write incorrectly, and those who use licence; and that licences are of three sorts, in accordance with analogy, in accordance with usage, and in accordance with neither" (letter xxvi.).

Satis, autem, satisque.

GEO. G. CAMERON.

## Notices.

We are indebted to Dr. Agnes Smith Lewis for the two interesting publications which make No. IX. and No. X. of the series known as *Studia Sinaitica*.<sup>1</sup> They deal with the collection of *Narratives of Holy Women*, the text of which was written over that of the important Syriac version of the Gospels discovered by Mrs. Lewis, in 1892, in the library of the Monastery of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai. Mrs. Lewis has been able to decipher these narratives from her photographs of the famous codex, and now publishes both the Syriac text itself and a careful translation of it by her own hand. She has also used, in some cases, an older text found in manuscripts belonging to the British Museum. The stories themselves are of very limited interest, except that they cast some light on the ascetic ideas of those old days, and show us what sort of reading was considered suitable for the convent refectory. As Mrs. Lewis remarks, they were "so highly valued in the eighth century that a monk named John the Recluse or the Stylite of Beth-Mari-Kaddisha, in Qanūn, a monastery near to the town of Kaukab of Antioch, being in want of vellum, sacrificed for their sake that fourth century text of the Holy Gospels which the biblical critics of the present day hold in the highest esteem". That the transcriber was this John the Stylite appears from a colophon recently discovered. It is superfluous to say that

<sup>1</sup> No. IX. *Select Narratives of Holy Women from the Syro-Antiochene or Sinai Palimpsest. Syriac Text.* London: Cambridge University Press, 1900. 4to. Price 21s. net.

No. X. *Select Narratives of Holy Women, etc.* Translated by Agnes Smith Lewis, M.R.A.S., Hon. Phil. Dr. Halle-Wittenberg. London: Cambridge University Press. 4to, pp. xxxi. + 211. Price 7s. 6d. net.

Mrs. Lewis has done her part with her accustomed carefulness and sagacity.

Dr. Joseph Agar Beet publishes the ninth edition of his *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*.<sup>1</sup> The book has been found useful by many, and has had a very prosperous career. We wish it an equally successful course in this new issue. It lacks some of the larger historical elements which are now recognised as part of the necessary equipment of the exegete. But it is minute and exact on the grammatical and linguistic side. It also gives a more faithful representation of the characteristic Pauline terms and ideas with regard to sacrifice, atonement, justification and cognate subjects than one finds in some commentaries of recent date that are held in great esteem. In this it is of great value.

Those who wish to have at hand a concise, reliable and well-written account of the literary and historical questions connected with the various books of Scripture will find it in the volume on *Biblical Introduction*<sup>2</sup> which we owe to Professors Bennett and Adeney. The former scholar takes the Old Testament, the latter the New. They know their subjects thoroughly, and have produced a joint work of great value in regard both to the admirable precision of their statements and their careful application of the recognised principles of criticism.

The *Expositor*<sup>3</sup> has reached the second volume of its sixth series; it has had a remarkable career, and under Dr. Robertson Nicoll's editorship, it continues to occupy an honoured place among our religious journals. This volume contains papers by men like Professors Bacon, Bennett, Dods, Findlay, Gray, Rendel Harris, Margoliouth and Ramsay, not to mention other scholars of repute. It is full of good and useful matter of many different kinds.

<sup>1</sup> London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx. + 386. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> London: Methuen & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 487. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 476. Price 7s. 6d.



The *Heidelberg Catechism*<sup>1</sup> is one of the best of the symbolical books of the Reformation, less logical and complete than the Westminster Confession, but vital and practical in a high degree. Mr. Smellie has acted wisely in adding it to the tasteful series edited by him under the title of *Books of the Heart*. He has given us an admirable edition, in which we have the German text, a revised translation, and a very good Introduction on the Catechisms of the Reformation—Luther's, Calvin's, the Anglican, the Heidelberg, John Craig's, and the Westminster *Shorter Catechism*.

The Messrs. Longmans have laid the public under great obligation by issuing a cheap edition of Dr. Alfred Edersheim's *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*.<sup>2</sup> Of the importance of the book it is superfluous to speak here. The fact that it is in its tenth impression is witness enough to the place which it occupies in public acceptance. And it deserves the popularity it has won. It is the best book we have in respect of the continuous use of Jewish thought, belief and practice in the exposition of its great subject. It has its shortcomings, it is true, in this particular line as in others. But the fact remains that we have no English life of our Lord that can compete with it in the things which give it its distinctive character. It is a great matter to have it now at the moderate price of 12s., and that not in any abridged form, but complete as originally printed.

The Trustees of the British Museum deserve the best thanks of scholars for two publications which have been prepared with great care and will be most useful for purposes of research. These are the *Descriptive List of Syriac and Karshuni MSS. in the British Museum acquired since 1873*,<sup>3</sup> and the *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manu-*

<sup>1</sup> London: Andrew Melrose, 1900. Fcp. 8vo, pp. lxxxviii. + 101. Price 2s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*. By Alfred Edersheim, M.A. Oxon., D.D., Ph.D. In two volumes. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900. 8vo, pp. xxxv. + 695 and xii. + 826. Price 12s. net.

<sup>3</sup> London: sold at the British Museum, and by Messrs. Longmans; Quaritch; Asher & Co.; Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.; and Mr. Henry Frowde, 1899. 8vo, pp. iv. + 64.

*scripts*<sup>1</sup> in the *British Museum, Part I*. We owe them to the able hand of Mr. G. Margoliouth. Both are admirably printed. The latter, indeed, is a superb publication, furnished with splendid plates. It represents an immense amount of work. Mr. Margoliouth has had the help of Messrs. Ginsburg and Posnański in the work of revision.

Dr. Robert Mackintosh of the Lancaster Independent College publishes *A First Primer of Apologetics*.<sup>2</sup> Its object is to exhibit the Christian argument frankly "as it shapes itself freely in the light of present-day knowledge and criticism". It does this ably and faithfully. It is clear, concise and pointed in its presentation of the various aspects of the case. It gives separate chapters to such topics as the Sinlessness of Christ (which is handled well), the Problems of Natural Theology (one of the best sections of the book), the Gospel Miracles of Healing, the Narratives of the Resurrection, the Argument for Prophecy, the Moral Difficulties of the Old Testament, etc. It supplies a real want, and should be found very useful by teachers and students.

The editor of the *English Theological Library* has done well in including the *Works of Bishop Butler*<sup>3</sup> in his series. They make two handsome, beautifully printed, and in every way attractive volumes. The editorial work is ably discharged by Dr. Bernard of Dublin, who also supplies all that is needed in the way of Introduction and Notes. There is an excellent sketch of the Bishop himself, in which Dr. Bernard, starting with Newman's description of Butler as

<sup>1</sup> As above, 1899. 4to, pp. 283.

<sup>2</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 92. Price 3s.

<sup>3</sup> *The Works of Bishop Butler*. A new edition with Introduction and Notes by T. H. Bernard, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, and Archbishop King's Lecturer on Divinity in the University of Dublin. Vol. I. Sermons, Charges, Fragments and Correspondence. Vol. II. The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature, to which are added Two Brief Dissertations: 1, Of Personal Identity; 2, Of the Nature of Virtue. London: Macmillan & Co., 1900. 8vo, pp. xxxiii. + 352 and xii. + 313. Price 7s. 6d. net each volume.

"the greatest name in the Anglican Church," gives a careful estimate of the permanent value of his contributions to ethics and theology, and explains the particular form which they took in face of English Deism in its golden age. The text is not over-burdened with editorial comment. All that is given is to the point. It would be difficult to imagine an edition better entitled to be called the *Student's* edition than these two splendid volumes.

Among other interesting articles in the *Teologisk Tidsskrift* we notice one on the *English Church in the Middle Ages* by J. O. Andersen in the sixth issue.

The last number of the *Homiletic Review* for 1900 should be consulted for Prof. W. M. Ramsay's article on "The Pauline Chronology". The corresponding number of the *Methodist Review* has an interesting "Study of Eminent Divines" by Dr. J. W. Webb. In the December issue of *L'Humanité Nouvelle* we notice an article by R. de la Grasserie on the question "De la classification des phénomènes sociaux". Professor Milton G. Evans of Bucknell University contributes to the closing issue of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for 1900 a paper on the title "The Son of Man". His conclusion is that our Lord selected the title because it was Messianic, "but obscurely so"; that He put into it the meaning which it has in the Book of Enoch, and also the idea of the suffering servant in Isaiah; that to Him it was a title of dignity, but that to His hearers it conveyed at first no clear meaning, arousing inquiry indeed, but solving nothing.

Among the papers of special interest in the closing number of the *International Journal of Ethics* for 1900, we may refer to one by Gilbert Murray on "National Ideals; Conscious and Unconscious," and another by Alfred W. Benn on "The Relation of Ethics to Evolution". "The doctrine of Evolution," says the latter, "from which so much had been hoped, throws no fresh light on the problems of ethics, although perhaps the study of ethics throws some light on the evolution of that doctrine itself. . . . The lessons on which the world's choicest spirits have lived are not made obsolete by

any modern discoveries; nor is there reason to believe that a reversal of moral values is, any more than a reversal of logical values, among the surprises which the future has in store."

*Mind* for October 1900 contains a number of articles of which special mention might well be made. Among them is one by R. R. Marett on "The Normal Self; a suggested Formula for Evolutionary Ethics," the object of which is to supplant by a better formula the "specious concept that still figures conspicuously at any rate in the more popular 'evolutionary' text-books, viz., that of the 'Tribal Self,'" as put by W. K. Clifford.

In the last quarter's issue of the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, we notice an elaborate article by Dr. J. Oscar Boyd on "The Historicity of Ezra," and another by Professor J. I. Marais which gives an interesting sketch of the "Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa".

The closing number of the *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift* for 1900 contains an article by Pfarrer E. Steudel on the "Truth of Christ's Pre-existence in its Importance for Christian Faith and Life," which will repay perusal.

The *American Journal of Theology* for the last quarter of 1900 opens with an important paper by Professor Kaftan on "Authority as a Principle of Theology". Professor W. R. Betteridge writes interestingly on "The Historical and Religious Significance of the Old Testament Prophets". Dr. George B. Gow contributes an elaborate paper on "The Place of Expiation in Human Redemption". His position is that, if we take expiation in the sense of the satisfaction rendered to the "Divine feeling toward the sinner in view of his transgression," i.e., the feeling of the Divine righteousness, "we need not rebel against such expressions as vicarious suffering, expiation in the blood of Jesus, the suffering of the just for the unjust and of the innocent for the guilty, propitiation made once for all, and others of like nature". He adds that, however defective or overcharged the language of some of our hymns and our popular preachers may be, the "religious world will never let go the reality of a

Divine propitiation for sin which underlies this strong language of religious feeling".

We have pleasure in noticing also *The Book of the Future Life*,<sup>1</sup> a valuable anthology of passages from all ages and all kinds of literature, bearing on the great question of Immortality, arranged in chapters according to their several subjects and prepared with great care and admirable discernment by Pauline W. Roose, assisted by David C. Roose, a book which none can read without delight and edification; a new edition, now the fourth, of Mr. E. Griffith-Jones's, *The Ascent through Christ*,<sup>2</sup> an able and seasonable book which has been already favourably noticed in this *Review*,<sup>3</sup> and which deserves all the success it has had; *State Prohibition and Local Option*,<sup>4</sup> a timely and welcome reprint of two chapters of Messrs. Joseph Rowntree and Arthur Sherwell's book on *The Temperance Question and Social Reform*, the most important contribution which has been made of recent years to the consideration of the questions of which it treats; *The Religious Spirit in the Poets*,<sup>5</sup> a collection of essays by Bishop Boyd Carpenter, on the relations between religion and poetry, illustrated by special studies of Spenser, Marlowe, Shakespeare, Milton, Coleridge, Tennyson and Browning, popular in style, an appreciative, pleasant and instructive companion for quiet hours; a small volume, *All Change*,<sup>6</sup> with the sub-title "Jottings at the Junction of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," by Wilfred Woolam, M.A., LL.M. Camb., a collection of reflections, homilies in miniature, and thoughts on such subjects as "The Havoc of Time," "The Age of Wonders,"

<sup>1</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 275. Price 6s.

<sup>2</sup> London: James Bowden, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxvi. + 409. Price 3s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. x., p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 115-369, and 695-726. Price 1s. net.

<sup>5</sup> By the Right Rev. W. Boyd Carpenter, D.D., Lord Bishop of Ripon, Hon. D.C.L. Oxon. London: Isbister & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 247. Price 5s.

<sup>6</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1900. Sm. cr. 8vo, pp. 76.

etc., often well-expressed and suggestive, but why do they begin with so irritating a grammatical blunder as this: "Neither love nor hate *are* learnt?" ; *From the Scourge of the Tongue*,<sup>1</sup> a tale well told, healthy in tone, and showing considerable inventive talent, by Bessie Marchant (Mrs. J. A. Comfort); a cheap edition of Dr. Carr's biography of the late *Archbishop Benson*,<sup>2</sup> a book which does not profess to be more than a sketch that might be useful in default of an exhaustive *Life*, but which gives in highly eulogistic terms the main events in the laborious and exceptionally prosperous career of an English prelate who did much for his Church and was greatly trusted and honoured; *The Life of Christian Service*,<sup>3</sup> a collection of extracts of a devotional character from the writings of Dean Farrar, judiciously selected and arranged by J. H. Burn, B.D.; the second part of the nineteenth volume of Holtzmann and Krüger's most useful and well-nigh indispensable *Theologischer Jahresbericht*,<sup>4</sup> giving the literature of *Historical Theology* for 1899; the twenty-first annual volume of *Young England*,<sup>5</sup> a magazine crammed with good things of all varieties in letterpress and in illustrations, a long-established favourite with boys throughout the English-speaking world; another instalment of the *Biblical Illustrator*,<sup>6</sup> edited by the Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A., giving a vast mass of comment and illustration bearing on the interpretation and pulpit use of the books of Joshua, Judges and Ruth; a second edition of *An Outline of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*,<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> London: Andrew Melrose, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 207. Price 3s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> *The Life-Work of Edward White Benson, D.D.*, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury. By J. A. Carr, LL.D., Vicar of Whitechurch and Canon of Christchurch, Dublin. London: Elliot Stock, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 273.

<sup>3</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1900. Pp. 200. Price 5s., post free.

<sup>4</sup> Bearbeitet von Lüdemann, Preuschen, Ficker, etc. Berlin: Schwetschke und Sohn; London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. 8vo, pp. 171-531. Price of the complete vol., £1 10s.

<sup>5</sup> London: The Sunday School Union. Large 8vo, pp. 492. Price 5s.

<sup>6</sup> London: Nisbet & Co. 8vo, pp. 313 + 262 + 73. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>7</sup> London: Marlborough & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 204. Price 2s. 6d.

by C. E. Stuart, a thoughtful and useful series of papers, designed to help *English* readers to a better understanding of Paul's great argument, avoiding, therefore, all technicalities which might puzzle such readers, and concentrating attention on the essential ideas; the *Report of the Census of Cuba*, 1899,<sup>1</sup> issued by the War Department of the United States, a volume full of information of great interest for the statesman, the statistician, the merchant, the geographer, the historian, and the ethnologist; a volume of excellent addresses to children by Grace Winter, *Keep to the Right*,<sup>2</sup> on such topics as "Seed-sowing," "Shadows," "The Sand of the Sea," "Nets and Traps," etc.; a cheap but attractive and carefully-printed edition of Kingsley's *Westward Ho!*<sup>3</sup>; a story by Alexander Macdougall, entitled *The Autobiography of Allen Lorne, Minister of Religion*,<sup>4</sup> with some very doubtful utterances on the Puritans and the Bible and such subjects, and too much of a didactic tone, but with some stirring passages and some vivid views of Scotch ways and Highland life; a very tasteful and most welcome edition of John Pulsford's *Quiet Hours*,<sup>5</sup> second series; *An Essay toward Faith*,<sup>6</sup> by Wilford L. Robbins, D.D., Dean of the Cathedral of All Saints, Albany, a small book written in an attractive style and a deeply devout spirit, grappling with the problem "how to make life strong and beautiful and free," here and there somewhat wide of the mark, as *e.g.*, when it speaks of the Bible and Protestantism (which latter term is bereft of the dignity of the capital P), but likely to be of use in its general line of statement to those who feel the pressure of a time of doubt; an *Approximate Chronology of the Life of Our Lord Jesus Christ*,<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900. 8vo, pp. 786.

<sup>2</sup> London: The Sunday School Union. Small 8vo, pp. 128. Price 1s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> London: The Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 484. Price 2s.

<sup>4</sup> London: Fisher Unwin, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 312. Price 6s.

<sup>5</sup> London: Andrew Melrose, 1900. Fcp. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 352. Price 2s. 6d.

<sup>6</sup> London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900. Fcp. 8vo, pp. 173. Price 3s. net.

<sup>7</sup> London: Jarrold & Sons, 1899. Small 4to, pp. 27.

specially adapted to the wants of Sunday School Teachers, Bible Classes, etc., and prepared with care and knowledge by W. H. H. Yarrington, M.A., LL.B.; an edition by H. F. Stewart, M.A., Chaplain of Trinity College, Cambridge, of *Thirteen Homilies of St. Augustine on St. John xiv.*,<sup>1</sup> giving the Latin text according to the Benedictine edition, an excellent English translation, and a considerable body of notes, all done in a scholarly fashion and in a way that will be a real help to candidates for holy orders; an edition of the *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, together with the Apocalypses of each one of them*,<sup>2</sup> by F. Rendel Harris, M.A., giving the Syriac text (which is supposed to be original), with introduction and translation, of a curious series of tracts for which the able editor claims the value both of novelty of matter and of a place of some interest in "the record of the decline of Eastern Christianity"; an important volume of *Palestinian Syriac Texts from Palimpsest Fragments in the Taylor-Schechter Collection*,<sup>3</sup> for which we are indebted to the scholarship and enterprise of Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis and Mrs. Margaret Dunlop Gibson; *An Arabic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Seven Catholic Epistles*,<sup>4</sup> together with a *Treatise on the Triune Nature of God*, by Margaret Dunlop Gibson, M.R.A.S., both taken from a manuscript of the eighth or ninth century in the Convent of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai, the theological treatise (which appears to be the work of a Christian in defence of his faith against Moslems) being translated, and the Arabic text, which appears to be a translation of the Syriac Peshitta (in the case of Acts and the larger Epistles) and of the Philoxenian (in the case of the others), being carefully edited by Mrs. Gibson with the help of her sister; *Advance Endeavour!*<sup>5</sup>—the Souvenir Report of the World's Conven-

<sup>1</sup> Cambridge University Press, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxxv. + 140. Price 4s.

<sup>2</sup> Cambridge University Press, 1900. 8vo, pp. 39 + 21. Price 5s.

<sup>3</sup> London: C. J. Clay & Sons, 1900. Small 4to, pp. xxi. + 113. Price 10s. 6d. net.

<sup>4</sup> London: C. J. Clay & Sons, 1899. Small 4to, pp. ix. + 60 + pp. 105 of text. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>5</sup> London: Andrew Melrose, 1900. 4to, pp. 264. Price 2s. 6d. net.



tion of Christian Endeavour in London, 1900, a volume well worth careful reading; *The Messages of Paul*,<sup>1</sup> by George Barker Stevens, Ph.D., D.D., Dwight Professor of Systematic Theology in Yale University, a book on the same plan as the *Messages of the Prophets*, previously noticed in this review,<sup>2</sup> a successful attempt, by a scholar who has already tried his hand in the matter, to make the Pauline Epistles, by arrangement, analysis and free rendering, speak clearly and distinctly to the modern mind; a small volume by R. S. Kirk, entitled, *Side Lights on Great Problems of Human Interest*,<sup>3</sup> containing some suggestive thoughts, expressed in clear and simple terms, on Providence, motive as the variant and developer of life, consciousness, evolution and similar topics, and attempting to make good the eternal principles underlying the Christian Gospel on the supposition that the "Pauline and Miltonic theological system is poetical and not historical".

In view of present discussions, the Hon. Arthur Elliot has republished his volume on *The State and the Church*,<sup>4</sup> which he contributed so far back as 1882 to *The English Citizen* series. Mr. Elliot's view is that "an Established Church is necessarily subject to the State if differences arise between them"; that "an Act of Assembly is, in law, waste paper, if it is in conflict with an Act of Parliament"; that, while it is conceivable that the royal supremacy might be dropped in the case of the English Church, it is not conceivable that an Established Church should be exempt from the control of Parliament, and that, neither in England nor in Scotland, is it possible for the State Church to "exceed the bounds fixed by Act of Parliament". Both the history and the argument which are given in the book are of interest, and Mr. Elliot has a keen eye, which at the same time is singularly blind to some things. He does not seem to be aware

<sup>1</sup> London: James Clarke & Co. Royal 16mo, pp. 271. Price 3s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. x., p. 564.

<sup>3</sup> London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 47. Price 1s.

<sup>4</sup> London: Macmillan & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxviii. + 174. Price 2s. 6d.

of the real position of the Free Churches as regards the right of the Civil Courts to deal with contracts in respect of civil effects. He does not appear to see that certain actions on the part of the civil authority which might be matter of right in the case of State Churches, would be persecution in the case of others. Nor does he understand how, apart from the form of an Establishment, there can be any "national religion" in the sense of a recognition of religion by the State itself. He perceives, however, how the case of the Disestablished Church of Ireland tells, and how changed both the situation and the possibilities are in this whole region of things since 1882, and he says much that is pertinent and worth hearing.

We call attention also to *The Use of the Apocrypha in the Christian Church*,<sup>1</sup> by William Heaford Daubney, B.D., Rector of Leasingham, a treatise written with the view of asserting for "the other books" a better place in the regard of the Church and in its services than they have at present—valuable chiefly for what it says of the references to the Apocrypha in the New Testament, the way in which they were dealt with by the early Christian writers and by ancient Councils, the use made of them at the time of the Reformation, the estimates formed of them by leading English divines, etc., on all which points it has useful information to give us; *Hölle und Paradies bei den Babyloniern*,<sup>2</sup> the third part of the first year's issue of the valuable series of studies prepared by the Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft under the title of *Der alte Orient*, in which Dr. Alfred Jeremias, summarising the results of the most recent inquiry, gives a concise and interesting statement of the ideas and usages of the ancient Babylonians in connection with death, burial, the underworld, the islands of the blessed, the bread and water of life in Paradise, etc.; *Der Ordo Salutis in der alt-lutherischen Dogmatik*,<sup>3</sup> by Dr. Max Koch, a treatise which takes us back to dogmatic questions

<sup>1</sup> London: C. J. Clay, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. + 120. Price 3s.

<sup>2</sup> Leipzig: Hinrichs; London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. 8vo, pp. 32. Price M.o.60.

<sup>3</sup> Berlin: Duncker, 1899. 8vo, pp. 199.

and theological distinctions and definitions largely discussed of old—ably written and of interest to the practised theologian for the account it gives of Quenstedt's statement of the order of grace or salvation, the spiritual process of the appropriation of grace, the place of faith in it, the difference between the earlier and later Lutherans on these subjects, the influence of metaphysical ideas on the evangelical faith, etc.; *The Church of England: its Catholicity and Continuity*<sup>1</sup>—a series of seven lectures by the Rev. Herbert Pole, assistant curate of Bexley Heath, popular in style and having no title to originality, giving a general view of certain great epochs in the history of the English Church with the intention of disproving that it "was made Protestant at the Reformation," charging those of the present day who advocate disestablishment and disendowment with "a form of persecution, if not something worse," and dismissing Dissenters as those who "do not acknowledge the Catholicity of the English Church" and "do not seem to grasp the idea that although the Church is a national Church, it is not a national Church alone, but it is the Church of Christ, the Church of all races and all ages"—a mighty claim indeed, built up on a very little knowledge; the eighth part (carrying us to the root **רעב**) of the important *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*,<sup>2</sup> based on Robinson's Gesenius and edited by Professor Francis Brown, D.D., with the co-operation of Professors S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs—a work which needs no commendation; the ninth edition, revised and improved, of Weizsäcker's justly-valued and widely-accepted translation of the New Testament;<sup>3</sup> a careful and sympathetic appreciation of Professor C. Weizsäcker by Professor Hegler of Tübingen<sup>4</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> London: Skeffington & Son, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. + 214. Price 5s.

<sup>2</sup> Part viii. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900. 4to, pp. 617-704. Price 2s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> *Das Neue Testament übersetzt.* Von Carl Weizsäcker, D.Th. Tübingen, Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 458. Price 3s. net.

<sup>4</sup> *Zur Erinnerung Carl Weizsäcker.* Tübingen, Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. 8vo, pp. 69. Price 1s. net.

an instructive and somewhat detailed exposition of Bismarck's relations to Religion and the Church, by Professor Otto Baumgarten of Kiel,<sup>1</sup> given largely in Bismarck's own words, and bringing out among other things his dislike of the English Sunday; a similar estimate of Goethe's relation to Religion and Christianity by Professor Karl Sell of Bonn,<sup>2</sup> exhibiting in concise and forcible terms the poet's attitude to the great questions of faith at different periods of his career; an edition of the Bible with the special designation of the "Christian Edition,"<sup>3</sup> prepared by Mr. T. K. Starley on the plan of taking the New Testament first and the Old Testament second in order, with an "Apology" offering reasons for this reversal of the usual arrangement; an interesting little volume on *Early Christianity outside the Roman Empire*,<sup>4</sup> by Mr. F. Crawford Burkitt, Trinity College, Cambridge, consisting of two lectures delivered at Trinity College, Dublin, which deal in a scholarly and instructive way with the creed of Aphraates, the Sacraments in Aphraates, Bardesanes' *De Fato* and the *Acts of Judas Thomas*.

We have to notice also a very readable and opportune biographical sketch of *Field-Marshal Lord Roberts*,<sup>5</sup> by Horace G. Groser; *The Rights of War and Peace*,<sup>6</sup> by Hugo Grotius, being the Prolegomena to Grotius's *De Jure belli et pacis*, a statement of great historical interest and great intrinsic value, now republished as No. 101 of the *Old South Leaflets*; a suggestive and well-written volume, by John M. McCandlish, W.S., on *Personal Character and Business Life*,<sup>7</sup> full of ad-

<sup>1</sup> *Bismarck's Stellung zu Religion und Kirche*. Tübingen, Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. 8vo, pp. 127. Price 1s. 9d. net.

<sup>2</sup> *Goethe's Stellung zu Religion und Christentum*. Vortrag mit Erläuterungen. Freiburg i. B., Leipzig und Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. 104.

<sup>3</sup> London: The Sabbath School Supply Co.

<sup>4</sup> Cambridge: University Press, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 89. Price 2s. 6d.

<sup>5</sup> London: Andrew Melrose. Cr. 8vo, pp. 144. Price 1s. net.

<sup>6</sup> Old South Meeting House, Boston, Mass.

<sup>7</sup> Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Cr. 8vo, pp. 95. Price 1s. net.

mirable counsel for young men ; a collection of *Sermons for Children*,<sup>1</sup> by the late Thomas Sadler, Ph.D., delivered originally at Rosslyn Hill Chapel, Hampstead, on familiar themes such as "Christ and the Little Children," "The Young Samuel," "The Captive Hebrew Maid," etc., but fresh and interesting ; a second and thoroughly revised edition of the Commentary on *Psalms and Proverbs*,<sup>2</sup> in Strack and Zöckler's *Kurzgefasster Kommentar*, a very useful and scholarly book, which we are glad to see making its way among students ; *The Bramble King*,<sup>3</sup> a contribution to the tasteful *Helps Heavenward* series, consisting of a series of brief, telling, suggestive expositions of certain Old Testament parables, by Mark Guy Pearse ; a clear, concise, and instructive analysis and appreciation of Martineau's *Study of Religion*,<sup>4</sup> by Richard A. Armstrong, forming volume xvii<sup>th</sup> of the series of *Small Books on Great Subjects* ; a third edition of *Thoughts Through the Year*,<sup>5</sup> by J. E. A. Brown, a series of sonnets of considerable merit, suggested by the collects ; *The Class and the Desk*,<sup>6</sup> a manual of preparation for Sunday School teaching, full of matter which should help those engaged in such work ; a pamphlet on *Hymns and Hymn Writers*,<sup>7</sup> by B. S. Olding, in which some good remarks will be found both on the general question of the place of hymnody in worship, and on some particular classes of hymns ; *The Biblical Museum*, vol. x.,<sup>8</sup> by James

<sup>1</sup> London : James Clarke & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. + 214. Price 3s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Psalmen und die Sprüche Salomos übersetzt und ausgelegt.* Von Lic. Hans Kessler und Dr. Hermann L. Strack. München : Beck, 1899, pp. xx. + 302, and vii. + 104. Price M.6.

<sup>3</sup> London : C. H. Kelly, 1900. Demy 16mo, pp. 147. Price 1s. 6d.

<sup>4</sup> London : James Clarke & Co., 1900. Pott 8vo, pp. 115. Price 1s. 6d.

<sup>5</sup> London : Elliot Stock, 1899. Pp 86.

<sup>6</sup> New Testament Series : Gospels and Acts. By the Revs. James Comper Gray and Charles Stokes Carey. London : Elliot Stock, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 293. Price 1s. net.

<sup>7</sup> London : Elliot Stock, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 32. Price 4d.

<sup>8</sup> London : Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 384. Price 1s. net. The whole series of 15 vols. is now to be had for 15s.

Comper Gray, giving a running commentary on Daniel and the minor prophets, with an abundance of homiletic and illustrative matter carefully selected with a view to the needs of ministers, Bible students, and Sunday School teachers ; a second and thoroughly revised edition of Dr. Colin Campbell's *The First Three Gospels in Greek arranged in Parallel Columns*,<sup>1</sup> a useful book, following the text of Tischendorf's eighth edition ; *The Biblical Text of Clement of Alexandria*,<sup>2</sup> collected and edited with scholarly carefulness and skill by P. Mor-dant, M.A., Christ's College, Cambridge, and enriched by a valuable Introduction by F. C. Burkitt, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, being vol. v., No. 5, of the excellent series of Texts and Studies, edited by Dr. J. Armitage Robinson.

An excellent biography of the late Prof. Calderwood comes to us from the hands of his son and the Rev. David Woodside.<sup>3</sup> It will be received with satisfaction by a wide circle of personal friends, by many good men in the Scottish Churches, his own and others, by the numerous body of students who were trained under him, and by all interested in the history of philosophy in Scotland. Henry Calderwood is one whose career deserves to be remembered. At an unusually early age he achieved distinction. When only twenty-four years old he wrote his *Philosophy of the Infinite*, in which he subjected the ideas of his master, Sir William Hamilton, and Dean Mansel to a searching criticism, asserting that we can have a real, though partial knowledge of an infinite object, and vehemently assailing the position that God is unknown and unknowable. For many years he occupied a prominent position as an advocate of a philosophy which aimed at maintaining the rights of reason in the things of religious faith

<sup>1</sup> London, Edinburgh and Oxford: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. xv. + 223. Price 5s. net.

<sup>2</sup> Cambridge University Press, 1899. 8vo, pp. xix. + 64. Price 4s. net.

<sup>3</sup> *The Life of Henry Calderwood, LL.D., F.R.S.E.*, by his son and the Rev. David Woodside, B.D. With a special chapter on his philosophical works by A. Seth Pringle-Pattison, LL.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900. 8vo, pp. viii. + 447. Price 7s. 6d.

and life, and by his writings as well as his professional teaching he won a good name and great influence in America as well as at home.

The *Life* is the composition of two different hands, those of his son and his son-in-law. But it is a unity, nevertheless, and it is well done. Each of the two writers does his part with sound judgment and in an interesting way. The result is a telling picture of one who held for many years a distinguished place in the academic, ecclesiastical, and public life of Scotland. We have a vivid account of Dr. Calderwood's early career, his labours in his Glasgow pastorate, his long and useful occupancy of the chair of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, the part which he took in the counsels of the Church of which he was a devoted member, his activity in the charitable and political movements of the time. We get also a just and discriminating estimate of his contributions to literature. The value of the book is made the greater by the important chapter on his philosophical works which comes from the pen of his colleague, Professor Pringle-Pattison.

*Chalmers on Charity*<sup>1</sup> is the title given to a selection of passages and scenes to illustrate the social teaching and practical work of Thomas Chalmers, D.D. The idea is a happy one, and it has been carried out in a very effective way by one who has had large experience of charity work, Mr. N. Masterman, M.A., for eighteen years a member of the London Charity Organisation Society, and sometime guardian in the parish of Kensington. The book will be of much use. Few men of our century have had the claim to be heard that Thomas Chalmers has in the matters in question. By some of the most eminent authorities on social and economic questions, he is accorded the first place in the line of the great thinkers and workers in those fields in the nineteenth century. The advice given to aspiring students by some of the most recognised teachers is this—begin with

<sup>1</sup> Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., 1900. 8vo, pp. xxii. + 414. Price 7s. 6d. net.

Chalmers. The book is a real boon. If a still cheaper issue of it could be prepared, the service would be all the greater. It is a book that all should read who have their eye on the problems of the new century.

In his *Outlines of Christian Dogma*,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Darwell Stone, M.A., Principal of Dorchester Missionary College, aims at giving, with as little of the controversial as possible, a "clear and systematic idea of the chief tenets of the faith," and he seeks to do this in a way to meet the needs of those who are not students of technical theology. He begins with a chapter on the "Approach to Dogma," and proceeds thereafter to deal in succession with the doctrines of the nature and attributes of God, the Trinity, Creation, the Fall, the Incarnation, the Atonement, the Resurrection and Ascension, the Nature of the Church, the Teaching Office and the Sanctifying Office of the Church, the operation of Grace and the Last Things. The standpoint is that of High Anglicanism. The influence of that is felt, as might be expected, in what is said of the Church. The construction of Christian doctrine is generally conservative. In some things it reminds one of Canon Liddon's ways. The book gives evidence of wide and careful reading. It is sober in spirit and presents a good view of the type of theology which it represents.

The "Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges" is enriched by a commentary on *The Book of Daniel*<sup>2</sup> by Professor S. R. Driver. It is superfluous to say that it is a valuable addition to the series. Characterised throughout by exact scholarship and careful criticism, it provides the student precisely with what he needs, both in Introduction and in Notes. In the work of the Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford, we see the principles of the higher criticism applied faithfully and soberly, free from the fanciful subjectivity which goes with it in so many scholars in England as well as in Germany. The questions of authorship and

<sup>1</sup> London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx. + 351. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Cambridge: University Press, 1900. Extra fcp. 8vo, pp. cvi. + 215. Price 2s. 6d. net.



date receive full and judicious treatment. It is shown that a number of distinct and independent considerations taken from history, language and the ideas of Daniel, point to the conclusion that the book cannot have been written before B.C. 300, and that there are "grounds which, though they may not be regarded as *demonstrative* except on the part of those who deny all predictive prophecy, nevertheless make the opinion a highly *probable* one that the book is a work of the age of Antiochus Epiphanes".

The series known as the "Kerr Lectures," founded in connexion with the United Presbyterian Church, has obtained an honourable name. Previous volumes by Professor Orr, Dr. Kidd and Dr. Forrest, have been recognised as important contributions to their subjects. The Lectures for 1900 are now published, and they too will take a good place in the theological literature of Scotland. They are by the Rev. Robert J. Drummond, B.D., and have for their subject *The Relation of the Apostolic Teaching to the Teaching of Christ*.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Drummond has been happy in the selection of his topic. It is one that has been attracting attention for some time, and one on which there is something to say. In the engrossments of a heavy city charge Mr. Drummond has snatched time to read carefully and discerningly. He is master of a good style. Now and then it tends to drop into the free and easy, but it is often artistic, and always clear, direct and agreeable.

Mr. Drummond has a good grasp of the method and bearings of his inquiry, and writes in the manner of one who understands what Biblical theology is. He handles his subject in the historical spirit, and makes little of the dogmatic and less of the controversial aspects of the questions with which he deals. He places the teaching of the Apostles in its proper relations to that of our Lord, and helps us to see for ourselves the justice of his exposition of these relations by setting the two sets of ideas side by side. There is a very good statement of the general features of our Lord's teach-

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1900. 8vo, pp. viii. + 432. Price 10s. 6d.

ing, its main points, its historical connections, its purpose and circumstances, etc. Among the best chapters is one on the great terms "Son of Man" and "Son of God". That on "The Activities of the Exalted Christ" has some points of fresh interest, and contains much that is suggestive. Mr. Drummond's general conclusions are expressed in these terms—fundamental and widespread agreement, no fixity of terminology, special emphasis on one side of truth not implying divergence from those left unnoticed, and development a feature in the presentation of Christian teaching. He claims for the Apostles perfect loyalty to Christ's teaching and absolute subordination to Himself. But he holds it legitimate also to recognise the authority of the Apostles and their teaching—a derived, not an original authority, but ranking close "behind His own, just because of their nearness to the primal source, of the vividness which still remained of the impression of Himself as He was known on earth, and of the immediate quickening of their spiritual understanding by the entrance of the Divine Enlightener, the Holy Spirit, whom Christ had promised for the very purpose of leading them into all truth". These are just conclusions, and the book as a whole does much credit to the author.

The reports of two important conferences recently held on doctrinal questions are given to the public. They form instructive records of two interesting occasions on which representative theologians, belonging to different Churches or parties, met together with the view of endeavouring to understand each other's positions and discovering how far agreement existed or might be effected. One of these has the title, *Different Conceptions of Sacrifice and Priesthood*,<sup>1</sup> and is edited by Professor Sanday of Oxford. It gives the record of a conference held at Oxford, 13th and 14th December, 1899, in which the High Church section of the English Church was represented by Father Puller, Canon Gore,

<sup>1</sup> London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900. 8vo, pp. xix. + 173. Price 7s. 6d.

Canon Scott Holland, Professor Moberly and the Rev. C. G. Lang; the other sections of the same Church by Dr. Sanday (the chairman), Archdeacon Wilson, President H. E. Ryle (now Bishop designate of Exeter), Canon Bernard of Salisbury and the Rev. A. C. Headlam; while English Nonconformity was represented by Dr. Fairbairn of Mansfield College, Mr. Arnold Thomas of Bristol and the Rev. Dr. Peter Forsyth of Cambridge; Wesleyanism by Professor W. T. Davison of Handsworth; and Presbyterianism by Dr. Salmond of Aberdeen. The discussions were frank and friendly. They were undoubtedly of service in many ways, especially in removing misconceptions due to the use of inexact theological terms. The other volume gives the report of a *Conference held at Fulham Palace in October, 1900*,<sup>1</sup> and is edited by Dr. Henry Wace. This Round-Table Conference, as it was called, was limited to those belonging to the Church of England. In addition to the chairman, Dr. Wace, the following clergymen and laymen, representing different parties in the Church, were members of it, viz.: Dr. W. H. Barlow, Professor H. E. I. Bevan, Dr. C. Bigg, Mr. W. J. Birkbeck, the Rev. N. Dimock, Canon Gore, Viscount Halifax, Professor Moule, Canon Newbolt, Principal A. Robertson, Canon Armitage Robinson, Canon Sanday, Dr. P. V. Smith and the Earl of Stamford. No definite resolution was agreed to, but the contending views on the mystery of Christ's presence in the Eucharist were fully explained and discussed. Some approach at least was made to the removal of ambiguities and to a better understanding of the precise points of agreement and difference. Both books will repay careful study.

We are indebted to the author of the *Life of Cardinal Manning*, which caused such stir some time ago, for another book which sheds some light on the history of recent ecclesiastical movements in the Church of England—the *Life and*

<sup>1</sup> *The Doctrine of Holy Communion and its Expression in Ritual.* London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900. 8vo, pp. 96. Price 2s. 6d. net.

*Letters of Ambrose Phillips de Lisle.*<sup>1</sup> The fault of the book is its great size. But it contains much that is of interest and some things that are not altogether pleasant surprises, with regard to the methods and inner history of the extreme Anglican party. De Lisle himself is regarded by some as the real author of the Ritualistic development of Anglicanism, and his career was a singular one. Brought up under evangelical influences and looking on the Pope as Antichrist, he nevertheless underwent so great a change in his religious dispositions and views that he was baptised into the Roman Catholic Church at the early age of fifteen, and he continued a devoted, not to say enthusiastic, member of that communion. He was the head and untiring promoter of the enterprise known as the "Corporate Re-union Movement between the Churches of England and Rome," and was a munificent friend of Roman Catholic causes. His diary and the correspondence which passed between him and men like John Henry Newman, Montalembert, Lacordaire and others are of great interest. The volumes deserve the attention of all students of the Tractarian movement and Roman Catholic policy in England.

Professor Burnet of St. Andrews provides us with an edition of the *Ethics of Aristotle*.<sup>2</sup> which will take a high place among books of its kind. The introduction contains valuable dissertations on the Nicomachean and Eudemian Ethics, the composition and style of the Ethics, and the various commentaries, as also on Practical and Theoretical Science, Ethics and Politics, the Method of Science, First Principles, Dialectics, the Final Cause, and the Platonic and Aristotelian Teleology. The statements on Final Cause and the forms of Teleology, are of very special interest. The great ethical

<sup>1</sup> By Edmund Sheridan Purcell. Edited and finished by Edwin de Lisle. In two volumes. London: Macmillan, 1900. 8vo, pp. xiii. + 422 and 382. Price 25s. net.

<sup>2</sup> *The Ethics of Aristotle*, edited with an introduction and notes, by John Burnet, M.A., Professor of Greek in the United College of St. Salvator and St. Leonard, St. Andrews. London: Methuen & Co., 1900. 8vo, pp. lii. + 502. Price 15s. net.

discussions are then given in the Greek Text, with numerous explanatory notes which go into all necessary questions of text, grammar, interpretation and history. There is also a full and most useful index, for which students will be grateful.

Professor Burnet has applied to his task the resources of a wide and penetrating scholarship, especially in the Platonic literature and in the products of the Middle and New Comedy. He has his own views on the questions which are most controverted. These are set forth with great ability and deserve careful consideration. He uses the Eudemian Ethics as the best commentary on the Nicomachean. The idea of λόγος as "rule," not as "reason," he carries rigorously out, as if it admitted of no exception. He holds that Aristotle's own psychology and moral philosophy are to be found not in these treatises but in the *De Anima* and the *Physics*. It is here that the most distinctive note of Professor Burnet's book appears. The view that considerable portions of the Ethics are of a purely dialectical character receives at his hands the widest possible extension. He regards the discussions as giving all through, not Aristotle's own ideas or arguments but the opinions and contentions of others, especially those of Plato and his followers in the Academy. It is in this general theory and in some of the applications made of it that Professor Burnet's stimulating volume will most provoke criticism.

## Record of Select Literature.

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- DE LA TOUR, J. Les Origines religieuses de la France. Les Paroisses rurales de IV<sup>e</sup> au XI<sup>e</sup> Siècle. Paris: Picard et fils. 8vo, pp. 360.
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**The Book of Numbers: Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text, printed in colours, exhibiting the Composite Structure of the Book, with Notes.**

*By the Rev. J. A. Paterson, D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis, New College, Edinburgh. London: David Nutt, 1900. Pp. 66.*

**Handkommentar zum Alten Testament: Richter—Ruth.**

*Von D. W. Nowack, Professor der Theologie in Strassburg. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1900. Pp. xxviii. + 201. Price M.4.80.*

**Lines of Defence of the Biblical Revelation.**

*By D. S. Margoliouth, M.A., Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900. Pp. xii. + 318. Price 6s.*

PROFESSOR PAUL HAUPT's great enterprise *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament* is making steady progress. The latest addition, Professor Paterson's *Numbers*, admirably realises the purpose of the series. Both in textual criticism and in analysis it is sound, scholarly, and reasonably, but not unduly, cautious. Indeed in both departments the new volume furnishes yet another illustration of the substantial agreement of modern scholars as to the criticism of the Hexateuch. Comparing the analysis with that in the *Oxford Hexateuch*, for instance, there is little difference in the distribution of material between JE, D and P; but there is considerable difference in the division of P into its various strata; and Professor Paterson does not so often venture to analyse JE into J and E. These differences indicate the limits within which analysis is at all certain. The existence of J and E and of strata in P; the analysis of J and E in most of Genesis; the



identification of the main body of the Law of Holiness; and some other points are finally established. But it would be a mistake to claim for any of the attempts at a complete division of JE into J and E, or of P and D into their strata the same authority which can be recognised for the generally accepted analysis into JE, D and P. At the same time, some of these attempts are partly successful, and are always useful as giving a good idea of the way in which the main documents were built up.

Professor Paterson, in his text of *Numbers*, is in substantial agreement with most modern scholars, *e.g.*, with Karl Marti in the Kautzsch *Bibel*. The chief difference raises an interesting question. Professor Paterson relegates to footnotes, as additions to the text, many words and phrases which Marti retains; but one phrase at anyrate—"their names being changed," xxxii. 38—Marti prints in smaller type as a gloss. This variety of treatment shows the difficulty of drawing the line between the Higher Criticism of authorship, and the Lower Criticism of the text. In the case of a Pauline epistle the line is clear and broad, the text we try to recover is that of the epistle as St. Paul wrote it. But, in the Hexateuch, Higher Criticism fades away imperceptibly into textual criticism. What is the text we are trying to reconstitute? Supposing A, B, C, D, E, etc., etc., one after the other, each produced a new copy of the Hexateuch with slight modifications; one modern scholar may consider A the "final redactor," and B, C, D and E as "scribes"; he will therefore exclude their additions as "scribal interpolations" or "errors," whereas another scholar may regard B, C, D and E as "redactors" and include their additions in his text. Again, it may be clear that a phrase was not part of the original context; but, in the absence of documentary proof, it must often be impossible to determine whether it was added by one of the many redactors, or by a scribe after the recognised period of redaction was closed.

In xxxii. the account of the settlement of Reuben and Gad in Eastern Palestine, Professor Paterson maintains that the analysis can recover accounts of this incident as given by J

and E, thus agreeing on the whole with Karl Marti and Addis, as against Cornill, Kuenen, Budde and the editors of the *Oxford Hexateuch*, who assign the chapter, except verses 39, 41, 42, to a late priestly writer.

It should be stated that the notes are almost entirely on the textual criticism.

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Of late years *Judges* has attracted much attention ; Moore and Budde have each of them devoted more than one important work to this book ; and now Professor D. W. Nowack follows suit. The volume is worthy of his great reputation ; but to the general reader its chief interest will lie in his endorsement of the views of his predecessors as to the history of *Judges*. On the controversy still being waged as to the sources of the book he follows Moore and Budde in assigning the bulk of the material to the Pentateuch sources J and E. He is also in substantial agreement with them as to the evolution of our *Judges* from the ancient narratives. His view is roughly as follows : Some time, apparently, before the publication of Deuteronomy, the two early collections of narratives concerning the Judges, J and E, were combined into the first edition, JE, of *Judges* which contained most of the contents of our book, *viz.*, J's account of the Conquest, i. 1-ii. 5, the narratives of the six greater judges—Ehud, Deborah-Barak, Gideon, Abimelech, Jephthah and Samson ; the episode of the Danites, Micah and Laish ; and the original story of the war of the other tribes against Benjamin. Then a Deuteronomic editor omitted as unedifying the J account of the Conquest, the history of Abimelech, the story of Samson and Delilah, and the accounts of the Danites and of the war against Benjamin. This editor composed and inserted the account of Othniel, religious reasons for the oppressions and deliverances, and the chronological framework. A later priestly editor restored what his Deuteronomic predecessor had omitted, but entirely recast the account of the war with Benjamin, xix.-xxi. ; added the five lesser judges, Tola, Jair, Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon to make up twelve ; and made numerous other modifications. A later writer, who con-

sidered that Abimelech was not a legitimate judge, added Shamgar to keep the number twelve intact. Nowack maintains that the Song of Deborah is a contemporary document, but in its extant form it shows many traces of late editing. He holds that *Ruth* was written about the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, as a protest against their prohibition of intermarriage with foreigners.

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Professor D. S. Margoliouth's book has an unfortunate title, which names a subject to which most of the contents are really irrelevant. The relevant sections are, moreover, the least satisfactory. These, however, might have been ignored, and the work as a whole might have been spoken of with cordial appreciation, if it had been styled, for instance, *Miscellanea suggested by Post-Biblical Hebrew, Arabic, and other Oriental Literature*. It contains much curious information from recondite sources, and illustrates the wide range of the author's linguistic studies; but it cannot be accepted as a serious contribution to the Higher Criticism of the Old Testament.

The title *Lines of Defence of the Biblical Revelation* is unfortunate, too, for other reasons. It is really a treatise in support of particular theories as to the Old Testament held by Professor D. S. Margoliouth, viz., that *Job* is a translation from the Arabic; that "the Salomonic age" is "the most likely period for the compilation of the book" [the Psalter]; that the whole of our Book of Isaiah was composed by that prophet; that the apocryphal *Wisdom of Solomon* was written in Hebrew by Solomon, that it was used by Isaiah, and can be quoted to show that Solomon was acquainted with the Pentateuch; etc., etc. Our author very naturally thinks that his special theories afford the best defence of Revelation. Those who differ from him are equally convinced that some of the views he attacks afford the only permanent defence; and that the critical methods and results of this book would in the long run be fatal to the influence of the Bible. We are afraid that the title of this book might be paralleled from those of Christian controversialists of all

ages and schools, and we do not know that it furnishes any ground of complaint against the author. But to style a book a *Defence of Revelation* conveys the ugly suggestion that those whose views it combats are avowed and deliberate enemies of the Faith. We are sure that this was not Professor Margoliouth's intention, but we are afraid that the title he has chosen will be so understood by many, whose only knowledge of the book will be that a great Oriental scholar has written a *Defence of Revelation* against Professor Driver and his allies. With regard to the Higher Criticism in the book, we can only say three things:—

First, special importance will be claimed for this work, on the ground of the author's varied and thorough acquaintance with Arabic and some other Oriental languages. But other equally gifted Oriental linguists, e.g., Wellhausen, find in their knowledge of Arabic literature, etc., a confirmation of the views which our author attacks. Moreover the gift of acquiring languages and the critical faculty are entirely distinct, and the possession of the one does not necessarily imply the possession of the other. Indeed, this book suggests that Professor D. S. Margoliouth's time and interest have been so absorbed in his manifold linguistic studies that he has not had time to duly develop his critical faculty, or even to master the main outlines of the criticism which he attacks.

Secondly, his views as to the *Wisdom of Solomon* seem a *reductio ad absurdum* of his whole argument.

Thirdly, as has been already pointed out in the *Critical Review*, our author's article on the "Language of the Old Testament" in Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* states that there are cogent reasons for assigning *Deuteronomy* to the period of Jeremiah and Ezekiel; and that there is probably no verse in the Old Testament "earlier than 1,100 or later than 100 B.C."—a statement that implies that no portion of the Pentateuch was written by Moses. The present work must be read in the light of these statements; and its author cannot be claimed as a champion of traditional criticism.

W. H. BENNETT.

**Kant's Cosmogony, as in his Essay on the Retardation of the Rotation of the Earth, and his Natural History and Theory of the Heavens.**

*With Introduction, Appendix, and a Portrait of Thomas Wright of Durham. Edited and translated by W. Hastie, D.D., Professor of Divinity, University of Glasgow. Crown 8vo, pp. xcvi. + 205. Price 7s. 6d. net.*

**Knowledge, Belief and Certitude: an Inquiry with conclusions.**

*By Frederic Storrs Turner, B.A., London. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Limited. 8vo, pp. viii. + 484. Price 7s. 6d. net.*

STUDENTS of Kant are greatly indebted to Dr. Hastie for this translation and edition of Kant's Cosmogony. It is a valuable work from every point of view. It needed a man of wide and varied gifts to undertake such a task, and to carry it through successfully. Dr. Hastie was the very man for the task. It needed a man acquainted with cosmogonical speculation and with the mathematical and physical knowledge which must lie at the basis of any probable and profitable cosmogonical speculation, and Dr. Hastie has the requisite knowledge. At all events he can read mathematical and physical books with intelligence, and speak of their contents with accuracy, and so much cannot be said of every one who has written on these topics. Then there are few men who have read so widely as he in the history of human thought; or who know so well the succession of systems of philosophy, and their relations to one another. He has, in particular, been a diligent student of Kant, and,

indeed, has introduced to the English reader Kant's *Philosophy of Law and his Principles of Ethics*, with appropriate and useful introductions. So he is particularly well qualified for this arduous task.

It is a useful task to give the English reader a translation of Kant's more scientific works in good and readable English, and to add to these works the valuable material contained in the appendices. These are Dieterich's *Summary of Kant's Theory of the Heavens*, the Hamburg account of the theory of Thomas Wright of Durham, and Professor De Morgan's account of the speculations of Thomas Wright of Durham. In fact Dr. Hastie has spared no labour in order to make this edition complete and serviceable to the student. The greatest debt we owe him is in connection with the preparation of the elaborate introduction, which is of the highest value, and which enables us to understand the meaning, scope, and historical place of Kant's work. All the relevant topics are discussed with a wealth of learning and with an insight into all the problems raised in the discussion which are most admirable.

Some account of the introduction and of the topics discussed in it we shall now give. The first topic discussed in this introduction is the relation of Kant's science to his philosophy, and the outcome of the discussion is this that "the philosophical watchword of the realistic spirit of the time must be enlarged and defined anew, so as to embrace a return to Kant in his primary scientific work, and to his original scientific creation". But did not Kant himself outgrow his earlier attainment, and is not his philosophical position inconsistent with the result of his earlier scientific work? Dr. Hastie asks the question and proceeds to answer it. We allow him to give the answer:—

The very first problem he raises in the Critique and deals with as cardinal to the whole question of the origin and limits of human knowledge, is that of the nature of mathematical science and its fundamental generating intuitions, Space and Time. His criticism of the operations of the understanding is all directed towards re-establishing the validity of the idea of physical causation, and the reliability of empirical knowledge

and natural science in opposition to the scepticism of Hume. And when he comes to deal with Pure Reason itself, in its highest struggles and efforts to reach supersensible knowledge of the world, of the spiritual being of man, and of God, he clips the wings of all airy speculation in this sphere, by uncompromising reference to the world of sensible reality; and he tries to demonstrate the impossibility of speculative knowledge of these supreme non-sensible objects, just by showing that the methods and laws which are valid for empirical science cannot be scientifically applied to them. He is thus scientific all through, according to the conception of science worked out in the Baconian school; and the results of his earliest and latest speculations, notwithstanding their apparent contradiction, are, when rightly interpreted, in entire harmony with each other.

At first sight it needs a good deal of interpretation to make Kant's metaphysics agree with his physics, just as it needs also a good deal to make his metaphysics agree with his ethics. But on this we have not time to dwell.

Of great interest is the section on the scientific return to Kant. It is a brief and lucid description of the process by which scientific men came to understand and appreciate the work of Kant in this department. The names, significant in this reference, are M. Arago, Alexander Von Humboldt, Strüve, Helmholtz, Zöllner, Reuschle, Ueberweg, and others. Dr. Hastie refers to Huxley, Lord Kelvin and Professor Tait as men who have appreciated and understood the work of Kant. Exact references to the writings of all these men are given, and the tracing of this history must have cost Dr. Hastie a great amount of labour.

Kant's scientific environment and antecedents is the theme of the next section. Here, too, there is a great deal of research. It is lucidly shown how his scientific environment and antecedents conditioned the work of Kant. Perhaps the main outcome of this study is the fact that Kant was a student of Newton and an enthusiastic admirer of Newton's natural philosophy. From this source came all his mathematical and physical work. It was, also, a busy and active time in mathematical work, and the influence of this activity on Kant is well described by Dr. Hastie. This leads us on to a description of one of Kant's discoveries, to wit, the

discovery of the retardation of the rotation of the earth. This was a real discovery, the full significance of which was not appreciated till our own day. Lord Kelvin's account of the value of Kant's discovery is quoted by Dr. Hastie.

We now come to the account of Kant's natural history and theory of the heavens. A full account is given of its publication, of its various editions, authorised and unauthorised, and of the reception it met with, and then follows an account of his cosmogony in its historical relations. Ancient cosmogonies are reviewed; Kant and Descartes are compared; Kant and Newton in the historical relation of the former to the latter are described; and the suggestive influence of Wright of Durham over Kant is set forth. But the most important part of this section is the comparison between Kant and Laplace. The theory of Laplace is sketched with accuracy, and a comparison of the two theories leads to the conclusion that the theory of Kant is more probable and less objectionable. "The two theories are thus contrasted by A. J. von Oettingen, who brings out a profound difference between them: Kant starts from the primitive nebula in the universe, Laplace from the nebular disc of our solar system already in rotation. Kant makes suns and planets arise out of certain regions of space through gravitation; Laplace makes masses and rings detach themselves from the central body, through centrifugal force. Only in the case of Saturn does Kant make rings arise from the central body 'through evaporation' in which case the vapours retain their tangential swing. Otherwise, he assigns to every celestial body a certain zone of the vaporous space, out of which the matter is condensed into it. It is otherwise with Laplace, who starts from the contraction of the central body, with which its rotation must increase until the centrifugal force has become equal to the centripetal force, when with further contraction a ring shall then be detached; and this process is repeated several times. We hear often, perhaps from convenience, of a Kant-Laplace cosmogony; but the difference between them is sufficiently great to keep the views distinct and separate."



Dr. Hastie summarises with great felicity the objections against the theory of Laplace, and with equal felicity seeks to obviate the objections which have or may be brought against the theory of Kant. We cannot criticise these here. Only this shall we say, that we greatly doubt the competency of physics and physical methods to help us to conceive the making of a world. The making of a world is a concrete process; mathematics and physics lead us hopelessly away from concrete reality. A mechanical explanation leaves much unexplained, and the theories of Kant and of Laplace agree in being wholly mechanical, and any real description of the making of a world must include the thermal, chemical, electrical, magnetic and other processes, which certainly have had a place in world-making. There are other difficulties which might be mentioned had we time.

We have not left ourselves any space to speak of the contribution to theistic thought made by Dr. Hastie in this introduction. But we make room for one quotation:—

When on the latest stage of his thought, Kant had put forth all his power to establish the eternal basis of the spiritual life of man, his mind seems to revert to the glory of his early vision, and he combines it with his moral conception in that well-known burst of high philosophic rapture; "two things there are, which, the oftener and more steadfastly we contemplate them, fill the mind with an ever new, and ever rising admiration and reverence; the Starry Heaven above, the Moral Law within". And both are God's, of Whom, and to Whom and through Whom are all things, who is over all, God blessed for ever. This is cosmic theism, the only true basis of the reconciliation of Science and Religion. The principle of their final harmony is already found here in Kant. Religion and Science are ultimately one; for the first word of Religion is the last word of Science.

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We took up Mr. Turner's book with no great expectation. For one thing we had never heard of the author's name till we read it on the title page. We did not know of his ability to treat a subject so deep and complex as that of knowledge, belief and certitude. We knew a little of how these topics had been treated by the great thinkers, and of the conclusions to which they had come. What could be said now on these

topics? We had not read very far when we found ourselves under the guidance of a real thinker, who could strip off the accumulated traditional covering which seems to hide from most people the real nature of almost every problem of knowledge. We found ourselves in the company of a man who knew the best that had been said on every philosophical topic, and yet could pierce to the reality beneath. We found, also, a man who could think clearly and write lucidly, who was a master of orderly and consecutive statement. We yielded to his guiding influence, and followed on till the end. We have seldom read a more interesting or a more instructive book. True we were sometimes in a state of dissent, and sometimes we hesitated to follow, but we were always interested and instructed.

We cannot tell how much we have found in the book. Nor can we deal adequately with his great argument. Not a section of the book but will bear the closest scrutiny and repay the deepest study. Whether he is dealing with the nature and grounds of knowledge, or with the character of science, or with the work and claim of psychology, or with the larger claim and higher pretensions of philosophy, he is always luminous, well-informed and instructive. We have in fact enumerated, in the foregoing sentence, the subjects of his inquiry in the first part of his book. The general title of the first part is "Abstract Knowledge," and the title of the second part is "Real Knowledge". Starting with the question, What is Knowledge? he is led to a study of consciousness and of its implications. He finds three states of consciousness as the result of a preliminary survey, and he inquires as to their nature and their relations to one another, and whether there is a higher unity to which they are related, and of which they form a part. These are knowledge, belief and certitude. As the outcome of the preliminary survey we have the following: "So far as we have been able to discern, these three words, knowledge, belief, certitude, do not mean three wholly distinct qualities or states of mind; but at the most, somewhat varying qualities which always exist together, though in varying proportions,

in one complex mental state, which is now called by one of these names, now by another. Knowledge is not wholly separable from belief, nor belief from knowledge. Certitude at first is all one with the actual knowledge or belief, and is not noticed as a quality until its opposite, incertitude, has intruded into consciousness ; after which, by contrast, certitude is positively felt " (p. 38).

The results of this preliminary survey have, however, to be justified by a detailed examination of the facts. He finds on examination, that he is face to face with three certitudes, which he cannot doubt. These are the self, other selves, and the external world ; and that these three exist in unity and mutual dependence in the mind. They are, also the underlying foundation of all knowledge. We state his conclusion, we cannot criticise it here, but both the conclusion and the means by which it is reached deserve the closest study.

From these certitudes and their relation to knowledge he passes on to look at science, and to ask what light is cast by science on the process of knowing. Science itself, of course, neglects the knower, it concerns itself with the known. He passes in review, mathematical science, the sciences of inorganic matter, biology, the mental sciences, logic, ethics, science in general with a view to discover what they have to say with regard to the process of knowing. At the close of this investigation he sums up : " The investigation may impress us with a sense of the incompleteness of our knowledge, and of its inadequacy to stand for the infinite reality ; it may in the end modify our view of knowledge, and possibly lead to a new definition ; but the knowledge itself will remain as true and as certain as ever it was " (p. 173). " In the case of the mathematical, physical and biological sciences we hold ourselves exempt from any special criticism ; because we could with full confidence accept all the certain results of these sciences " (p. 176). But what are the nature and grounds of our true knowledge ? He turns for an answer to psychology, the science of mind, and subjects it to a more lengthened investigation. Here he asks, What is Psychology ? deals with

psychological analysis, with physiological psychology, and gives special attention to the psychology of Locke, and of Wundt. The conclusion is that as regards the special problem the author has in hand psychology gives no help towards its solution. "Inasmuch as knowing is one of the chief functions of the human mind, we might have expected to find the problem of knowledge fully discussed in every possible light in psychological text-books. In fact, our special inquiry is hardly so much as mentioned. If it is mentioned, the psychologist generally hands it over to the philosopher as a subject-matter belonging to his province" (p. 187).

What then has philosophy to say on the matter? This is the next theme, and in the discussion of it the author passes in review the diverse philosophies, sceptical philosophy, dogmatic philosophy and dogmatic philosophers, logic as philosophy, appearance and reality, scientific concepts in philosophy, and finally sums up the results of his investigation: "We have seen one or other of these certitudes (self, other selves, and the external world) challenged—by idealism, by materialism—by Hume, Bradley, etc., and this refusal to acknowledge the certitudes contrasts with philosophy's readiness to accept the presuppositions of science. Nevertheless the disquiet which this observation might occasion us is removed when we perceive its grounds. We can see that the unwillingness or inability to accept the fundamental certitudes and the readiness to adopt scientific concepts both have their origin in the abstract intellectual character of philosophy. The three certitudes are concrete feelings and convictions; they belong to the Real which philosophy wishes to understand, and its inability to receive them unexplained into its system arises out of that abstractness which is the inherent defect of speculative philosophy. Notwithstanding this reluctance to adopt the certitudes, we observe that philosophers are still dependent upon them. They belong to the reality, apart from which the philosopher has no object of thought. He himself, although he tries to lose his personality in the artificial conception of an imaginary abstract spectator, is the real spectator of the great panorama of the world spread out

before his gaze. He is the reality behind the abstract Ego of Kant. He is the mind which has the idea of Hegel; and which is under the law of contradiction, taken by Bradley as the basis of absolute knowledge. And the 'other selves' are the realities which impose upon all the necessity of seeking universal assent to their theories. Nor is what has been called the external world, the world of real things, less indispensable to the philosopher; for this is the objective reality without which the minds would have no other objects save their own thoughts, if they would have even these. Appearances they may be, but they are appearances of the reality; and no philosopher can impugn their reality without committing suicide" (pp. 349-350).

The conclusion of this investigation is that abstract knowledge is not real knowledge. What is real knowledge? It is connected with the science of ends. It is teleological. We have left ourselves no space to unfold this argument. In it he sets forth the science of ends, describes action for an end, deals with human causality, with pleasure and happiness, with knowledge and art as ends, with duty and necessity, and religion; and he contends that in the kingdom of ends men are in contact with concrete reality. Finally he sets forth the conclusions to which he has been led, and vindicates the fundamental certitudes, and the certainty and validity of belief and knowledge. "Most important is it, for the understanding of belief and knowledge, as they really are, to grasp firmly the fact that they are names of a unity; the one living, thinking, feeling, mind apprehending and responding to the reality in which it lives. Consciousness, belief, knowledge—the three words all mean our awareness of the real; the one mind often, nearly always, being all three at once. We perceive, believe, and know as a unity. Consciousness may exist in connection with doubt. In developed man, however, consciousness is normally belief in the feeling or fact; and in most cases this belief is also to some extent knowledge" (pp. 468-9). It is worth while reading the book to find the unity of the mind insisted on with such emphasis; to have it brought home to us that we are not

intellect, or feeling, or action, but that we are living, feeling, thinking beings. It is also well to be reminded that, while the sciences are many, nature is one, and that our abstract ideas are neither adequate representatives, nor competent judges of nature, and have themselves always to be subject to the criticism of reality upon them. We had some criticisms to make on the book, on its method and procedure, and on some of its results, but we have said all that is possible in the meantime.

JAMES IVERACH.

**The Life, Unpublished Letters, and Philosophical Regimen of Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury, Author of the "Characteristics".**

*Edited by Benjamin Rand, Ph.D., Harvard University. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Lim., 1900. 8vo, pp. xxxi. 535. Price 15s.*

THE third Earl of Shaftesbury was one of the most influential writers of his time. His *Inquiry* marked a new departure in English Ethics, and most of the writers that immediately follow—Butler as much as any—can scarce be understood apart from him. Yet among ourselves he has hardly had justice. His evident want of interest in orthodox Christianity alienated the religious world, and later writers who would have been inclined rather to praise him for this have been repelled by what they fancied his too easy optimism and his light and at times almost flippant style. Dr. Rand's book will help to set him in his true place. It may be doubted whether it adds anything positively new to our knowledge of Shaftesbury's philosophy, but for all that it does him invaluable service, and that in many ways. There are two methods, both needful, by which we may estimate the work of a great writer. We may look to what went before and what came after, regard him as a link in a chain, ask how far he adopted the views of his predecessors, how far he sought to refute them, what effect he had on those who followed him. The other method seeks to go behind the writer's text, to discover its sources, to connect it with the character and training of the thinker, to make plain the real burden of his message and its permanent value. It is here that Dr. Rand helps us. He brings us nearer to Shaftesbury, and he does it by putting him farther away.

We read through the letters and we begin to feel from touch after touch how far away that early eighteenth century is from us. But just as it becomes obviously different from our own time it becomes more real, and the man who lived in it comes to share its reality. He too worked and thought and had a right to his opinion. And then as we read on we are the less inclined to reproach him for his optimism. With means scarce adequate to his high place, disappointed in many of his political schemes, deserted by associates on whom he had relied, thwarted in his ambitions, chained to a body wasted and torn by disease, he might well have been excused if he had taken the blackest views of life. Thinking of all this, we find our sympathy grow. We read the *Journal*, not meant for other eyes, and we are carried away back to Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius. There is little, if anything, here that we have not already found in them, but this man speaks their language more naturally, more heartily, than he did that of his own time. Here is a manlier strain than that in the *Characteristics*, here are confessions of the truth to him most helpful and dear which he never could have made to that light-hearted world amid which he lived. Reading the *Characteristics* again in the light of this we see that the affinities with Butler are closer than commonly supposed, we note much that in the mere light of contemporary thought we should hardly have perceived. The emphasis is changed. We think less of the controversy in which the writer played his part and more of the old abiding notes which he struck with unfaltering hand. If we read the *Journal* in the light of later ethical thought, we are interested to find Shaftesbury himself developing certain ideas little more than germinal in the *Characteristics* on lines very similar to those taken by Butler in his doctrine of the authority of conscience and Adam Smith in his conception of the invisible and impartial spectator. Perhaps all three writers more or less consciously reproduced certain ideas of Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius. Studied for its own sake the *Journal* gives us a most interesting picture of a genuine though imperfect religious type. Here is a faith



that declines to rest on history or tradition or the witness of man, that will repose only on the reason of things, and yet willingly accepts everything, even wickedness and death, as the good will of the Supreme. This resignation alone brings happiness, and it is so complete that it is ready to forego even personal immortality if that should be best in God's sight. To all interested in human nature and religion Dr. Rand's book may be cordially recommended, and students of the ethics or the theology of the period will find it indispensable. A typical quotation from one of the letters may fittingly close this brief notice. "For our part, let us make the most of life and least of death. The certain way for this being (as I conceive) to do the most good, and that the most freely and generously, throwing aside selfishness, mercenariness, and such servile thoughts as unfit us even for this world, and much more for a better. This is my best advice; and what I leave with you, as that which I have lived and shall die by. Let every one answer for their own experience, and speak of happiness and good as they find it. Thank heaven, I can do good and find heaven in it. I know nothing else that is heavenly. And if this disposition fits me not for heaven, I desire never to be fitted for it, nor come into the place. I ask no reward from heaven for that which is reward itself. Let my being be continued or discontinued, as in the main is best. The Author of it best knows, and I trust Him with it. To me it is indifferent, and always shall be so. I have never yet served God or man, but as I loved and liked, having been true to my own and family motto, which is—'Love, Serve'."

WILLIAM JOHNSTON.

## **Christ, The Truth.**

*An Essay towards the Organization of Christian Thinking.  
Eight Lectures delivered in 1900, at Regent's Park College,  
London, by Rev. William Medley, M.A., of Rawdon College.  
London : Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 288. Price 6s.*

## **William Herschel and His Work.**

*By James Sime, M.A., F.R.S.E. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark,  
1900. 8vo, pp. vi. + 265. Price 3s.*

THIS is the third series of Lectures under the Trust founded in honour of the venerable Dr. Angus. Dr. Angus himself was the first Lecturer, and chose a theological subject, "Regeneration". Dr. S. G. Green succeeded him, and chose an historical subject, "The Creeds of Christendom". Professor Medley, who desires to systematize all learning, and to prevent all clashing between the spiritual and intellectual spheres, chooses a philosophical subject, "Christ, The Truth," and endeavours to prove that in Christ all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge are hidden.

These Lectures are not primarily intended for the student or expert. They are intended for thoughtful men whose hold upon the Christian Faith is vital and secure, but who are conscious that their intellectual life and their spiritual life are at seeming variance. At present, many are conscious of an uneasy feeling of cleavage between the intellectual and the spiritual. They have Faith, and they have knowledge, but each is confined in a watertight compartment. Their intellectual and spiritual lives have been kept separate. Nothing has been done to organize their thinking into a coherent whole. Such persons Mr. Medley seeks to aid, by bringing their scattered thoughts and ideas into some

kind of co-ordinated relationship, and above all by relating them finally to Jesus Christ the Supreme Truth. He seeks to bring the outlying, and sometimes alien or revolted provinces of the intellectual and emotional life, into organic relation with the metropolis of the Soul. This is done in a singularly lucid and forcible fashion. The style is a model of clear writing. Every step of the argument is easy to follow, and the skill shown in seizing the vital points makes the book a valuable contribution to the subject. A perusal will richly repay even the student or expert.

The author begins with the most outlying regions of intellectual interest, and works inward to those at the centre. The idea of our own Personality is the beginning of all knowledge. Belief thus arises, and manifests itself in Creed and Action. A Creed is simply Belief intellectualised. Action is the natural expression in conduct of what the Belief is. Belief, Creed, and Action cannot be separated: they must be brought into accord with Reality. But here lies the crux. When language attempts to set forth the profoundest Realities of Life, *e.g.*, Love, the intellect is baffled and takes refuge in Paradox and Figure. Accordingly we have first to gain sufficient insight into the true nature and function of a man's mental and spiritual activity, and to use the methods applicable to each, and then we can assign to each its due place in the total harmonious development of a human life, till all our thinking is brought into a Unity corresponding to the Unity of the Thinker.

With this in view, Mr. Medley begins with Logic. He shows that Logic gives no guarantee for Truth, but only for validity of inference. Every reasoned conclusion ultimately rests on what has been ascertained some other way. The Law of Identity is the basis of all logical inference. So long as one deals with fixed and abstract conceptions, like Pure Mathematics, Logic is infallible. But when Logic deals with things in a constant state of flux and change, it is far otherwise. What was once thought primary is proved to be secondary and derivative. Definitions lose sharpness of outline, and fringe off into *descriptions*. Over terms and

statements a certain indefiniteness comes which would not be tolerated in dealing with Logical or Mathematical abstractions. So, as Life is ever in flux, and as the Law of Identity is ever being violated, the conclusions reached by Logic have only a hypothetical validity. Logic guarantees accuracy in reasoning: it discovers nothing.

Science is next dealt with. Science holds that the world is a Cosmos, and that there is a Uniformity of Process in all Nature. Scientific men labour to prove this Unity, but scientific explanations can never explain Religion. For the questions which Religion and Science answer are fundamentally different. Religion asks three questions: (1) What is the Origin of all? (2) What is the End of all? (3) What is the Force which impels all? Science can deal with none of those. Its function is merely to observe the Course, Order and Sequence of Nature. It cannot deal with origins—at least scientifically it cannot. Till Order has begun and continued, and till there are scientific men to study it, Science is non-existent. Nor can Science pronounce as to the End whither all is tending. The most that it can do is to infer from study of the past, what the most likely direction may be, but that is all. And scientific men frankly confess that the nature of the One Cosmic Force, which unifies and impels all the other forces, is altogether inscrutable to scientific research. So from Logic and Science the author turns to Philosophy.

We philosophize because we must. We cannot but speculate on what we see. As Sir William Hamilton says, "the same necessity which compels us to think at all urges us to *think-on*, and to try and get our thoughts into unity and order". From the beginning of philosophy, the intellect has striven to discover an underlying Unity in the Plurality of Things and Thoughts. Thales boldly proclaimed that "all things are water". The Pythagoreans advanced from Substance and laid stress upon Form. Plato spoke of an Absolute Existence: that is, a Unity as against all Plurality; something Eternal and Immutable as opposed to all that is Temporal and Changeable. And what is this but that of

which Paul tells, when he speaks of looking "not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen; for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal"?

But Philosophy, no less than Logic and Science, has necessary limitations. It deals indeed with the totality of things, but what human mind can embrace that? It is plain that we can deal merely with such sections and aspects as can be apprehended. This is what Newman meant by "relegation to an aspect". And from simple sensational experience little can be got. Even skilled analysts can tell but little from examining the germ. Growth in a suitable environment shows the inherent potentialities of the germ in a way that analysis never can. So those who keep to the germ, and who pore over life's beginnings, and who analyse them, and draw inferences from them, are like men who sample a pear-tree by a slice from its roots; because the root was first, and without it the tree could not be. Similarly some study undeveloped or deteriorated humanity, for an interpretation of the true nature of the civilized man who walks before them in the wisdom, virtue and holiness of a child of God.

Leaving the Philosophical, the argument advances to the Ethical. This goes beyond the merely Speculative or Aesthetic. The Poet *descends*—seeking to express in various forms his perfect idea of the Beautiful Universal. The Philosopher, on the contrary, *ascends*—moving ever away from the Particulars, and seeking Universality and Unity. Now Ethics are simply the most precious materials in which Ideas find realization. Ethics claim the Will. The instincts, impulses, passions, activities, all go to form that most beautiful of all achievements—the perfectly developed Will. In all Ethical Living there are two focal points. One is the need of a Just Moral Ideal. The other is to know the grounds of that peculiar Authority which is the constitutive Principle in Life and Duty. Moral Life begins when a man discerns in the outlook of Life a Better than the Present, and a Better that claims the Will. Hence comes the idea of

Duty, and the claims of Conscience. And once Duty appears clear, and stands approved as such, these claims of Conscience are supreme. This is the Categorical Imperative. In every age, and in all literature, its voice is heard sounding. Amid many perversions of application, and many hardenings of the will, the unique august quality of this Absolute Claim has attracted the keenest interest of the reflective portion of man. And since the Categorical Imperative is an Absolute Claim, and implies a height above us as its source which must be Infinite, we are moved to ask who then speaks in it? The answer given is that it is Christ, The Truth.

This identification is followed by an impressive proof that Christianity elevates the human spirit into fellowship with the Divine: that it confers on men Life which is Life indeed: that it induces trust in a Person: and that Personal Truth is the Highest form of Reality: and that all this is found in Him who said "I am the Truth". We thus see that Logic, Science, Philosophy and Ethics unite with Christianity to lead men to Him who is the Supreme Truth. Logic leads us to reason correctly about God and His Works: Science traces out God's Thoughts and Works in Nature: Philosophy brings us to a Unity where the mind may rest; and Ethics exhibit Truth and Beauty meeting in what is higher than themselves. So instead of regarding these intellectual provinces as alien to Religion, or opposed to it, we should welcome them as allies. For at last they lead us to a Supreme and Central Person, who is the Highest and yet the Nearest: the Holiest and yet the One who loves us best.

In succeeding editions the quotation from Browning (p. 15) should be corrected. There are several alterations in it which are not improvements.

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*William Herschel and his Work* makes another volume of "The World's Epoch-Makers". Some might be disposed to question if Herschel, with all his talents, justly comes under this category, but if it be granted that he does, nothing

remains but to praise this full and accurate account of his life and work. We have no work in the country which supplies what this volume gives in full. For Mr. Sime is not content with barely relating the details of Herschel's life and discoveries. He has added an interesting account also of Herschel's hardly less famous sister, Caroline, and has sketched with vivid accuracy the life and thought of the period as it was in fashionable Bath, in the royal palace, and in scientific circles. Few who read will forget the recital of sordid hardships endured by Herschel and his sister in their Hanoverian home, where their parents blindly sacrificed them both to advance unworthy members of the family. The story of Herschel's desertion from the beaten army of the Duke of Cumberland, and its detrimental effect on his after life, is set down without reserve. As far as can now be discovered, his curious wanderings for about ten years have been traced. One cannot but smile on reading that when Herschel found himself short of money in Italy, he gave an original kind of concert in which he played all at once on the harp, and on two horns fastened on his shoulders. In 1766 Herschel became an organist and musical conductor at Bath. One can only marvel at his industry. At times he gave as many as thirty-eight music lessons a week, discharged his public duties as conductor of the Bath concerts, toiled at making a telescope, and watched the heavens at night till his feet were frozen to the ground. How he overleaped every difficulty; how he discovered Uranus; how he was first pooh-poohed; how he amazed the Royal Society with his astronomical discoveries; and how he forced his way to recognition, wealth and knighthood are all related here. The only suggestion to be made is that the author should select either the form "hautboy" or "oboe". To find both on neighbouring pages is irritating. But with this trifling exception, the book is certainly worthy of ranking with any of the preceding volumes in this excellent series. Although it deals largely with astronomical matters, and might easily have been made exceedingly dull, there is not an unreadable page in the book.

JOSEPH TRAILL.

## **The History of the Book of Common Prayer.**

*By the Rev. Leighton Pullan (The Oxford Library of Practical Theology). London : Longmans, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xviii. + 328. Price 5s.*

THE Book of Common Prayer is a valuable monument of the English language at its most plastic moment, a priceless heritage of English piety in its most truly Catholic period ; but to the systematic thinker of any school it is a perpetual provocation, to the extreme men of either party a hopeless *crux*. In truth, it owes no little part of its popularity and its power with the English mind just to this eminently English characteristic that it is so indifferent to system. It lends itself to many uses but stubbornly resists analysis. It has twined itself about the edifice of English society and become one of the great bonds of nationality, but it proves itself in the best sense "Catholic" in the failure of every attempt to make it the expression of any sectarian creed. There is, there must be, some living thread on which this great collection of devotional gems is strung, but it is religious not theological in its nature. Take the book as you find it, use it as you profit by it, and there are few which would be more greatly missed. But try to show any principle in its compilation, to exhibit it as a unity or even a harmony of doctrine, to claim its support for this school or for that, and you only court ignominious failure.

Mr. Pullan has met with no better success than many of his predecessors, rather with less in proportion as he approaches his task with a predisposition to make the book speak a particular shibboleth. His purpose is plain from the outset in the manner in which he arranges his material. He devotes his two opening chapters to "The Eucharist before the coming of St. Augustine," and "The Eucharist from St.



Augustine to the Reformation"; and the space and attention he assigns to this subject are out of all proportion to what he allows for those characteristically English "offices," Morning and Evening Prayer and the Litany. It is a yet more serious defect in a "History of the Book of Common Prayer," that it passes over some very important sections of the book altogether. The Communion Service and Form of Prayer for use at Sea have each their allotted pages; but neither the Preface of Bishop Robert Sanderson (1661) nor the Preface to the book of 1549, probably written by Cranmer, and retained in 1661 under the title of the "Services of the Church," nor yet the very important declaration "of Ceremonies" is discussed at all. The Thirty-nine Articles are not even mentioned. In fact, these which may be called the interpretative sections of the Prayer Book are studiously ignored. We look in vain for any proper account of the formation of the collection of "Collects, Epistles and Gospels," or of the sources from which the Collects are drawn. The obligation to discuss these matters is acknowledged, but surely it is not met by a reference in the *Index* to another work, Dr. Bright's *Commentary on the Prayer Book*. Any one who will examine Bishop Dowden's recently-published work which he too modestly entitles *The Workmanship of the Prayer Book*, will see how, within the same space, it is possible to treat the subject with at least tolerable completeness, and will also understand how essential to a just view of the whole are the very sections which Mr. Pullan leaves out.

The explanation of these deficiencies and of this curious disproportion in treatment is found in the fact that the first third of the volume consists not so much of a history of the Prayer Book as of a plea or argument from mediæval history in favour of a certain view of the Lord's Supper, the view, namely, that it is a propitiatory sacrifice. Mr. Pullan would fain persuade his readers that this is the keynote of both the primitive Christian *cultus* and of the English Liturgy. And of course he has behind him a considerable mass of vague and uninstructed opinion. He has against him the whole evidence of the first two centuries, the known

opinions of the authors of the Prayer Book, and the genius of that book as a whole.

It would not be unfair to say that this is the purpose of the book. And yet so far is Mr. Pullan's opinion from gathering authority through closer investigation, every new working-over of the primitive Christian documents reveals more clearly the weakness of its support. The mediæval doctrine of propitiatory sacrifice in the Eucharist can be traced back step by step, one accretion after another being stripped off, until not earlier than the third century its origin is found in a perversion of the New Testament and primitive doctrine that God requires and accepts of men the sacrifice of praise, of thanksgiving, of themselves. It cannot be too often repeated that as regards the early Church every reference to sacrifice in connection with Christian worship which falls within the first two centuries can be simply and sufficiently explained in one of two ways. It is either a reference to the spiritual surrender of the worshipper or of the Church, expressing itself in praise, prayer or adoration; or it refers to that offering (oblation or sacrifice) of material gifts (corn, bread, wine or oil) by which the inward surrender was symbolised. It would not be difficult to show this to any careful and unprejudiced student by an examination of Mr. Pullan's book alone, from the evidence he adduces (which may be presumed to be the best at his command), the admissions that he makes, and the criticism he suggests of the Roman Canon of the Mass.

The *Didaché* is so far from lending countenance to the theory of Eucharistic Sacrifice that it rather excludes it, describing the Eucharist as still part of a common meal by which not only spiritual but physical hunger was satisfied, and in the sacramental prayers emphasising, to the practical exclusion of any other aspect, the mutual communion of the Church gathered together in Christ. In Justin Martyr we find indications of the rising value placed upon the sacrament, the increasing reverence in which it was held. But these do not prove the existence of the sacrificial idea at this date; they only display the *nidus* in which that idea took root and

flourished. The Canons of Hippolytus belong of course to a much later period, and we find in them, as we should expect, a yet greater elaboration of ritual; nevertheless, even here as late as the third century the same word is used throughout for the "elements" and for the gifts of the people. The purport of the evidence in every passage becomes entirely different according as we translate "oblation of the elements" or "offering of the gifts," "Eucharist" or "thanksgiving". And that the simpler non-sacrificial rendering is the correct one at least up to A.D. 200 is shown, for example, by the provision in the Canons of Hippolytus of a form of thanksgiving (*i.e.*, Eucharist) over gifts of oil as well as those of corn and wine. As Achelis has remarked concerning the Canons: "What is noteworthy is that these views do not rest on any theories of sacrifice and priesthood; as sacrifices are described, along with the Eucharist, the gifts of the congregation, the prayers of the bishop and the penance of the excommunicate". That is to say, the Canons of Hippolytus about the middle of the fourth century present another well marked stage in the development, when the Eucharist, in so far as it was reckoned a sacrifice at all, was only one of several equivalent forms. The further development can now be traced with great exactness by any one who takes the trouble to compare the successive revisions of these Canons as we have them in the Egyptian Book of Discipline (Ludolf and Lagarde) and in the still later Apostolic Constitutions.

This theory finds even less support from the recently-recovered Prayer Book of Bishop Sarapion to which Mr. Pullan attaches much importance. There all the sacrificial language occurs *before* the Invocation of the Spirit, *before* even the recital of the words of Institution. Let any one attentively consider the offertory prayer of Sarapion, "Fill also this sacrifice with Thy power and Thy participation; for to Thee *have we offered* this living sacrifice, this bloodless oblation," etc. What is the "living sacrifice"? Themselves. What is the "bloodless oblation"? The bread not yet "consecrated" for the purpose of communion. Even this fourth century document protests against the meaning Mr. Pullan would put

upon the Eucharist. And in much later documents there are curious survivals of this primitive conception; as in the Roman Mass itself and in the English Coronation Service. The Prayer Book for Scotland (1637) still directs that "the presbyter shall then" (*i.e.*, after the offertory) "*offer up* and place the bread and wine prepared for the sacrament upon the table that it may be ready for the sacrament". And the same pregnant phrase was in Sancroft's original draft of the rubric of 1661.

Mr. Pullan sees clearly enough the liturgical flaw in the Roman Canon of the Mass, and insists very properly on the fact that in that service the actual consecration takes place not at the words of Institution, "*Hoc est Corpus*," but with the prayers which follow, at the point where the Greek Church and the primitive liturgies insert the Epiklesis. But he inevitably suggests a very awkward question. At what point in the Anglican service does the consecration take place? If at the words of Institution, by what right does he as a "Catholic" depart from "Catholic Custom?" If afterwards, where and how? The Roman prayers of consecration have disappeared from the English service. The invocation of the Holy Spirit, which by the undivided Church was regarded as essential, has disappeared. Bishop Scott of Chester had a good deal of reason for his remark that there was "no consecration at all" in the Prayer Book of 1556. Is there any consecration such as Mr. Pullan requires in the Prayer Book of to-day?

It is a question which is of no importance to a Protestant. But to Mr. Pullan and his school it is vital. For him the consecration is necessary to effect the profound and mysterious change which makes possible the "sacrifice". It is for this that he scouts the "Receptionist" view. "A man who holds the receptionist theory believes that the Presence of Christ is only to be found in the faithful communicant. Therefore, although he can believe that the faithful communicant pleads the merits of the Divine Victim, he cannot believe that the Body and Blood of Christ are offered under the form of bread and wine". This is sufficiently candid,

and really gives the key to the whole system, the necessity of having something to sacrifice.

We wish that Mr. Pullan and others would be, if not more candid, more exact in their use of the phrase, "Real Presence". They speak constantly of "the Real Presence in the Sacrament" when they mean the Real Presence *in the elements*. Yet as the water is not the Sacrament of Baptism, so neither are the bread and wine the Sacrament of Communion. The Real Presence of Christ *in the Sacrament* has, as Principal Cunningham says, "never been denied by any Protestant Church". The Real Presence *in, sub or cum the elements* has been rejected by every Protestant Church except the Lutheran. If Mr. Pullan would go through his book, substituting "elements" for "sacrament" in every case where that is what he means, he would find a good many things to correct and possibly some reason to reconsider his position.

We have dealt only with this, which Mr Pullan himself would acknowledge to be the central position of his book. We had marked several other things to comment upon, both errors and deficiencies. They are chiefly important as illustrating the peculiar nature of the knowledge which is cultivated by the writers of this and similar works. It is minute, sometimes extraordinarily minute within a certain limited radius, but beyond that it vanishes, and in place of the results of wide study we find mere echoes of obsolete text-books. Mr. Pullan is not aware of the rehabilitation of the Protector Somerset which is in process, if it has not been completed, by Mr. Hutton and Mr. Pollard. Otherwise he would know that it is no longer the fashion even for his own school to speak of Somerset with the contempt we find on pp. 81 ff. An uninformed reader would certainly gather that the theory known to Mr. Pullan as Receptionism had only such suspect names as those of Calvin and Bucer behind it (p. 90). He would receive a false impression of James I., who was either a convinced Protestant and Presbyterian while he was still in Scotland, or so double-minded that his attitude is of no importance on a moral and religious question.

That Melanchthon said, "he would rather die than agree with the Zwinglians" may be true, but should not be stated apart from the fact that before he died he came nearly if not quite to the point of agreement, and modified the Augsburg confession accordingly.

There is still room for a history of the Book of Common Prayer. But it must be written on a larger scale, with a truer sense of proportion and with a wider outlook on all the sources from which the materials have been gathered. But above all, the history for which we wait will be truly authoritative because not written in the interest of a party, but in that large spirit of comprehension and with that unbiassed pursuit of truth which we love to think characteristically English.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

## Ethik.

*Von D. W. Herrmann. Tübingen und Leipzig : J. C. B. Mohr ;  
London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate, 1901.  
8vo, pp. vii. + 200. Price 3s. 6d., cloth 4s. 6d.*

ALTHOUGH this volume appears as one of a series of theological handbooks, yet it is not what one might expect a book so published to be. There is no trace of its having been made to order, or cut to pattern. It is a distinctively individual work, with all the personal characteristics of the author, which have made his other books and pamphlets so attractive and persuasive; and all who have already come under the spell of his personality will, therefore, be able to give this last offspring of his mind a hearty welcome. Here are to be found the same sincerity of tone and fervour of feeling, the same insistence on the testimony of experience in morality and religion, the same aversion to all that seems magical or mystical in the relation of God and the soul, the same practical tendency in dealing with all problems of thought, the same concentration of interest on the person of Christ, as he has led us to expect. There seems, however, to be some advance in a more conciliatory temper, and a more guarded mode of expression on matters of controversy, as for instance, in dealing with the double sense of reality and the authority of the Holy Scriptures. Where there is any change discoverable, it is in the way of improvement. The arrangement of the book in parts, sections, chapters and paragraphs, with appropriate titles, makes the study of it much easier than that of previous works, which suffered from a lack of such arrangement.

The first part of the book deals with morality generally, the second with Christian morality particularly in two stages—*its origin and its development*. In the first part life as con-

trolled by natural impulse is contrasted with life as regulated by moral consciousness. Hedonism and Utilitarianism are both rejected. Determinism and Indeterminism are both set aside. The testimony of experience to unconditional moral law and to moral freedom is accepted. All that is attempted here is to interrogate the individual consciousness, as it exists in a morally constituted society. In the trust which other persons evoke in the developing personality, the three moral ideas are gained, intrinsic worth, personal independence, and unconditional obligation. The unconditional moral law demands the denial of the natural impulse of self-assertion with a view to moral community with others. This demand itself proves that a man's action is not the necessary result of his past, but that there is in him a capacity of making a new beginning. To this conception of freedom the writer attaches a very characteristic idea, "the dualism of the moral consciousness". Our freedom reveals that there is another realm of reality than that with which science deals; but, as in every free act we, so to speak, realise the realm of freedom in the realm of necessity, we have a practical proof of the subordination of the latter to the former, although we can give no logical demonstration of their unity. The moral consciousness has a twofold issue. On the one hand it completes itself in the idea of God as the good which is the ultimate power in reality. On the other hand it results in a consciousness of guilt, as the moral demand, in spite of moral freedom, has been refused. This contradiction involves a personal misery, from which the Gospel alone can deliver. Thus the writer answers one of the questions with which he expressly sets himself to deal, to show what Christianity means for a man who treats his moral consciousness seriously and sincerely. The apologetic aim, to persuade men to be reconciled to God in Christ, which dominates previous works here also prevails.

The purpose of the second part is expressly stated. It is to prove that Christian morality is not externally derived and artificially attached to the Christian faith. It is neither deducible from human nature nor imposed by Divine com-



mandment. It is the necessary expression and exercise of the Christian life. That life is not the result of mysterious Divine operations. In conscious faith Divine grace is revealed and realised. It is the historical person of Christ, in whom this Divine grace approaches us and proves a redeeming power. Our faith is not only a consciousness of forgiveness, our restoration to communion with God, it is also power to do the good, in the new relation to the world, the future, and ourselves in which we are then placed. In these two aspects faith is new birth. As a free act of our will this change is conversion. The moral law for the Christian, as Christ expounds it, is no code of precepts to be slavishly obeyed; it is a personal capacity to discriminate right and wrong. Thus in his obedience of faith to God in Christ, the Christian preserves and realises his freedom. This argument is one of great interest and value, as traditional evangelicalism has never in theory, although generally in practice, brought into vital unity faith and works. Even if every statement in the course of the discussion may not commend itself to our judgment, yet the intention as a whole must command our sympathy.

Under the heading of the *development of the Christian moral life* the practical application of these principles is given. This section of the book might, with very great advantage, have been very much fuller, as what the writer gives us is so good, that one lays down the volume with an appetite for more. Considerations of space cannot afford the explanation, as Kaftan's *Dogmatik*, which is a companion volume, is more than three times the length. We must look to the book itself. One reason for the inadequate treatment of this section is given in the preface; and the other may be inferred from the author's conception of ethics. He modestly disclaims that wide knowledge of human life, which would qualify and entitle him to pronounce judgment on many of its moral problems. One cannot but feel that he has underrated his powers. He insists so strongly on the independence of the individual conscience, and its obligation to judge for itself, that one cannot resist the conclusion, that he has

restrained the expression of his own judgment on moral questions lest he should appear to interfere with that independence and remove that obligation. Yet as there are many immature and perplexed consciences, it is both the duty and the right of those who have meditated on these problems, not to command, but to counsel. More of this author's counsel would have been welcome. Some questions too are raised, such as the right and duty of war, regarding which a fuller treatment seems desirable, if they are to be touched at all. This is the one regret which one feels regarding this book, that there is not more of it, and such a criticism implies a commendation.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

## David Friedrich Strauss.

*Von Samuel Eck, Lic. der Theologie. Stuttgart, 1899: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger. 8vo, pp. viii. + 278. Price 4s. 6d.*

It might perhaps be held, with some appearance of reason, that the time is past for books about Strauss, inasmuch as the famous heresiarch belonged to a day that is gone; but any study of a distinguished man is worth having which is executed with such competence and fidelity as Herr Eck has brought to his task. Besides, as he shrewdly reminds us, there are many questions raised by Strauss' *Leben Jesu* which cannot yet be regarded as finally solved, and seem likely to remain with us for many a day. Apart from the antecedent attraction of the subject, however, the present volume amply justifies its claim to exist by merits of its own, and, by confining itself to a narrower track, provides what will in many cases be found a useful substitute for the larger works of Zeller and Hausrath.

Eck, who is chiefly concerned with Strauss' attitude to religion and Christianity, divides his subject into four sections, centring respectively round the first *Leben*, the consequences of that work, the new interests and occupations which followed Strauss' retiral from theology, and his final return to theology, signalised as it was by the publication of the new *Leben*, and his last work, *The Old Faith and the New*. Throughout, by the skilful use made of Strauss' letters, we are enabled to view the development of his opinions and character from the inside. One of the most interesting and convincing parts of Chapter I. is that in which we are shown how, after beginning his studies for the *Leben*, Strauss came gradually to hold that the new speculative philosophy of the day had too hastily set itself to reaffirm

the old dogmas (though in a rarefied and Hegelian form), and concluded that the negative and critical work of the eighteenth century must be done over again. And yet Strauss transcended the eighteenth century position when he advanced from the purely naturalistic to the mythical standpoint, thus adopting principles of criticism which had already been applied, for example, by Niebuhr to the early history of Rome. Eck gives us an altogether admirable account of the master ideas of the first *Leben*, especially of its attempt to resolve the person of Christ into the spirit of humanity, and to educe solely from the Messianic conceptions of the time the beliefs held in the Church about Jesus. The fatal limitations of the Straussian hypothesis are brought out not so much by direct refutation, as by the silent juxtaposition of a saner and deeper view.

The appearance of the *Leben* was the beginning of many things. So loud an outcry arose that Strauss was removed from one professional office and debarred from another. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that in his *Christliche Glaubenslehre* an earlier spirit of reconciliation has given place to a more bitter and unaccommodating tone. Here Eck detects the influence of Feuerbach, though Strauss did not go all Feuerbach's length till considerably later. Still even now he would substitute earth for the kingdom of heaven, and the State for the Church. In the ideal secularisation of religion, art and science will alone remain as worthy forms of spiritual activity.

There is no time to linger over the changeful years that follow. In many respects this third section is the most successful in the book. Lack of a proper calling was the curse of Strauss' life. Eck follows the restless movements of a wayward genius with the most patient tolerance, and the composure of a discerning charity. He deals briefly but adequately with Strauss' short but unhappy married life, his curiously unsuccessful divergence into politics, his half-hearted excursions into the region of art, his numerous abortive literary schemes, and those brilliant biographies in which *Wahrheit* and *Dichtung* are so strangely mingled. Special attention is

paid to his life of Ulrich von Hutten, and here, in the view he takes of the Reformers and the Reformation it becomes clear that Strauss was in reality destitute of the sense for religion. Protestantism meant for him nothing but the ideals of humane learning and the political unity of the nation. It is impossible for us to forget this when weighing his verdict upon Christ and Christianity.

There still remain the new *Leben* and the "Old Faith". Eck adverts with just emphasis to the fact that this second *Leben Jesu* was written for the German people with a culpable and amazing neglect of the verified results of New Testament criticism. Strauss was now a popular writer, and looked with scorn upon the investigations of men like Holtzmann and Weizsäcker. His reverence for Christ, too, had sensibly declined. But a deeper and more pathetic interest still attaches to his last work, *The Old Faith and the New*. Here we have his final conclusions upon human life. Science, he holds, has dealt roughly, but justly, with our old beliefs. We can no longer call ourselves Christians; the only religion left us is the "worship" of the Universe; the world is nothing but matter in motion. And though Strauss, faithful to an ideal strain that was in him to the last, contends for a true and genuine ethic, yet his conclusions display a melancholy incongruity with his materialistic premises. Eck makes the wise observation that the difficulty felt by Strauss in grasping the thought of duty theoretically arose from his failure to hold fast to it in practical life.

Our author has succeeded in drawing a picture of his famous subject which lives and remains in the mind by its intrinsic vigour and truth. He shows an evident reluctance to press too harshly personal considerations of a blameworthy kind, but withal there is an unwavering determination to expose the essential weaknesses of Strauss' character and thought. In style the book is simple and scholarly, and there ought to be a reserve of power in the author of so strong and satisfying a piece of work.

HUGH R. MACKINTOSH.

## Die alttestamentlichen Citate und Reminiscenzen im Neuen Testamente

von Dr. Phil. Eugen Hühn, Pfarrer in Heiligen bei Orlamünde.  
Tübingen, Freiburg-i.-B., und Leipzig : J.C.B. Mohr, 1900;  
London & Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp.  
xi. + 300. Price M. 6.

THIS forms the second and concluding part of a work published under the general title *Die messianischen Weissagungen des israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes bis zu den Targumim*, and all the commendation which was bestowed on the first part on its appearance, may be unhesitatingly extended to its successor (see *Critical Review*, vol. ix. p. 451, ff.). In his earlier volume, Dr. Hühn, after a brief introductory chapter dealing with such general questions as the idea and origin of the Messianic prophecies, reviewed these prophecies in historical order, citing at the same time the New Testament passages in which any reference to them could be found. In this second and larger volume this mode of procedure is reversed. It is now the New Testament books which are passed in review, and every Messianic citation in them is traced to its source: while along with this, at the foot of the page and in somewhat smaller type to mark them off from the main body of the work, a list of references, other than Messianic, to the Old Testament is given. The whole book is thus a most valuable guide for estimating the nature and extent of the indebtedness of the New Testament to the Old. And when we add that to all the most important passages Dr. Hühn has added short notes or comments of an historico-critical character, it will be obvious that he has laid Bible-students under a deep debt of gratitude. Opinions will vary of course

as to what are really reminiscences of the Old Testament or independent modes of expression, and in a discussion covering so wide a field, considerable difference of opinion as to many of the critical interpretations must be looked for. But the writer at least shows on every page a wide acquaintance with the literature of his subject, and presents the conclusions at which he has arrived in a remarkably clear and succinct form.

The order in which the New Testament books are taken is that of the Westcott and Hort edition, whose text is also followed. And it is further gratifying to English scholarship to find that the Cambridge Septuagint edited by Dr. Swete is used for the Old Testament citations.

In a concluding chapter, Dr. Hühn briefly summarises some of the main results to which his inquiry has led, dealing with such points as the number of citations and reminiscences in the different New Testament books, both from the Old Testament and from non-canonical literature; the various modes of citation employed; the designations given to the Old Testament in the New; and the Old Testament books which are most frequently quoted. As might be expected, the largest number of Messianic citations is found to be from the Psalter and Isaiah. On the other hand, most non-Messianic citations are taken from Deuteronomy and Exodus: while there are no fewer than fourteen Old Testament books (Joshua, Judges, 2 Kings, Obadiah, Jonah, Zephaniah, Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Ezra, 1 and 2 Chronicles), which furnish no citations, either Messianic or non-Messianic. The relation of Jesus' own words to the Old Testament is also discussed, and it is shown that though He refers Old Testament passages directly to Himself at most six times (Luke iv. 17 ff; Matt. xxi. 42; John xv. 25; Luke xxii. 37; Matt. xxvi. 31; Matt. xxii. 43 ff.), the relation of the central thoughts of His Teaching to the Old Testament is so close that He may be said to "live and move" in it (p. 281).

To the question whether the New Testament writers always employed the Old Testament passages according to

their original and historical meaning, Dr. Hühn answers at once, No. In this, as in other particulars, he points out they were not superior to the times in which they lived, and made use of the then-existing methods of interpretation. If, however, we cannot accept them as infallible guides on questions of exegesis, not the less are they true lights of religious knowledge (p. 282).

G. MILLIGAN.



## Die Gleichnisse des Evangeliums.

Von C. E. van Koetsveld. Aus dem Holländischen übersetzt von Dr. Otto Kohlschmidt. Leipzig: Friedrich Jansa. Price 3s. net.

THE author of this popular exposition of the *Parables of the Gospel* is already known to scholars. His great work on the same subject, *De Gelijkenissen van den Zaligmaker*, appeared in two parts in 1854 and 1868. The book now under review is a shorter and simpler account of the parables, not for scholars only, but for all within the Christian Church. On page 125, he tells us that his book is written in the hope that the young people, for whom he had a special care, would grow up to use it. In the German translation, which appeared in 1892, a second edition being published in 1895, the book is eminently readable. The language is simple, and that, for an English knight in search of theological adventures, is a distinct gain.

Cornelis Eliza van Koetsveld was born on the 24th of May, 1807, at Rotterdam. In his school days he resolved to enter the ministry of the Dutch Reformed Church. After five years spent at Leyden University, he was ordained at Westmaas on the 3rd of October, 1830, and began a ministry which extended over sixty years. In 1835, he was called to Berkel, and thence, with his health broken by fever, to Schoonhaven in 1838, where he remained until in 1849 he was called to The Hague. He had already begun to write for publication. In 1838 appeared his *Krankenfreund*, a collection of Scripture readings for the sick, the fruit of his own illness. In 1843, he acquired fame as a novelist by his *Sketches from the Manse at Mastland*, autobiographical stories from his own life as a minister and friend of the poor in Westmaas. The book has been translated into English, and contains many

vivid pictures from the church history of the Netherlands, as well as much sound advice upon the work of the ministry. His pen was never idle. Besides preaching every Sabbath, he found time between 1847 and 1888 to write upwards of one hundred novels, sketches and magazine articles. He was a popular preacher, keen to see the bearing of present-day events, and able to make his meaning very plain to the crowds that gathered to hear him. At The Hague, he became court chaplain to King William III. and the religious teacher of the young Queen Wilhelmine. In the hearing of the queen, he preached sermons which were afterwards published, on "the Children of the Bible," in 1889, and on "the Women of the Bible" in 1891. Koetsveld was also a leader in all kinds of public matters, being interested in Home Mission work in Rotterdam, in Foreign Missions to the East and West Indies, in schools for idiot children, and asylums for the insane, and he was prominent in the ecclesiastical courts of his church. Alike in his literary and in his ministerial work, he was diligent up to the day of his death, which took place on the 4th of November, 1893.

It was said of Koetsveld that he was "the father of the Dutch novel". "The man is ever an artist." He was an artist in words, and his poetic inspiration appears on every page of his exposition. "He that would understand the poet must go into the poet's land." The Bible and Nature were his two books, and he saw how much of poetry there was in the Bible. The interpretation of the Scriptures must be literary as well as theological, and, while Koetsveld was not dead to the religious message of his Master, he saw very clearly the poetic colouring of Christ's words. It is the author's custom to repeat the parable, clause by clause, giving, as he proceeds, the needful explanations. It is a perilous method, for such a multiplication of words is apt to become most wearisome, but in this book the interest is marvellously sustained. Having retold the story and made its meaning plain, he adds a very few paragraphs of application to present-day religious life. Evidently, he believes that if the parable is understood, it may be trusted to convey its own lesson.

The arrangement of the parables is exceedingly good. When the exposition of the parables by the late Professor Bruce appeared, his arrangement was severely criticised. He grouped them, according to the principal lessons that were taught, under the headings of the Kingdom and Grace and the Judgment. Professor Bruce's classification is a good one, and does not need to be covered by the protest that it has little effect upon the exposition. If there be a fault it is that the grouping is too much forgotten, and does not add interest as it might have done. The grouping adopted by Koetsveld is most valuable and gives a special character to the book. The chapters are arranged under eight headings: Farming, Vine Culture, Shepherding, Fishing, Home Life, Feasting and Marriages, Money-making and Administration of Justice, Religion. He has seized upon the pictorial elements in the parables, rather than upon their deeper meaning and, keeping together those that are kindred, he gives an admirable sketch of the living background of our Saviour's thought. We not only learn the serious and often sad thoughts that filled the mind of Christ, but we also learn what was going on around Him as He spoke the parables. We see the daily life of the people, pictured as it appeared to Him who stooped to share it, and the fashion of the land in which He dwelt.

Very often in the closing paragraphs of an expository Koetsveld criticises the uses that are made of the parables. He shows that they have been employed to teach false doctrines and to cover unrealities in religious speech. Many of his criticisms will not be accepted by the majority of English readers. He would probably have written differently, if he had been acquainted with the church life of this country, and if it had been possible for him with his Dutch character and training to understand more fully the type of religious life that finds expression for itself in emotional and enthusiastic language. This limitation will be felt by the reader who compares his exposition of the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican with that of Dr. Marcus Dods. At the same time it is a distinct gain to have the language of the pulpit

subjected to wholesome review. Even where no change is made, the old words acquire a more sharply defined meaning.

Most readers will feel the book to be too brief, if not absolutely defective, in the region of homiletic. The author has brought out the literary graces of the parables admirably and has given light upon them from every side, he has kept the details well in hand, and has avoided the crowding out of the chief things by those of less moment, but he neglects to bring together the teaching of Christ as the science of Biblical Theology would now do, and he gives no indication of the way in which the task might be attempted, or of the use to be made of the parables in doing it. A preacher will find his expositions gain much in vividness and pictorial charm from the reading of Koetsveld's book, but he will obtain more guidance from Dr. Bruce and Dr. Dods in regard to the message to be delivered to the congregation.

An English review of a book upon the parables suggests the comparison of the new comer with those that have held the field for many years. The great book of Trench was a pioneer in the theological literature of this century. It appeared in 1841 and had attained to the fifteenth edition in 1886. Trench's knowledge of the work of previous interpreters is very extensive and he draws liberally upon it in the form of Latin and Greek quotations. The Classics also have been searched for illustrative parallels. In method of interpretation, Trench comes midway between the old and the new. He is aware that there has been too much of allegorical interpretation in the past, and he warns against it. But he deals very tenderly in detail with allegorical explanations and it is a very bad offender that comes in for unqualified condemnation.

Half way between Trench and our own day comes the suggestive book of the late Professor A. B. Bruce. It is dated 1882 and in 1893 had reached a fifth edition. It shows the fine enthusiasm of its author for certain aspects of Evangelical truth that have been forgotten by the Evangelical churches, or that have been denied their rightful emphasis.

Professor Bruce is especially the expositor of the Synoptics, and the hero that his heart loves is the "Friend of Publicans and Sinners". He is never weary of showing us that our Lord's work among the sinful was done *con amore*, and done with marvellous success. He is equally eager to make us see that the Christian is called to follow a good Master, to walk in the sunlight, under a Galilean sky, with the joy of the Master in his heart. Such ideas and the courage to cherish them, are amongst the best gifts of Dr. Bruce to the ministry of our day. His exposition of *The Parabolic Teaching of Christ* is essentially modern. He would probably allow his method to be called historical, and he would claim that the results of such a method, whether they at first sight support our preconceived theology or not, must be of the greatest religious value. We see that he is in earnest in his warning against allegory. His one aim is to make out what Jesus meant, when He spoke to His Galilean audience, and he has no patience with any attempts to foist upon the Master's words a more profound, mysterious and theologically coloured meaning. Dr. Bruce has read the work of recent expositors and critics, mostly those of Germany. The fear of them and the dread of them are upon him. He has seen so many long-held opinions overthrown, and venerable comments laughed out of court that he feels it needful to walk warily. It is a much needed and a sharp lesson for the expositor, that every explanation and comment must run the gauntlet of criticism. It makes the work of the conscientious student very hard at first, but in the end it is a discipline of infinite value.

We have also had occasion to mention the lectures of Dr. Marcus Dods. They are short and easily understood, as befits a popular lecture, but in language they are rhetorical rather than condensed. That which makes them invaluable is their practical wisdom and common sense. They are in touch with everyday life. The writer's insight into the special duties and temptations of city life is quite unique. He preaches to the merchants and employers of labour, the manufacturers, traders and speculators of Glasgow. He

knows them through and through and his picture of their life is intensely interesting.

Those who read English only will be well furnished with these three expositions of the parables, but those who can add a German or a Dutch book, would find much to interest them in the beautifully-written and very unambitious book of Koetsveld, the Novelist and Preacher.

CHARLES F. FLEMING.

## **The Evangelisation of the World in this Generation.**

*By John R. Mott, M.A. London : Student Volunteer Missionary Union, 22 Warwick Lane, E.C., 1900. Price 2s. 6d. Post free.*

THIS is the age of scientific missionary literature. Mission lands and their old religions, missionary methods and progress and problems, are being made the subjects of systematic study, and the conclusions have been recorded in such volumes as Dennis's book on *Sociology* and his *Missions after a Century*, the histories of some of the Missionary Societies, and other publications. A valuable addition is made to their number by Mr. Mott's book, *The Evangelisation of the World in this Generation*. It is, we believe, the most exhaustive treatment of the subject that has yet appeared.

Although not a missionary, Mr. Mott has had exceptional qualifications for writing on the subject. A few years ago he spent some eighteen months in travel, conversing with three hundred missionaries, heads of institutions, and others in Turkey, India, China, Australia, etc. He has for long been in intimate touch with the Christian Student movements of all lands, and as Secretary of the World's Student Christian Federation he is a guiding and controlling force in these movements. He is no superficial, idle visionary, but a careful and patient investigator. He knows human nature and history, and his statements are cautious and accurate. In this volume he has laid many men and many books under tribute. It is a compilation, but one that shows grasp, penetration, and argumentative capacity. The writer is, above all, a man of prayer, and his book is a book of spiritual power.

Mr. Mott, who is an American, starts with definition.

"The 'Evangelisation of the World in this Generation,'" he sees, is a phrase liable to be misunderstood. He explains that it does not mean the conversion of the world, or the leavening of all nations with Christian principles in a short space of years; that it does not imply any special theory of eschatology; and that it is not a prophecy of what will be effected in this generation. It is meant to express what is the ideal and standard of the Church's immediate duty, if we look at our Lord's last command, and also at what is now possible in view of the opportunities, facilities and resources at the disposal of the Church. The achievements of the early Christians, and recent missionary successes, as in Uganda and Manchuria, are set forth as an incitement to the Church, and the "Evangelisation of the World in this Generation" is stated to mean the covering of the world, in the lifetime of those now living, with a network of Christian agencies. Nor does Mr. Mott take a superficial view of what "preaching the Gospel" means, or a narrow view of the agencies to be employed. Let all agencies be employed, if only their supreme aim be to give men a knowledge of the great facts about Jesus Christ. The enterprise of world-wide evangelisation, he says emphatically, "calls for perseverance and thoroughness".

One chapter is devoted to difficulties, another to the views of missionaries and Church leaders in the home lands regarding the motto. The author also tells us what is required if the Church is to set this ideal before her and bring about its realisation. He looks to the native churches to do the most in the long run. But the foreign missionary force must be increased from over 15,000 to at least 50,000; and the Church in the home lands needs a great revival of consecration and prayer.

The concluding chapter is occupied with "The Evangelisation of the world in this Generation" as a definite watchword. The Student Volunteer Movement (for Foreign Missions) in North America was the first society to adopt it formally, as the leaders did in 1888. The Student Volunteer Missionary Union of Great Britain and Ireland followed their example



in 1896. Some Churches and Missionary Societies have expressed approval. But Mr. Mott says they should adopt it as their missionary policy. In the last analysis, however, it must be adopted as an individual watchword by the leaders and members of the Church.

No minister or student should fail to secure this volume. Who will say that the new century may not soon witness a mighty advance if this ideal lay hold of the Church's mind and heart?

ROBERT G. PHILIP.

**Die sittlichen Grundkräfte. Ein Beitrag zur Ethik. (The Fundamental Moral Powers. A Contribution to Ethics.)**

*Von Dr. Friedrich Wagner. Tübingen: Laupp'scher Verlag, 1899. 8vo, pp. 91. Price 2s.*

**Die Kausalität als Grundlage der Weltanschauung.**

*Von O. Leo, Gen. Lieut. z. D. Berlin: Verlag von Wilhelm Hertz, 1899. 8vo, pp. 150. Price 4s.*

THE kernel of Dr. Wagner's dissertation, the aim of which seems to be a development of Kant's doctrine, is as follows: In every man there is, firstly, a capability of activity, or otherwise expressed, will-power; secondly, susceptibility to passive states, or otherwise expressed, sensuousness; and thirdly, a susceptibility to ideas of various kinds, or otherwise expressed, ideality. But ideality is of a lower and a higher kind. Ideas which relate to activity conceived as completed, and which are therefore mere thoughts or states of consciousness or objects of contemplation or of vision, and nearly if not quite free from feeling, belong to the lower kind. Ideas relating to purposed modes of action, and which are themselves the product of will-power, belong to the higher kind.

So far as states or movements or activities of the soul are or might have been due to will-power, they are moral or immoral. If they are the result of the action of something that affects man's passivity, they are immoral. So far as they are the outcome of will-power exercised in the double form of production of ideas, and realisation of the same, they are moral in the highest degree.

"The immoral is always a result of the lack of certain positive qualities or powers in man." "Considered as a

quality, it is therefore something negative, something non-beñt." "Immoral actions are invariably a sign that the *capability* of a specific form of activity only exists or has been developed in slight measure. Inasmuch as if developed at all it must be developed by the corresponding ideal conceptions, this lack of development is also a sign of the non-existence or non-development of *susceptibility* to the corresponding moral ideas, that is, of lack of specific ideality."

The question here naturally suggests itself, What about will-power that both produces wrong ideas and then realises them? He replies, "the forces or powers of activity can never become immoral. Immorality always rests on the absence or omission of determinate activity and on feelings. Nothing but moral good can proceed from will-power and ideality, and where they appear to work what is immoral, it is due to passive feelings which change the direction of activity, *i.e.*, prevent a specific form of it substituting another form. The non-happening of the first form of activity is the evil or the immoral."

All which seems to me very like begging the question. Dr. Wagner has in my judgment expended not a little subtlety to very little purpose.

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Lieutenant-General Otto must be an ambitious man. In a small book of 150 pages printed in fairly large type he undertakes to meet "the need, by which the human mind has in all ages been deeply stirred, of comprehending the world as the sum-total of all perceptions and of our own existence and operation": in other words, "by means of thought (*Denken*) to comprehend the essential unity of the physical and psychical contents of consciousness"; *i.e.*, the contents whose source is sense, and those whose source is the inner self and its life. The solution of the problem may be attempted, he says, in three ways, by reducing each of the two factors to the other; or both to a third. The first issues in the dynamic view of the world; the second, in the idealistic; the third regards the world as a psycho-physical

unity, and the sum-total of all working, of all knowledge that is based on sensuous perception, still further of our sensation, feeling and willing, yea even of thinking itself, we designate "Energy".

What follows thereupon is, as he states, "an attempt to determine more exactly the essential nature of this energy as the unity of actuality".

In places the essay suggests the influence of J. G. Fichte, but it can only have value for people who take an interest in quasi-philosophical curiosities.

D. W. SIMON.

### **Das Christliche Gottvertrauen und der Glaube an Christus.**

*Von E. W. Mayer, a. o. Prof. der Theologie in Strassburg.  
Göttingen : Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht ; London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. 162. Price 3s. 9d. net.*

### **Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister im nach-apostolischen Zeitalter bis auf Irenaeus.**

*Von Heinrich Weinelt, Lic. Theol. Dr. Phil., Freiburg, i. B.  
Leipzig und Tübingen : J. C. B. Mohr, 1899. Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xii. + 234.*

THIS is described by the author as a dogmatic investigation on a biblico-theological basis, with a consideration of the symbolical literature. It consists of four chapters—On the Significance and Nature of Confidence in God in general ; a Review of the Symbolical Literature ; a Review of the New Testament Literature ; and the Relation of Confidence in God and Faith in Christ ; with an appendix on Faith in its formal aspect.

The result of the historical investigation is that in the ages which, from the Evangelical standpoint, may be called classical and typical, faith in Christ was regarded as the chief means for establishing and strengthening unconditioned confidence in God. This faith is not the consequence, but the presupposition or cause of the confidence. It removes the great hindrance to absolute confidence in God by removing the burden of sins and the imperfect knowledge of God, by bringing about a new religious relation to God.

There are two main types of the faith in Christ that leads to confidence in God. It does so either in the assurance

that Jesus, in some way, represents God to man, that He is the sent of God, Revealer of the divine will, bringing in the kingdom of God and dispensing eternal life ; or in the conviction that Jesus in respect of His person stands in a peculiarly near relation to God, His Son, the well beloved, who has in his own possession, grace, truth and life. Of these two kinds of faith in Christ, sometimes the one, sometimes the other, is stronger. The object of this faith is the historical Jesus. And when we come to ask about the ground of this faith, we see that the divine majesty of His life amid humble surroundings, and His appearances as the Risen One, wrought powerfully in rooting and confirming this faith. In an immense variety of ways, by the word and also by the sacraments, does the Spirit produce faith. In Christ we reach to a new relation to God. The objective means of this is the person and work of Jesus ; the subjective means is faith, which may be regarded as partly its condition and presupposition, partly the result in which it is made perfect ; the former in so far as it is faith in Christ, the latter is so far as it is confidence in God. The author of the whole proceeding, however, is God, who wakens and grounds all faith through Jesus and the Spirit proceeding from Him.

There is just a tendency here, as with so many attached to the Ritschlian school, to mix up the devotional and the scientific, and drift into commonplace.

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This is the first part of an important work by a young theologian who has studied under Gunkel, Harnack and Krüger. The present work was evidently suggested by Gunkel's very able and thorough treatise on *The Operations of the Holy Spirit in the Apostolic Age and in the Teaching of St. Paul*. In that work issued about twelve years ago, Gunkel discussed the question as to what the marks are by which, according to apostolic teaching, we may determine whether any particular phenomenon is a work of the Holy Spirit. In the treatise before us, Herr Weinelt undertakes to consider the place and meaning assigned to the Spirit

and to spirits generally in the Christian literature of the post-Apostolic Age down to Irenæus. He begins with the period following the death of Paul, because the subject with which he deals has been fully treated in discussions on the Apostolic Age, and he ends with Irenæus because this marks the close of the period of the genesis of the Christian Church. In this first volume our author gives us two out of the four sections of which the whole book is to consist. We have here, first of all, "The Meaning of the Spirit Activities for the Religious Life of the Earliest Christian Communities;" and then, "A Representation and Description of the Activities of the Spirit and the spirits". In the second volume, with the preparation of which he is busily engaged, he promises to deal with a history of the Spirit's instrumentalities and the doctrine of the Spirit.

In the first section he shows how the conflict which the Christian has with evil spirits is described in early Christian writings. The hatred of the world to the Christian is regarded as the work of its gods, who are demons. Statues of wood and stone are indeed dead, deaf, dumb, motionless, etc., but they represent real existences. No attempt is made to deny their existence or their might, but they are wicked and opposed to God. These evil spirits, worshipped as gods, inspire false teachers and gnostics, and endeavour everywhere to tempt Christians to sin. In persecutions, too, they are the moving spirits; behind the heathen judges are the demons, inciting them to unreasonable rage or stirring up bitter scorn. In all these attempts; the object of the evil spirit is to compass the destruction of man. Ignatius, Barnabas, Justin, Irenæus, all describe heathen unconverted men as actually possessed by demons, who dwell in men and make them do whatever they will. By temptations to do wickedly, the devil seeks to bring men to eternal death, and when they commit what he tempts them to do, they are dead. By persecution he seeks to bring Christians to death by getting them to deny God. This activity of spiritual beings is a great reality with the early Christians. These beings are not shadows or phantasms, nor are they mere pictorial

representations of doctrinal ideas, but actual living spirits, whose presence is felt and vividly realised every day and at every step. When he passed by a heathen temple, the Christian of that age was conscious of the existence, presence and power of the evil spirits which the images he saw represented to the eye.

But if the Christian of this early age realised intensely the personality and power of the evil spirits, he realised with equal intensity the certainty of victory, and that by means of the presence of the Spirit, whose personality and power were conceived of in the same realistic fashion. The victory of the Christian is with demonstration of the Spirit and with power. He is in possession of that which the Jews only hoped for. The evidence of the Spirit's presence and power is the proof of the truth of Christianity. But while the vivid realisation of direct intercourse with the unseen world of spirits, led the early Christians to lay great stress on miracles, healings and exorcisms, and on visions and dreams, on the other hand it led them to give credence to, or at least disqualified them from denying, the heathen myths of healing, resurrection and prophesying. The value of the miracle, therefore, is determined by the character of him, whose power lies behind it. Hence the special weight of the proof of Christianity was laid upon the Spirit's work in regeneration. This was regarded as no mere doctrine, but as a fact of real possession.

An important chapter is given to the discussion of miraculous cures. Weinel is inclined to make a great deal of epileptical and hysterical conditions as predispositions on the part of those on whom, according to well-authenticated reports, cures were wrought. All these are recognised as the operations of spirits good or bad, by the superhuman power required for their production. One criterion for distinguishing the work of the evil spirit from that of the Holy Spirit is that in the Church the incantations and spells of heathen magic and heretical formulæ for miracle working are not used, but a simple invocation of the name of Jesus. Another criterion is the ethical quality of the effect produced by the spirit's



operation. If the spirit be good then the voice within says, Come to the Father. As Hermas puts it: "The angel of righteousness talks in us of righteousness, purity, chastity, contentment, and of every righteous deed and glorious virtue, and when these are in our heart we know that the angel of righteousness is with us. But the angel of unrighteousness is wrathful, bitter and foolish, and his works are evil, and ruin the servants of God, so when anger comes upon us and harshness, and longing after wealth, revels, and things improper, we know that the evil angel is with us."

Altogether we have in this first half of the work, a most valuable collection of materials as to the beliefs of the Christians of the second century in regard to spiritual operations. Where we now think and speak of influences, they thought and spoke of the real presence and personal working of good spirits and of evil spirits. In explaining reports of cures and requickening of the dead by certain nervous states in the subjects and cataleptic semblances of death, and prophetic utterances by ecstasy, no doubt he accounts for many such reported cures, which may be compared to similar manifestations under Edward Irving and his associates. The weak point in the book is the writer's evident inclination to interpret the Gospel miracles in the same way. We shall look forward with interest to the publication of the other important sections of this very interesting and suggestive work.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

## Encyclopædia Biblica.

*A Critical Dictionary of the Literary, Political and Religious History, the Archæology, Geography and Natural History of the Bible.*

*Edited by the Rev. T. K. Cheyne, M.A., D.D., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture at Oxford, and formerly Fellow of Balliol College, Canon of Rochester ; and J. Sutherland Black, M.A., LL.D., formerly Assistant Editor of the "Encyclopædia Britannica". Vol. II.: E to K. London : A. & C. Black, MCM I. 4to, pp. 1,344. Price 20s. net.*

THIS second instalment of the Messrs. Black's great enterprise will attract more than usual attention. It has been looked for with considerable expectation and with some curiosity. It will be examined with peculiar interest and with a critical eye. Some of the most important subjects which a Bible Dictionary has to handle fall within its compass. It embraces such topics as Egypt, Ethiopia, Eucharist, Gospels, Hebrew Language, Hexateuch, Israel, Jesus, John. It has to deal with such books of the Old Testament as Ecclesiastes, Exodus, Ezekiel, Esther, Ezra-Nehemiah, Genesis, Habbakuk, Haggai, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Job, Joel, Jonah, Joshua, Judges, Kings—a long list suggestive of a multitude of problems much debated and of great complexity. In the New Testament it has to concern itself with such books as the Epistle to the Galatians, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of James, in addition to the supreme question of the claims and the history of the Evangelical records. The difficult subjects indicated by the titles Elijah, Enoch, Esau, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Ishmael, and others far from easy to dispose of satisfactorily, also come within its scope. The treatment which is given to topics like these,

will be regarded as a good test of the worth of the work—its scholarship, its sufficiency, its fairness, its sanity, its value as a guide and help to the student. A staff of more than fifty writers has been engaged on the mass of matter that makes up the volume. Among the contributors there are many well-known names, and there is a large representation of English scholarship. In many cases the selection has been admirable, but there are some instances in which it will be difficult to justify the choice that has been made.

What is the general impression produced by the book? It must be confessed that we rise with very mixed feelings from an examination of its leading articles. Among them there are some than which none better could be desired. There are numerous articles that admirably answer the proper purpose of an Encyclopædia, full of information carefully sifted and arranged, free of eccentric, fanciful and vainglorious speculations, modest and reverent in spirit, distinguished by the caution and sobriety of a science that is worthy of the name. There are many articles, too, which, while they cannot be said to have the note of high distinction, are useful, reliable, work-a-day productions. And the praise which the first volume won for arrangement, editing and illustration, is due in equal measure to the second. Among its good things special mention should be made of its maps.

But there is, we regret to say, another side to the question. There is no restraint put upon the disposition to use the columns of the Encyclopædia as windows for the display of conjectures and speculations peculiar to the individual. No doubt a spice of this, judiciously administered, has its uses at times. It gives a flavour to an article that otherwise might be thought intolerably commonplace and dull. But there is too much of it here. There are, we do not deny, hypothetical solutions of problems in text or in exegesis which, however far-fetched, have at least the value of suggestiveness. But a little of this goes a long way, and it is vastly overdone here. Certain articles seem to be written on the supposition that it cannot be well with the world unless it is kept carefully informed of every phase of opinion through which the writer

has passed, every change that has taken place in his view of this or that sentence of a prophet, every small claim he can make to having been before others in this or that pronouncement on a passage or explanation of a difficulty, and the last brand-new theory or surmise that has had the good fortune to be born of his nimble brain. Far too much importance is attached to the chronicling of things like these, which have little or no foundation and give no real help. They may be in place in a Journal; in an *Encyclopædia* they are out of place. And they do not increase the confidence of the open-minded reader in the judgment of their fond parents.

There is another peculiarity that might suffer abatement with advantage. There is less, we are glad to be able to say, of the tone of condescension and patronage which made itself distressingly felt in the Introduction and in many of the articles of the former volume. But there is too much of it left still. Even men like Dillmann do not wholly escape this kind of "superior" treatment, and there are others who get it in larger doses. These are things of small moment, however, in comparison with others that force themselves upon the reader's attention. These are the lack of reverence, the recklessness, the arbitrary, pretentious, self-confident subjectivity, that obtrude themselves in too many of the contributions to this volume. If it belongs to science to be humble and cautious, patient in the gathering and sifting of its material, and careful not to draw its conclusions until it has made sure of its facts and has a sufficient body of them, and if it is unscientific to be rash and extravagant and assertive, to rush to premature judgments and to build on hypothetical foundations, then it must be said of not a little that is put forward in this volume with much assurance and with a lofty claim to be "scientific" in a sense which would pronounce even men like Harnack behindhand, that it is not science, but such a caricature of scientific method and scientific caution as can only lead to reaction.

But we must come to particulars. And as it is more pleasant to praise than to blame, we refer first to contributions to which cordial approval can be given and for which our thanks are

due. Happily these are not few. There are many articles which give us in excellent form precisely what we look for in an Encyclopædia—articles which have the qualities of solid worth, reliability and helpfulness, which furnish careful summaries of the facts that make up the particular case, and place fully and impartially before us both sides of the question. There are also some articles of distinguished merit—articles that are brilliant without being showy, opening up lines of inquiry or trains of argument which mark an advance in the discussion of the problems in hand. The papers that deal with the Botany, the Natural History, the Geography, Topography and Antiquities of the Bible are, as a general rule, of the best quality. The same may be said of those on the history of nations. There is a good article on the “Hittites” by Professor Morris Jastrow, who speaks hopefully of Jensen’s attempt to decipher the Hittite inscriptions, but with reserve of the theory of the Hittite language as Aryan and the prototype of modern Armenian. Professor Jastrow himself has some suggestions to make on these subjects, but he gives them with becoming sobriety and with a frank recognition of the fact that the problem is still “too complicated to warrant at present anything like a decided tone”.

There is a still better article on “Egypt” by Professor W. Max Müller, of Philadelphia, who also writes well on “Ethiopia,” “Goshen,” and the “Exodus”. In point of style, proportion, usefulness and good sense these are among the best in the book. “Edom” and “Ishmael” are also well handled by Professor Nöldeke. The subject of “Eschatology” is given to Professor Charles. His article is elaborate and full of particulars. It is committed to some very doubtful positions, *e.g.*, to the theory that in the earlier Hebrew view man was a dichotomy, in the later a trichotomy, to the idea of four distinctly marked stages in the progress of St. Paul’s doctrine of the last things, etc. But it is a learned and instructive article, particularly valuable on the witness of the apocalyptic and apocryphal writings. The long article on “Israel” by Professor Guthe is an excellent piece of work, sober, thoroughly well informed, free of extravagances, and keep-

ing by those renderings of the Hebrew history on which there is comparative agreement among Old Testament critics of the more reasonable order. Professor Moore's article on "Historical Literature" also is one of great ability, and those by the same hand on "Genesis," "Exodus," and "Judges," though they contain some things that are open to dispute, are papers of great merit. The article on "Ecclesiastes" is such as we should expect from its writer, Professor A. B. Davidson—admirable in style, full of insight, and conspicuous for its good sense. The brief but able article on "Joel" is by Professor W. R. Smith, revised and brought up to date by Canon Driver. "Isaiah" is treated at length by Canon Cheyne. It is an article showing great learning and great acumen, but it follows to a remorseless extent the process of breaking up the book into a bewildering multitude of pieces and working them up again into new combinations. Professor Schmidt of Cornell University writes on "Jeremiah". His account of the book contains some points that are open to objection, but it is on the whole a very able and instructive performance.

There are, on the other hand, some articles that are distinctly disappointing. Professor Jülicher, *e.g.*, writes on "Essenes" and on "Gnosis". Neither article is particularly good. The latter, indeed, is far from satisfactory. It gives no indication of adequate acquaintance with the literature of the subject, and it fails to furnish any sufficient account of the sources of the Gnostic ideas. The *Genealogies* in Matthew and Luke also receive somewhat meagre treatment. The article on "Jesus," too, though it contains some characteristic things, is far from what we should have expected from its lamented author.

There are a good many articles, again, in which there is a great deal of somewhat wild theorising. In the article on "Judas," *e.g.*, the editor-in-chief deals with the story of the traitor as unhistorical, and endeavours to trace the way in which it took shape and was developed. Attaching himself to Bruno Bauer, Volkmar, Keim and Brandt, he supposes that the original tradition "left the ease with which the

capture of Jesus was effected unaccounted for"; that Christian ingenuity had to find an explanation of that for itself, and that it found it by making use of Psalms xli. 9, lv. 12-14. From these passages it would infer that the betrayer of the Lord must have been a faithless friend; and having taken this step, it would proceed to ask, if it was an apostle that was in question, who could he be but Judas Iscariot? For was he not unlike the rest in not being a Galilean? Had he not an unlovely temper? And did he not bear the purse? And would not this last-named fact recall Zech. xi. 12 ff., a mysterious passage which "seemed to become intelligible for the time if applied to Jesus"? This is but a specimen of much of a similar kind that meets us in matters belonging to both Testaments. The basis of the book of Job is found in the Babylonian myth of Gilgames, and the origin of the name *Job* is traced to Ea-bani. The narrative of the raising of the widow's son is rejected on the ground of the "possible influence of symbolism" and the nature of the details. The account of the raising of Lazarus is declared to be "mainly allegorical". The origin of most of the miraculous narratives is to be sought in figurative speech, and the only instances of cures which it is permissible for us to accept as historical are "those of the class that even at the present day physicians are able to effect by psychical methods". The statements about the empty sepulchre must be rejected. Why? Because Paul is silent about them. As to the Fourth Gospel, that it was intended to be a historical work is sufficiently disproved by two or three things which belong to its beginning and its end. Here is how the matter is put—"A book which begins by declaring Jesus to be the *logos* of God, and ends by representing a cohort of Roman soldiers as falling to the ground at the majesty of His appearance and by representing one hundred pounds of ointment as having been used at His embalming, ought by these facts alone to be spared such a misunderstanding of its true character as would be implied in supposing that it meant to be a historical work". A short and simple method certainly of disposing of the weighty question of the credibility of a long series of

narratives in which men of a far larger historical sense than Professor Schmiedel have seen the hand of an eye-witness.

In the way in which much of the narrative in the Synoptists is treated by Dr. Abbot, we have a return to the discarded methods of Paulus. In the general view that is given of the dates and authorships of the New Testament writings we have a return to positions that the best scholarship of recent times has got beyond. None of the writings that are attributed to John, not even the Apocalypse, can by any possibility, it is asserted, be by the Apostle John. The Fourth Gospel is put back to between A.D. 135 and 170. The First Epistle of John is later still, and by a different hand. Matthew's Gospel may belong in one contingency to about A.D. 119, in another to about A.D. 130. In Mark we "no longer possess the original". As to the Third Gospel it may come in between 100 and 110, according to Professor Schmiedel. All this and much more we find put forward with the utmost confidence as if nothing had been done by Lightfoot, Harnack, Hort, Sanday and others, and as if it marked an advance. Are we to go back to the discredited positions of Paulus, Strauss, Eichhorn, and the author of *Supernatural Religion*, and call it "science" and "progress"?

It is in the article on the Gospels that the climax is reached. There is of course much useful matter in that article. It is clever, it is elaborate, and it puts some things very acutely. But it moves for the most part within the narrow circle of a particular style of literary criticism, and is weak on the side of historical criticism. What it comes to is best seen in its pronouncement on the extent of credible matter which it allows to be left in the evangelical reports of Christ's words. The ways of great men are always simple. And here Professor Schmiedel's method is simplicity itself. He starts with the idea that Christ was a mere man, that in the person of Jesus "we have to do with a completely human being". It is inconvenient certainly that the picture which the Gospels give of Him does not fit in with this. But what of that? The Gospels must go; every word of the Lord reported in them which does not square with this presup-



position must be eliminated or explained away as a mistake of the reporters or the reflection of later ideas. To find any kind of reason to bear out this vast operation of excision makes heavy demands, it is true, on one's ingenuity. But Professor Schmiedel is a man of uncommon nerve and extraordinary mental agility and he gets to his conclusion. And what is it? Let it be given in his own words:—

“The foregoing sections may have sometimes seemed to raise a doubt whether any credible elements were to be found in the gospels at all; all the more emphatically, therefore, must stress be laid on the existence of passages of the kind indicated in section 131. Reference has already been made to Mark x. 17, “Why callest thou Me good? None is good save God only,” as also to Matthew xii. 31 (that blasphemy against the Son of Man can be forgiven), and to Mark iii. 21 (that his relations held him to be beside himself). To these, two others may now be added, Mark xiii. 32 (“Of that day and that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father,”) and Mark xv. 34 (“My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?”) These five passages, along with the four which will be spoken of in section 140, might be called the foundation pillars for a truly scientific life of Jesus. Should the idea suggest itself that they have been sought out with partial intent, as proofs of the human as against the divine character of Jesus, the fact at all events cannot be set aside that they exist in the Bible and demand our attention. In reality, however, they prove not only that in the person of Jesus we have to do with a completely human being, and that the divine is to be sought in him only in the form in which it is capable of being found in a man; they also prove that he really did exist, and that the gospels contain at least some absolutely trustworthy facts concerning him.”

So then the “credible elements” amount to five passages in the Synoptists, or with the possible addition of a few more which seem to run in the same line, to nine. The passages thus left us are the few which, when taken apart from others and isolated from the general testimony of the Gospels, will

best endure the interpretation put by Professor Schmiedel on the personality of Christ, and the numerous passages which speak of a unique relation of Christ to God are hidden out of sight by a wave of the hand. Whatever else this may be it is not a kind of science that ought to be associated with the name of Professor Robertson Smith. It is "science" in a craze. Imagine the Annals of Tacitus, the Letters of Cicero, or the Letters of Pliny being subjected to this kind of treatment. Would the man who attempted that have much chance of being recognised as a scientific critic by those with any title to judge?

S. D. F. SALMOND.

## Notices.

Few books that have recently appeared will be more welcome than the *Life and Letters of Phillips Brooks*.<sup>1</sup> Seven years have passed since the great Boston preacher was taken from us. The *Life* is later in appearing than was expected, but it is a satisfaction to have it now. It is by the hand of one who has written well on other subjects, and who by the intimacy of his friendship with Phillips Brooks and the warmth of his admiration of him was peculiarly well fitted to undertake the task. The book will be read with avidity by many. It would have had a still larger audience if it had not been so huge. It is in many respects an able performance and a worthy memorial of a distinguished man who deserves to be held in honourable remembrance. It is admirably written, and it is full of life and interest. But it has two great faults. It is far too big, and it is so much of a perpetual unvarying eulogy that its subject seems placed almost too high for common humanity. It is a very doubtful service that is done to Phillips Brooks when his enthusiastic friend and biographer prolongs the story of his career through more than 1,600 closely-packed pages, and repeats the same note of laudation at each successive step in the long detail of the narrative.

It is not only that we get a minute account of what happened to Phillips Brooks and what was done by him from year to year and from stage to stage in his career. Nor is it only that all this is enforced and illustrated by copious quotations from the letters, which are indeed almost always

<sup>1</sup> *Life and Letters of Phillips Brooks*. By Alexander V. G. Allen, Professor in the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co., 1900. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. xvii. + 650, ix. + 956. Price 30s. net.

of great interest, and add much to the picture of the man. We have all this also accompanied, and sustained, and still further extended by disquisitions from the biographer himself, so that nothing is left to the reader's own imagination. There is a risk of losing the figure of the real man in the mass of detail. There is the further risk of a reaction on the part of the reader's own judgment against the protracted eulogy.

Nevertheless, while the biography probably would have served its purpose better if it had been half its present size, it must be frankly admitted that Phillips Brooks has not suffered seriously from either of these risks. We come from the perusal of these volumes with a pretty distinct impression of the man, with a large idea of his gifts, his character, and his influence, with an enhanced sense, too, of the service he did to his generation and the eminent place he holds in the history of the American pulpit. And we cannot but admire the industry of the biographer. His devotion to his task is remarkable. We can see what a work of labour as well as of love it has been to him. We should add, too, that if this *Life* is attractive in its subject and its style, it is equally so in other things. It is handsome in form. It is beautifully printed, and it is adorned with excellent portraits and illustrations.

It is the story and the characterisation of one of the great preachers of the century. The pulpit was Phillips Brooks' throne. There he reigned, and there his power was felt. No one who ever heard him preach could miss the sense of power or forget the impression. Professor Allen helps us to understand this. He shows us how the gift first declared itself, and with what sedulous untiring care it was cultivated. The secret of the remarkable and sustained success of Phillips Brooks as a preacher is a very simple thing. It is nothing more than this—that he was content to make preaching the great business of his life, with which he suffered nothing to interfere, and that having certain gifts of nature, he laboured incessantly to train and develop them. Nothing in the book is of greater interest than the insight it gives us into the methods which Phillips Brooks followed in sermon production, the pains which he

took with it, the way in which he made everything contributory to it, and the long preparation which in point of fact stood behind even those efforts which had all the appearance of being extemporaneous. In these volumes there are disclosures of the habits and ideas of a pulpit prince that all preachers should take advantage of and turn to use.

Of great interest, too, is the insight which these volumes give us into the thought and the faith of Phillips Brooks. We are enabled to see and understand the stages through which he passed in his own religious convictions, the way in which he met the successive waves of doubtful or negative speculation that passed over his time, and the changes which took place in his conception of the message that the pulpit had to deliver. His preaching, which had at first a strong intellectual cast, became more and more direct, positive and spiritual. His sympathies were always wide, and his theology non-dogmatic, but he never yielded to the allurements of Unitarianism, nor did he ever become vague in his teaching. There was in his blood a strain derived from a long line of Puritan ancestors, men of intellect, patriotism, public spirit and fervent piety, which kept him, while liberal and tolerant, essentially evangelical; and attached as he was to the Episcopal system as he knew it in America, he had no belief in the theory of Apostolical Succession nor any liking for the claims connected therewith. He was as remarkable for his courage, too, as for his large and liberal mind. This asserted itself on many occasions, and most nobly in the stand he made against slavery in the Civil War.

Many notable men appear in these pages. For Phillips Brooks came to be the friend of most of the celebrities of his own country and of many of the distinguished men of England. It is interesting to have the record of his intercourse with these. But there is one figure that outshines them all. It is the figure of his mother. It is when we see what she was that we understand Phillips Brooks himself. We lay down this great biography with the profound sense of having been brought into contact with a great soul in the record of the son's

career, and in the story of the mother with a woman of rare gifts and character, strong and tender, wise and intensely spiritual.

*Theodore Beza*<sup>1</sup> is the subject of the fourth volume of the valuable and attractive series known as "Heroes of the Reformation," which is edited by Professor Samuel Macauley Jackson of New York University. The book is by Professor Henry Martyn Baird, the distinguished author of *The Rise of the Huguenots*, and it well sustains the high reputation of the series. Professor Baird has made conscience of his task, and has supplied a want in our historical literature in a way that will earn him the thanks of all interested in the story of the Reformation. It is a singular thing that hitherto we have had nothing in English that could be properly called a *Life* of Beza. Calvin's successor, the counsellor of the Reformation for many years, certainly does not deserve such neglect. We rejoice that at last he has found a biographer who can do him justice in the English tongue. Professor Baird's book is no hasty or superficial performance, but the work of one who has gone to the sources and given himself to special research and independent study. And the picture which we get from his hand is something very different from that of the stiff and narrow ecclesiastic that Beza is often held to have been. We see here what he really was—in his many strong and attractive gifts, his love of classical literature, his poetical faculty, his irenic view of the Reformed faith, his piety, his courage, his sagacious counsel, his wide sympathies, his fidelity to Calvin's principles and doctrine. We see also his limitations and shortcomings, his mistaken conception of the power and duty of the civil magistrate, the good and evil in his controversies with Westphal and others. A series of more than a score of admirable illustrations adds to the attractiveness of the book.

*The Fact of Christ*<sup>2</sup> is the title given to a volume containing a series of lectures by P. Carnegie Simpson, M.A., minister of Renfield Church, Glasgow. It is a singularly

<sup>1</sup> New York: Putnam's Sons, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxi. + 376. Price 6s.

<sup>2</sup> London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 188. Price 3s. 6d.

fresh and suggestive study of the data of Christianity and the meaning of Christ. Upon the fact of Christ, says Mr. Simpson, our Christianity must be built, and the fact is a dual fact—a fact of history and a fact of experience. What this implies is then carefully brought out in its first, its further and its final meaning. An incarnation of the Divine life and power, that is the meaning which is found in Christ. And the final meaning is “that He has opened up ‘the way of forgiveness for us’ by, on our account, doing right by the ethical order which connects sin and its due desert, and without respect to which a true, ultimate and Divine forgiveness could not be”. The book closes with some hints on the principles underlying the atonement, and an excellent chapter on the question, What is a Christian? There is much independent thinking all through the volume and much to quicken faith. Mr. Simpson will find many ready listeners when he addresses the Christian public again.

From the pen of the Rev. A. Morris Stewart, M.A., Arbroath, we have a small but carefully-written volume on *The Origins of the United Free Church of Scotland*.<sup>1</sup> The book is an opportune one, appearing as it does in the train of the important ecclesiastical union recently effected in Scotland, and it is very readable as well as informing. The whole remarkable history of Scottish Presbytery indeed is given in a series of brief pointed sketches. In five compact chapters we are told how Scotland chose Presbytery, how the Secession Church, the Relief Church, the Free Church originated, and finally how the United Free Church of Scotland has come into being. The reader is helped to follow the complicated course of the story by an admirable illustrative chart prepared by the Rev. T. Ratcliffe Barnett. The book is also most attractive in form.

*The Preacher's Dictionary*,<sup>2</sup> by E. F. Cavalier, M.A., Rector of Wramplingham, Norfolk, is described as a “Biblical Con-

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1901. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 98. Price 1s. 6d. net.

<sup>2</sup> London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900. Large 8vo, pp. 641. Price 12s.

spectus and Compendium of religious and secular thought, past and present, typically arranged". It is a large and handsome volume, printed in a good, clear type, with its contents well arranged and furnished with a sufficient index. It is intended to help the Christian minister in the heaviest part of his work—that of sermon production. It does this by offering him a large collection of *subjects*, not merely a selection of texts. The method of treatment is to begin with an exact *definition* of the topic to be handled. The main passages of Scripture bearing on it are then brought together, and this is followed by a series of extracts from the writings of notable authors which may be useful for the exposition and illustration of the ideas. Under the title, *e.g.*, of "The Church," we have first a brief account of the etymology of the word, then a statement of the applications of the term in the New Testament, a collection of the various passages referring to the Church as *holy*, *apostolic*, *Catholic*, *visible*, *militant*, *triumphant*, and in connection with these various topics a number of quotations from Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine, Luther, Calvin, Pearson, Hook, Liddon, Maurice, etc. The book is less loaded with superfluous matter than are most of its class. It should be a considerable help to those who have little spare time and meagre libraries.

Under the title of *The Divine Love*,<sup>1</sup> the Rev. Charles J. Abbey, Rector of Checkendon, publishes a series of short studies, first on the "Stern Element in Divine Love," and then on the "Tenderness and Breadth of Divine Love," as these are exhibited in the New Testament. His object is to "alleviate the difficulties which hinder many from accepting the Gospel as a revelation of perfect love"—difficulties which arise specially from the doctrine of a retributive future. The book is an argument in favour of "the larger hope". It is written in a devout and modest spirit, and in persuasive language. It is successful with all those words of the New Testament in which man's future is viewed in

<sup>1</sup> London: Macmillan & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 370. Price 6s.



the light of what God is; it is less successful in dealing with those which view it in relation to what man is, and the possibilities that lie in his will. In the case of the gravest declarations it attempts to relieve them or to make them indefinite by the familiar methods of interpretation, taking the word "eternal," *e.g.*, to mean only "protracted," the "too late" of the Parable of the Virgins as pointing to a forfeiture of joy which may not be intended to be final, the "outer darkness" as the expression of a punishment "fitted to make a sinful soul long for the restoration of the light," etc.

The current number of the *Journal of Theological Studies* opens with a sermon on "Balaam" preached by Dr. Lock before the University of Oxford, in which an attempt is made to solve the enigma of the prophet's character and conduct by a critical analysis of the Hebrew text. Mr. Burkitt gives a careful and useful account of the Christian Palestinian Literature. Mr. Turner furnishes an interesting and hitherto unpublished stichometrical list of the canonical books. It is taken from a manuscript of Canons belonging "as early at any rate as the twelfth century" to Freisingen. The Rev. T. B. Strong begins a study of the history of the theological term "Substance". A valuable paper is contributed by the Rev. F. R. Tennant on the view given in the books of Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom of the entrance of sin and death. And among other things there is a learned and informing article by Dr. Barnes on the influence of the Septuagint on the Peshitta. The general result is that the influence of the LXX. is "for the most part *sporadic*, affecting the translation of a word here and a word there"; that there is more of the LXX. in the later text of the Peshitta than in the earlier; that it is only in the Psalter that "any general Greek influence bringing in a new characteristic is to be found". That new characteristic, according to Dr. Barnes, "is a dread of anthropomorphisms from which the Syriac translators of the Pentateuch were free". The whole number is a particularly good one.

The *International Journal of Ethics* makes a good beginning for 1901 with its January issue. Professor W. R. Sorley

gives an appreciative sketch of "Henry Sidgwick," and Mr. F. H. Hayward of Gonville and Caius College writes on the "True Significance of Sidgwick's 'Ethics,'" of which he says that "coming at the end of a long series of other attempts at Hedonistic construction" it "bears witness not only to the inroads of idealistic thought but to the internal weakness and bankruptcy of Hedonism itself". There are other papers well worth reading, such as Professor D. G. Ritchie's on "War and Peace".

In the January issue of the *American Journal of Theology*, which is an excellent number throughout, the Rev. L. H. Schwab presents a strong "Plea for Ritschl," defending him against the charge of subjective idealism, and claiming for his theology that it is a "vindication of the simple faith of the gospel" and that it "brings us back to that for which Christ essentially stood". The most elaborate article is by Professor Kamphausen of Bonn. It is on the prophecy regarding Shebna in Isaiah xxii. 15-25. It is of a very detailed order, and is intended mainly to "read a lesson of caution and modesty from the errors to which able expositors have given currency". Of these errors he makes up a very pretty list. Kuenen comes in for repeated criticism, but Duhm, G. A. Smith, Cheyne, Kittel, Delitzsch and others also pass under sharp review.

There are several articles in the January issue of *Mind* that will at once attract attention. One of these is an appreciation of "Henry Sidgwick" by Mr. Leslie Stephen. Another is a very penetrating paper by the late Henry Sidgwick himself on "The Philosophy of T. H. Green". There are also other papers of excellent quality, such as one by H. R. Marshall on "Consciousness, Self-consciousness and the Self," and a discussion of "Experimentation in Emotion" by C. S. Myers.

The most important paper in the first issue of the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for the year is one by Professor Warfield on "Predestination in the Reformed Confessions". It is a very erudite paper, going over the whole field with ample citation of authorities. It deals with the doctrine of Predestination as "the central doctrine of the Reformation,"

a doctrine rooted in the sense of the sinner's dependence on the free mercy of God and one for which the Roman Catholic system has no vital place. The general result of this historical study is that the Reformed Creeds are remarkably at one in their views of the mystery of Predestination, and that the Westminster Standards "in their exposition of its elements receive the support of the entire body of the Reformed Creeds at every salient point". There are also good papers of a different kind in this number, *e.g.*, one by Professor Frank Hugh Foster on "The Minister of the Twentieth Century," and one by the Rev. W. H. S. Demarest on "Reconstruction in the Sunday School". The latter advocates the direct exercise of the government of the Church upon the school, a revision of the class system in the direction of larger classes and fewer teachers, a more practical connection between the school and the worship of the Church, and a more logical arrangement of the curriculum.

The *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January opens with a paper by Professor Jacob Cooper on "The Passage from Mind to Matter," the point of which is to show how the "difficulties of perception, or the problem of how two disparate factors can act on each other, vanish," inasmuch as they are not two, save in phenomena. "They are one in reality. As they are united in the evolution of new forms, their action is immediate; and as they are ever together in the production of phenomenal action, there is no bridge to cross between them." Professor S. I. Curtis contributes a good paper, full of information and fair in its attitude to criticism, on "The Book, the Land, the People," dealing with the method of Revelation in the Old Testament, and showing how difficulties disappear when the phenomena of the Bible, its authorship and its transmission, are looked at as they really are. There are also other readable articles, *e.g.*, one on Coleridge by Professor T. W. Hunt.

*The Spiritual Letters of Edward Bouverie Pusey*,<sup>1</sup> revised and

<sup>1</sup> London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvii. + 330. Price 5s. net.

prepared for publication by the Rev. J. O. Johnson, M.A., Principal of Cuddesdon Theological College, and the Rev. W. C. E. Newbolt, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's, are issued in a new and cheaper edition. It is a wise and welcome step. No one can understand the Oxford movement who does not understand Pusey, nor can any one understand Pusey who does not know him in the inward life disclosed in these letters. Much of his time was spent in dealing with the difficulties of individual souls by conversation or by correspondence. He met these in multitudes of cases with a wisdom as well as a patience which cannot but be admired. In the counsels and reprimands which he offered we see at times the influence of his peculiar views, but as a general rule they are of a larger and simpler order. We see him also in these letters in very different moods, tender and severe, anxious and confident, at one period dwelling on the sterner and more solemn aspects of Christian truth, at another turning his face to the side of hopefulness and peace. The letters are arranged as those on "Counsel and Sympathy," those on "Intellectual Difficulties," and those on "Theological and Ecclesiastical Subjects". There is a closing chapter which gives "Fragments of Conversations and Letters". In all the various kinds of letters much will be found that is helpful. His answers to correspondents troubled with intellectual difficulties having their origin in scientific and philosophical ideas, are in many cases as remarkable for their unexpected largeness of view and courage as for their acuteness. No ingenuous mind, however far apart from Pusey in certain things, can read these letters without feeling his respect for the writer increased, or without having his sense of indebtedness quickened.

The fifth year of the new series of the *Theological Translation Library* starts with two volumes which are very different in kind but each of them both important and seasonable. The one is Professor Eberhard Nestle's *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament*.<sup>1</sup> The translator

<sup>1</sup> London, Edinburgh and Oxford: Williams & Norgate, 1901. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 351. Price 10s. 6d.

is the Rev. William Edie, B.D., King Edward, and he has succeeded in giving us a very readable English rendering. The book itself is one that will be much valued by New Testament scholars of all different tendencies, even by those who do not agree entirely with Professor Nestle's critical views. The book is less complete than Scrivener's "Plain Introduction" in narrative and descriptive matter, nor can it compete with Hort's volume in mastery of the history of texts and in grasp of principles. But it brings all up to date, and makes as good a handbook as the student could well desire. Dr. Nestle has the gift of admirably lucid exposition. He has also wide and varied erudition, by which, however, he never suffers himself to be overburdened. He gives us, therefore, a very clear and useful statement of the history of the printed text, the materials of criticism, and the theory and praxis of the subject. He has a good deal to say of Codex Bezae and the Western text, which is not very conclusive, but he modestly confesses himself to be "now less in a position than ever to make any definite proposals as to the way in which the goal of the textual criticism of the New Testament is to be reached". A series of critical notes on a considerable number of select passages is added. These notes are always interesting and contain much curious matter. It is difficult to discover any consistent method in the arguments of these notes, but they often call attention to readings that are apt to be overlooked, and they have some light to throw on others that are more familiar.

The other volume in this series of translations is Harnack's *What is Christianity?*<sup>1</sup> The translator is Mr. Thomas Bailey Saunders, and he has performed his task faithfully and well. It is quite a pleasure to read this rendering of a course of lectures which made so great an impression on the academic audience for whom they were originally prepared, and which have been so eagerly received in their printed form. They

<sup>1</sup> London, Edinburgh and Oxford: Williams & Norgate, 1901. 8vo, pp. 301. Price 10s. 6d.

give us the conception of Christianity which is formed by a great theologian, a statement of what the Gospel is in relation to asceticism, social questions, questions of public order, civilisation, creed, etc., and a sketch of the developments through which the Christian faith has passed in Greek Catholicism, Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. Professor Harnack takes our real authorities to be the Synoptical Gospels, and he takes Christ's mission and message to have been pre-eminently the revelation of God as Father. He declares, indeed, that the Gospel, as it was preached by Christ Himself, was primarily concerned "with the Father only and not with the Son". But he recognises Christ at the same time to be the only way to the Father; he holds that we must gather our idea of the nature of Christ from the impression made by Him on the first Christian community; and he tells us that that community "called Jesus its Lord because He had sacrificed His life for it, and because its members were convinced that He had been raised from the dead, and was then sitting on the right hand of God". There are some sufficiently doubtful positions in these lectures, and some which do not seem to hang well together. To some of these we have referred in noticing the German issue.<sup>1</sup> But there is much that should counteract extreme negation and help faith. It is important also to get in this popular form Professor Harnack's estimates of the great historical Churches. Eastern Catholicism is regarded by him as in many respects "part of the history of Greek religion rather than that of the history of the Gospel". Roman Catholicism in like manner is to be regarded as "part of the history of the Roman World-Empire," the Popes ruling like Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, Peter and Paul having the place of Romulus and Remus, and the archbishops that of the proconsuls. In the Reformation he recognises the great qualities of inwardness and spirituality, the fundamental thought of the God of Grace, His worship in spirit and in truth, and the idea of the Church as a

<sup>1</sup> *Critical Review*, vol. x., pp. 551 ff.

community of faith. The Reformation, therefore, was the renewal of religion ; it was the Gospel re-won.

We have another volume from the active pen of the pastor of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, Mr. Newell Dwight Hillis. It is on *The Influence of Christ in Modern Life*,<sup>1</sup> and is explained as a "Study of the new problems of the Church in American Society". It makes very pleasant reading, and is richly furnished, we are inclined to say almost overloaded, with quotations, literary references and anecdotes. These, however, are always to the point. The book dwells on the apologetic side of things and the most obvious aspects of the problems in view. It cannot be said to take us far within them. Mr. Hillis flings out now and then against the theologians, that is to say, against those of another school than his own. He has, it would seem, a dear delight in doing so, although he theologises and even dogmatises in a very pretty way himself. Sometimes, we regret to see, he allows himself in this *odium theologicum* to slip into sad offences against good taste. Here, for example, is how he speaks of an article of the Evangelical faith—"Time was when men talked about being clothed with righteousness and character, as if God was a wholesale dry goods merchant and kept great bales of integrity and cut off a new character suit for each poor sinner". It is difficult to say which is worst in a sentence like this—whether the taste, the confusion of ideas, or the lack of understanding. Better things are to be expected of Mr. Hillis than this. He will no doubt leave such things behind him soon, and come to see that the great doctrinal conceptions which have been the inspiration and the strength of the saintliest and most fruitful lives have more in them than he at present imagines and deserve to be spoken of in more respectful terms. Meanwhile in this volume he gives an exposition of some of the broader aspects and the more immediate applications of Christian truth which will be read not only with interest but with profit. There are those, not

<sup>1</sup> New York: The Macmillan Company, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 416. Price 6s.

a few, to whom it will bring a helpful message, and it is so attractively written that the reader is not likely to lay it down unfinished.

Mr. F. Crawford Burkitt of Trinity College, Cambridge, publishes *Two Lectures on the Gospels*,<sup>1</sup> which were delivered at the University Extension Summer Meeting, Cambridge, 1900. The first deals with the text, the second with the Gospels as separate works. On both topics they give in clear, broad outline, a statement which can be easily followed and is worth following. They show considerable independence also, and raise some points for consideration. In dealing with the close of Mark's Gospel, Mr. Burkitt makes good use of the *Gospel according to Peter*, and thinks it most probable that the author of the latter writing knew and used our second Gospel in its original form before it had lost its last leaves. He gives a brief but very lucid statement of the reasons for concluding that the Synoptical Gospels have a written source, and for taking Mark's Gospel itself, not a document underlying it, to have been the document which was independently used in the composition of the first and third Gospels. When he comes to the problem of the fourth Gospel, he devotes considerable attention to the witness of the *Acts of John*, reminding us that that curious document shows that a devout Christian of the middle of the second century or thereby "saw no harm in inventing speeches and putting them into the mouth of his Lord". He thinks this may help us to understand the peculiar character of the fourth Gospel, but when he speaks of the discourses of that Gospel as "theological lectures" constructed out of Christ's brief and simple words, he overstates the case. Recognising the versimilitude of the record of words and events in the fourth Gospel, and unable to regard it as throughout the accurate report of an actual eye-witness, he falls back on Matthew Arnold and the Muratorian Canon, and concludes that the "work was issued in St. John's

<sup>1</sup> London: Macmillan & Co., 1901 Cr. 8vo, pp. 94. Price 2s. 6d. net.



name, and very likely with his approval, by one who had gathered his materials from the lips of the apostle”.

We have a very good Commentary on *The First Epistle of St. Peter*,<sup>1</sup> which is the work of the Rev. J. Howard Masterman, M.A., Principal of the Midland Clergy College. It is meant for a help to candidates for Deacon's Orders. But it is much more than a textbook furnishing what is useful for the purposes of professional examinations. It is the work of one who knows what scientific exegesis is. There are occasional slips of a minor order. On p. 8, *e.g.*, Dr. A. B. Davidson is credited with the authorship of an *Introduction to the New Testament*. A well-known German authority is designated more than once as *Weizsächer*, and we get *Agbarus* for *Abgarus*, *dilatores* for *delatores*, etc. But the book throughout is scholarly and also considerably independent. Mr. Masterman adheres to the prevalent opinion that Rome is the place of writing, and as to the date he regards the reign of Vespasian as, on the whole, the most probable time. He thinks that in Nero's time the mere profession of the religion of Christ was becoming a capital offence, and does not admit that there is anything in the Epistle to necessitate its being placed so late as Trajan's reign. In speaking of the “Presbyters” as they appear in this Epistle, Mr. Masterman allows that there is “some doubt whether at first they corresponded more closely to our clergy or our churchwardens”. Most questions, both in the Introduction and in the exegesis, are handled not only with ability but in an eminently fair spirit.

*Truths New and Old*<sup>2</sup> is the title given to a collection of sermons preached in the Parish Church of Rochdale by the Ven. James M. Wilson, M.A., Vicar of Rochdale and Archdeacon of Manchester. There are four discourses on the Incarnation, four on the Advent, and others on our Lord's

<sup>1</sup> London : Macmillan & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo., pp. x. + 190. Price 3s. 6d. net.

<sup>2</sup> Westminster : Archibald Constable & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 372. Price 6s.

Divinity, Prayers for the Departed, Conversion and Renewal, etc. There are also some of a different kind—studies of Balaam, Manaen, St. Paul at Thessalonica, etc. The general object of the volume is to express old doctrines in ways “not out of harmony with new modes of thought, and to show that all new knowledge may be absorbed into the Christian faith without destroying it”. So Archdeacon Wilson in dealing with the Incarnation seeks to present it as the ultimate truth to which Nature points, and as the satisfaction of human instincts and aspirations, while he sets it forth as the distinctive and central truth of Christianity. On all the subjects, doctrinal, ethical, apologetical, exegetical, practical, which he takes up he has something to say that is worth listening to, and all is written in an admirably clear and simple style, relieved of all technical terms. Beyond most others Archdeacon Wilson has the enviable gift of terse, lucid exposition. He writes always in a broad and liberal spirit, and in a way that takes us into the inward meaning of things. It is good for one to read a book like this, which shows how the main truths and principles of Christianity commend themselves to a distinguished Churchman who is also an experienced teacher, and a man familiar with the science of the age.

We are indebted to Mr. Henry St. John Thackeray, M.A., Divinity Lecturer in Selwyn College for a volume on *The Relations of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought*.<sup>1</sup> It is the essay which gained the Kaye Prize for 1899. Mr. Thackeray has been fortunate in his subject. He could not have got one that better fitted the time and the need, and he has made diligent use of his opportunity. He does not claim any originality for his work, and he frankly acknowledges the limitations of his acquaintance with certain parts of the field he has to traverse. But he has succeeded in giving a careful and useful account of Jewish thought in St. Paul's time. He brings together much pertinent matter relating to the points of contact between the popular Jewish ideas and

<sup>1</sup> London : Macmillan & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvii. + 260. Price 6s.

the Apostle's writings, the way in which his doctrine was influenced by these ideas, his use of the Old Testament, his method of interpretation etc. He has studied the best literature on the subject, or to speak more correctly, much of that literature; for there are some remarkable gaps in his references. The result is a summary statement that will be of decided service to many.

His book has some serious defects. He has not thought himself sufficiently either into the great ideas of the Old Testament or into those of Paul. He is not particularly strong in imagination or in historical insight, and is apt to measure the great things of the Apostle by a very modern, English University view of things. He adopts much too easily interpretations of important passages of the Epistle which burden the Apostle with inconsistencies that are alien to his writings, and with millenarian and other peculiar conceptions which have no real place in them. Least of all can he enter into those profound doctrinal ideas of which Paul is the great exponent and which belonged to his very life. Justification by faith and doctrines akin to that Mr. Thackeray seems to regard as to a large extent Rabbinical and unreal, and now and again he betrays a tendency to depreciate the Apostle. On the other hand there are many points that are admirably handled. Among these we may refer in particular to the discussion of such terms as "the last Adam," "the second man from heaven," etc. And as a whole the volume is a good contribution to the study of the Pauline teaching.

We notice also a biographical sketch of *John Ruskin*,<sup>1</sup> by R. Ed. Pengelly, compact, well-written, and to be cordially recommended to the attention of young readers in particular; a series of short, simple, devout meditations on *The Surrendered Life*,<sup>2</sup> prepared by the Rev. J. Wilbur Chapman, D.D., with a special view to the edification of young people of the Society of Christian Endeavour; a further instalment

<sup>1</sup> London: Andrew Melrose. Sm. cr. 8vo, pp. 127. Price 1s. net.

<sup>2</sup> London: The Sunday School Union. Pp. 79. Price 1s.

of the *Biblical Illustrator*,<sup>1</sup> edited by the Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A., giving a great wealth of anecdote, simile, expository and homiletic comment and the like on the Books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther ; *Auf dem Wege der Wahrheit*,<sup>2</sup> a series of brief essays, by Dr. G. Karv, in which much is said that should be helpful to inquirers on such subjects as God and the World, Man, Revelation, Christ, Faith, the Bible, the Church, etc. ; *Individualität und Persönlichkeit*,<sup>3</sup> a clear and instructive statement of a difficult question by Professor Hermann Lüdemann of Bern ; the second part of Professor F. W. Stellanor's study of the Pastoral Epistles, *Die Pastoralbriefe Pauli*,<sup>4</sup> those dealt with being 2 Timothy and Titus (with an appendix on the epistle to Philemon), and the method being to give both a translation and an exposition, which are done in a good and useful style ; *Our National Church Trouble, Diagnosis and Remedy*,<sup>5</sup> by Andrew Simon Lamb, the intention of which is to demonstrate the Protestant character of the normal constitution of the Church of England, and to find relief from the present disorders not by disestablishment but by getting the episcopate filled by Protestants ; the eleventh volume of *The Preacher's Magazine*,<sup>6</sup> conducted with great ability by Messrs. Mark Guy Pearse and Arthur E. Gregory, containing many instructive and useful papers by men like Professor Findlay, Messrs. Maggs, Moulton, Beet, Pope, Platt, Workman and others, who have the gift of recognising the subjects that are of most immediate interest to preachers and of writing effectively on them.

<sup>1</sup> London : Nisbet & Co. 8vo. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Tübingen und Leipzig : J. C. B. Mohr ; London : Williams & Norgate, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. + 123. Price 1s. 9d.

<sup>3</sup> Rektoratsrede gehalten am 66 Stiftungstage der Universität Bern den 17 November, 1900. Bern : Benteli. 8vo, pp. 24. Price M.o.90.

<sup>4</sup> Gütersloh : Bertelsmann ; London : Williams & Norgate. Cr. 8vo, pp. 147. Price 2s. 6d. net.

<sup>5</sup> London : Nisbet & Co., 1900. Sm. cr. 8vo, pp. 77. Price 1s.

<sup>6</sup> London : C. H. Kelly, 1900. 8vo, pp. 580. Price 5s.

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Fresh evidence cannot be allowed to change opinions established long ago in our orthodox exegesis with regard to the political position of the nations of Syria and Palestine, . . . as these opinions are founded on the direct evidence of the Bible itself.

This seems to assume for "orthodox exegesis" a position assured beyond evidence and above criticism—a dangerous assumption, because uniting and identifying itself with "the direct evidence of the Bible," with the overthrow or invalidation of the "exegesis" there follows, in the eyes of its votaries, a similar result to the Scriptural record. It is probable that the object of inspiration, so far as it concerns "the nations," whether "of Syria and Palestine" or others, is to declare their relations and responsibility to God as a moral and

spiritual Governor, supreme over all, and to regard their "political position" only as incidental to this. Those relations are necessarily closer in regard to the people of Israel than in the case of extern races, because a divinely ordered polity formed part of their national existence.

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Scientific researches concerning this portion of the Book of Numbers could never have been considered either quite complete or thoroughly trustworthy, until the seventies of the present (late) century, when the wonderful discoveries made amongst the forgotten ashes of the ancient nations of the East were revealed.

One would suppose that among the authorities guaranteeing these "discoveries," that of Professor Sayce on the Hittite empire, and Major Conder's *Heth and Moab*, which goes over the very ground on which the scene of the Balaam-Balak episode is enacted, and the Tel el Amarna tablets, which have done more than any discovery of the late century to lift the veil from the political position of the nations of Syria and Palestine shortly before the Exodus, would occupy foremost places. On the contrary, the two former are wholly ignored, while the tablets only come in for scanty and secondary mention. The notes are lengthy and often recondite; they include textual and etymological criticism, exegesis, topographical and ethnographical research, the theories held regarding ancient magic and modern hypnotism; and fortify these with copious quotations from the list of authorities stated in the preface. Hebrew investigations as to the origin or form of individual words in the text abound. Of these a sample selected purely by accident is the following from chapter ii., "The Blessing and the Curse," p. 41 :—

It is to be noticed that **אָרַר** and **נָקַב**, except in the signification "to prick," "to pierce," "to wound with a word," is also used in the sense of burning (see Steinberg under the word **אָרַר**). The word **אָרַר** is similar to **אָרַח**, and the latter signifies amongst other meanings "to chisel," "to hollow out"; whence proceeds **אָרוֹחַ** a groove, manger, and **הָרָה**, to be inflamed (*cf.* the Latin *areo, uro*).

This sentence is a three-decker of nonsense piled on nonsense.

Let us pass over the *faux-pas* of English which states that the two verbs named "is also used," and consider what can be meant by a Hebrew verb "being used in the sense of burning" *except* in the sense of pricking? Perhaps we have a mistranslation. At any rate the translator has cast his English sentence into a form which insures nonsense, whatever sense may have been in his mind. "The word אָרַר is similar to אָרַח" is an etymological parody of Fluellen's famous parallel of "Macedonia" and "Monmouth". As well might one argue by comparing in Latin *ficus* to *fucus*, or urge that in English foot "is similar to" food, or pillar to pillow. The primary meaning of אָרַח is "to gather" (the fruit) and by consequence "to strip" (the tree) (see Cant. v. 1, Ps. lxxx. 3); as we say "to pluck" feathers and "to pluck" a fowl. There is no noun אָרַח. The word probably intended, but misspelt and mis-pointed, is אָרַח (also אָרַח), but found only in the plur. וַת = (1 Ki. v. 6, 2 Chr. xxxii. 28), meaning "stalls for horses". Again we have אָרַח mis-spelt אָרַח (which means "to conceive"). The comparison of the Latin *areo*, *uro* is false to etymology, the latter having been *buro* (cf. *bustum* and *comburo*). But what all this, I mean the blunders, has to do with elucidating the Hebrew verb used as "to curse," it would puzzle all critics from Aristarchus downwards to say. This is no solitary instance. These offensive puddles of ignorant pedantry are constantly in the way for the reader to step into. The verb "אָרַח, to burn, to be inflamed with fury (Fürst, Steinb.);" meets us again, p. 198, note 2. And here it may be noticed that a Hebrew verb and noun which have a syllable in common are the subject of two assumptions made by modern German orientalists; (1) that one is derived from the other, which may or may not be true; (2) that the meaning of the derivative must be found also in the root. They forget that a mere accidental quality, often purely secondary, may determine the sense of the derived word; e.g., יָצַח, "oil,"

derived from the verb **צָהַר**, "to shine". It seems to follow that to assume any *essential* feature as determining the precarious link between this and its primitive is a rash and risky step. As an example of the way in which in this English translation the Hebrew element is "scamped," take p. 212 *note*. In the Hebrew words quoted there the letter **ח** should appear seven times over. In five of these it is misprinted **ה**. Earlier instances are on p. 16, *note* 2, **סַחַד** for **סַחַד**, on p. 21, ll. 5, 6, the word **נַחַר** is misprinted **נַחַר**, and **חֲנֹהֵר** not only misprinted **חֲנֹהֵר**, but wrongly transliterated as *ganagar*. Again on p. 42 we have a note on another verb **קָלַל** also meaning "to curse," in its *pihel* form. And this is intended to be the statement, but as printed it is "in the form Ri". Here, of course, *pi*., the abbreviation of *pihel*, was meant. On p. 144 we have a note on a difficult Hebrew phrase **פִּי־רֶחַל** (misprinted again as **פִּי־רֶחַל**): "according to the latest investigations **יֶרֶחַל** (misprinted again as **יֶרֶחַל**) means to lead to destruction. Schultens has proved by many passages that, properly speaking, this word means a path which it is impossible to quit, and which leads to destruction (Job xvi. 14)." In this Job text the verb **יָרַח** occurs, which, having two letters in common, may have sufficed for our investigator. But more probably it is a misprint for Job xvi. 11, where **יֶרֶחַל** (suffixed with object of 1st person), "he will cast me" occurs. The word is found nowhere else in the entire Old Testament; therefore, whence Schultens got his "many passages" in proof of its meaning is not easy to see. Gesenius notes that the Arabic *warat* = "to throw down, to ruin". "Thy way is precipitous against me," in the sense of "violently opposed to me," might thus be the resulting interpretation.

On page 169 we have a perfectly needless note on **שָׁפִי**, familiar in the usage of Jeremiah for "a bare hill-top," which gave the proposing seer his wide horizon needed. Rejecting this, the author says, "There is, on the contrary, very good reason to take the word **שָׁפִי** as corresponding by its formation

with the little word קָדַי".<sup>1</sup> There is no such "little word". He probably means (and mis-spells) קָדַי, used several times with הִלְךָ (verb) in the phrase "walk contrary to" of Lev. xxvi.

The author has here picked up a hypercritical fancy of Ewald (to whom he refers) and built it into his argument, encumbering what is tolerably plain by what is obscure and conjectural. Again, on p. 190, he discusses a difference of text between the LXX. and "the Massoreths," who "read," we are told, "יִכְבֹּד" (from כָּבֹד to lie)". A student familiar with the Hebrew Bible would see that this is again a false spelling for יִכְבֹּד and כָּבֹד, but others might puzzle themselves blind in search of a possible sense. Similarly on p. 142 note (end) we read of "a confusion made by the Septuagint on account of the likeness between the letters of two Hebrew words סָכַן (סָכַן) . . . and בָּדָה, to despise". Here the latter word should be בָּדָה. To urge the likeness of two sets of letters, and then thus to mangle one of them, is the *ne plus ultra* of non-venial sins of transcription.

There are plenty more of this sort of blunders, but space demands that we pass from form to substance. The author has highly elaborated his portraiture of Balaam. It is the *chef d'œuvre* of the volume. We learn (p. 77) that "he had the gift of inspired foresight, of vision, of foretelling," repeated (p. 80) in "he could foresee as well as conjure," and combined . . . "the sorcerer with . . . the seer". Here follows in some three pages an attempt to trace these powers etymologically in his name—not very successful nor decisive—as "master of the word and action," p. 83. "He is represented as a Chaldean soothsayer gifted with powers of exorcism and cursing," to which end "he made use of his wonderful vigorous powers of will," p. 84. The question is then raised,

<sup>1</sup> The English syntax is again faulty; if we pursue the sentence after קָדַי we read, "and by its subordinate position (and shortness) serves . . . only to determine the manner of going". Here "corresponding" requires "serving".



was he really so endowed, or were his claims delusive? It is settled (p. 89) by affirming the reality, "that he called forth or removed misfortunes, with God's permission, by means of some supernatural innate force of will". "Trances similar to hypnotical sleep, or in a state of ecstasy," had been previously ascribed to him on p. 84. The question is then raised, "How did he discover this faculty in himself?" (p. 89). Then follows a brief statement of the Chaldean profession, study and practice of ancient magic, while a note (p. 91) informs us that "Experimental knowledge is meant here under the name of mysterious sciences" . . . and that "the enchantress of Endor belongs to the class of powerful mediums". The result is that Balaam (p. 91) was "surrounded" in his Aramean home "by sufficiently favourable circumstances for the development of his wonderful gifts" . . . "had abundant opportunities for trying his powers" . . . with "the result" that "he discovered in himself *peculiar forces*"—in what consisting? is the next question; and to answer it we travel back again over "hypnotism" and "self-confident will". But a subsidiary question is raised (pp. 92-3), was he "likewise . . . a clear-sighted wise man?" After a comparison of Solomon, Ahithophel, Ethan, Job's four comforters, and other samples of Eastern wisdom we read that:—

It is reasonable to suppose that Balaam was acquainted with science to the same extent, for the Chaldean magi were also called *wise men* (Dan. ii. 12, etc.). Balaam, as a conjuror and foreteller, must also have been a wise man, and had the same knowledge of life as the wise men of Israel (pp. 95-6).

"An extraordinary lively imagination . . . a strongly developed memory . . . an eye for symmetry and an ear for harmony" are some few of "the characteristic features of the spiritual organism with which Balaam must have been endowed" (p. 94).

Space fails us for the completion of this somewhat ideal portrait, but the above will enable the reader to form his opinion. We think it will be that our author displays an excess, rising to exuberance, of imaginative rhetoric, and a

defective logic. His geography is diffuse, but weak, *e.g.*, we learn on p. 175, *note* 1, that "Mesopotamia" is "according to Deut. xxiii. 5, the river Aram, Northern Syria, near Tipsak and Circesium". There is no "river Aram" in Deut. *loc. cit.* or elsewhere, and "Circesium" is far away south-eastwardly down the Euphrates. He has confused this with the Hittite "Carchemish," although elsewhere he appears to know the distinction, *e.g.*, p. 24, *note* 1. A little sketch map like that prefixed to Professor Sayce's "Hittites" would have cleared up, or rather wholly spared, this geographical muddle of discursive notes.<sup>1</sup> His topography of the Bamoth-Baal, a region to which Major Conder, as above noted, furnishes a lucid clue, lacks similarly that clear-cut outline which presents the scene to the life, and gives the setting to the picture.

The exegetic matter (and often the textual criticism) proceeds wholly from the standpoint (natural to the author but therefore to the English reader precisely the reverse) of the Græco-Sclavonic, or the Russian "orthodox" versions, quoted again and again in native Ruski in the notes. By the English translator all this should have been sunk.

<sup>1</sup> Again on p. 23, the Amu "lived in the north-east of Egypt"—perhaps a translator's slip for "to the north-east". The attempted identification of Chittim and Het, p. 241, *note* 1, may be doubtfully classed as geographical or Hebraistic. It could hardly have occurred to a writer who knew that Chittim begins with a **𐤇** and Het with a **𐤇**. For this last we have all the Egypto-Assyrian variants of Heta, Hita, Huta (Har or Hal), Hattai and Hatti (pp. 22, 26)—a needless bewilderment.

HENRY HAYMAN.

## **The Reformation.**

*Eras of the Christian Church.*

*By Williston Walker. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901. Cr.  
8vo, pp. 478. Price 6s.*

THE series of handbooks on Church history entitled *The Eras of the Christian Church*, edited and for the most part written in the United States, is already favourably known in Britain, especially since the publication of Mr. Vernon Bartlet's excellent volume on the Apostolic Age. This volume on the Reformation is contributed to the same series by Professor Walker of Hartford, and it may be said at once that it is fully worthy of its fellows. It is no easy matter which the author has undertaken, to treat within the compass of five hundred pages a movement so widespread, so profound and having so many centres as the Reformation. He has avoided the certainty of failure by wisdom in delimiting his field and in choosing his method. He has not thought it necessary to follow out the Reformation into all its issues, and has sketched but "cursorily the political struggles of the later Reformation age," so obtaining space to "treat with relative fulness its initial and formative stages". And at the same time he has refrained from crowding his picture with subordinate personages and details. So far as these are essential to a true presentation of the movement they are skilfully grouped in the seventh and eighth chapters, which describe the fortunes of the Reformation in the outlying countries, and the views of the radical extremists. England is specially reserved for full treatment in a separate volume. The bulk of this volume is thus left clear for comparatively full presentation of the three central streams of the movement.

In face of the acknowledged difficulty of the writer's task it is perhaps ungracious to suggest that the introductory chapter would well have borne considerable expansion. For those who come fresh to the study of the Reformation nothing is more essential than a clear view of the condition of the Church at the end of the Mediæval period, its doctrinal corruption and its moral degeneracy—such a view as is given in the opening chapters of Professor Fisher's excellent work on this subject. The old rubric, *Reformers before the Reformation*, may be somewhat effete; nevertheless, there is something very impressive in the recognition of the reforming movement of the sixteenth century as due to the sudden expansion of a stream of evangelical life and teaching which, often very thin, often obscured and still more often misnamed, had persisted through many centuries alongside of the broader stream of Catholic tradition. This, however, is a question of proportion, and Dr. Walker's introduction, so far as he has carried it, is clear and accurate.

The greater part of his material is naturally grouped round the names of Luther, Zwingli and Calvin. Through the very complicated history of the German Reformation he threads his way with ease and certainty. He has a quick eye for the bearing of political considerations on many of the critical religious problems of the age. Just emphasis on this factor is particularly important, as, for example, in regard to the Marburg Colloquy, to whose comparative ill-success this consideration largely contributed. Luther's reluctance to meet Zwingli and his whole attitude throughout the conference are only to be properly understood in view of his unwillingness to appear associated with him in imperial politics.

Zwingli is beginning to receive some of the attention formerly concentrated upon his two greater compeers. Of him it has been lately said that if Luther, Melancthon, Zwingli and Calvin were to appear to-day, the one who would have to do least to adapt himself to modern ways of thought and the man who could soonest gather an enthusiastic following would be Zwingli. The remark opens a field

for curious speculation. Which of the four, for example, would be most amazed at the use to which his name is put to-day? To the Zurich Reformer Professor Walker does full justice. On the Eucharistic controversy he makes it clear that Zwingli's intense polemic was directed against every theory of physical presence in the elements, against that so strangely advocated by Luther quite as much as against the Roman view. The whole account of Zwingli's work at Zurich is excellently well done.

Not less successful is the presentation of John Calvin, his character and his influence. In distinguishing Calvin's views from those of his two predecessors the writer avoids the mistake of throwing their respective theologies into excessive contrast. He rightly lays stress on the fact that the difference between them was in many points difference of emphasis rather than of principle. His method of dealing with the problems of Calvin's policy and his government of Geneva is marked by candour and insight. And, in fact, this is one of the conspicuous qualities of the book and a very welcome one—the exceeding fairness of the author's judgments. This extends even to those who were opponents of the Reformation. A fairer estimate of the various personalities and forces which were engaged in the great struggle it would be difficult to find.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

## A History of the Church in Scotland from the Earliest Times down to the Present Day.

By John Macpherson, M.A., Author of "*Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians*," "*Christian Dogmatics*," etc. Paisley, and 26 Paternoster Square, London: Alexander Gardner, Publisher to His Majesty the King, 1901. 8vo, pp. viii. + 458. Price 7s. 6d.

BEFORE entering upon the field of ecclesiastical history, Mr. Macpherson had done good service in other departments of theological literature. In the series of handbooks for Bible classes and private students edited by Professor Dods and Dr. Whyte there are three that bear his name—*The Westminster Confession of Faith*, *The Sum of Saving Knowledge*, and *Presbyterianism*, all of which are executed with competent knowledge and insight. Then in the field of exegesis Mr. Macpherson has given us a *Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians*, and in that of systematic theology a work on *Christian Dogmatics*, both volumes displaying thorough acquaintance with the province to which they relate, and a decided gift of clear exposition.

And now, in the book bearing the above title, Mr. Macpherson comes before the reading public in the character of a Church historian. In a goodly octavo volume of 441 pages he undertakes to give his readers an account of ecclesiastical and religious movements in Scotland, from the original planting of Christianity down to the close of the nineteenth century. To the execution of this undertaking, he has brought to bear all those qualities which rendered him successful as annotator and expositor. Within the comparatively small compass of twelve chapters, we have a vast amount of well-digested information. The outlining and proportioning of the successive periods in the ecclesiastical

history of the country reveal a just appreciation of the relative importance of the movements, and the headings of the chapters are happily conceived and worded.

There are histories and histories. Some that profess to be such are merely chronicles, enumerating facts and factors, dates and deeds in a dull dry-as-dust fashion, with nothing of colour or atmosphere to render the narrative living and warm, with nothing that reveals appreciation of movements or insight into the forces that make the history of a people. To this class of historical writings there belongs worthy and wordy Wodrow's *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, and perilously near to it, if not actually within it, there come the eight cold and colourless volumes of John Hill Burton's *History of Scotland*.

Mr. Macpherson's work is more than a chronicle. It may not be one of original research such as that of Dr. Hume Brown—too many of the books mentioned by our author in the "Literature" prefixed to the several chapters are of second rate and even third rate value—and it may not rank alongside of that marvellous product of historical genius, John Richard Green's *Short History of the English People*. Still, it is history in the best sense of the word. It is the work of one who is a thinker as well as a chronicler, who has the artistic feeling in addition to the collecting instinct.

By some critics Mr. Macpherson may be charged with being too extreme and unqualified in his estimate of particular men and movements. In the chapter which deals with the "Ascendancy of the Moderates" he says of Principal Robertson's administration that, although it was extolled by many of his contemporaries and immediate successors, "by more recent critical historians of the Church and period it has been almost unanimously condemned". That is too sweeping a statement. Mr. Macpherson's chapter was probably written before the publication of Sir Henry Craik's *Century of Scottish History*, and so that most recent apology for moderation and the moderates could not modify his opinion as to the eighteenth century leader's place in present day estimation. But he surely is not ignorant of Principal John Cunningham's

estimate of the service rendered by Robertson in strengthening patronage and improving what the St. Andrews historian calls "the criminal procedure of the Church". Has he forgotten Dean Stanley's lecture on "The Moderation of the Church of Scotland," in which the policy of Dr. Robertson—that "model of ecclesiastical statesmanship, the true Archbishop of the Church of Scotland"—is lauded for its "complete independence of worldly influence combined with complete vindication of the superiority of the law to ecclesiastical caprices"? Moderatism has still its apologists, and Erastianism its advocates.

Other reviewers may find fault with our author's treatment of certain movements on the ground of inadequacy and of names conspicuous by absence. It certainly seems strange to read an otherwise admirable narrative of the 'Ten Years' Conflict, with its consequent separation, without ever coming upon the name of such a protagonist as Robert Smith Candlish. To some it will seem even more strange to find that neither at that crisis of the Church in Scotland, nor at any subsequent stage of her history, is James Begg so much as mentioned. Surely he was, in his day, as potent a factor in the ecclesiastical life of the country as, say, Dr. Robert Lee or "Mr. David Macrae of Gourrock," both of whom obtain mention in the closing chapter devoted to "Recent Ecclesiastical Developments and Religious Movements".

For such blemishes the author alone is responsible; but there are others responsibility for which must be shared jointly by author, printer and publisher. Either proof revision has been entrusted to an incompetent reader or portions of the book have been carried through the press with such extreme haste as not to admit of any revision at all. There are errors in spelling, and some of these rob the sentence in which they occur of all point. Thus Andrew Melville is made to call his sovereign, "God's silly vessel," instead of vassal; and the wife of John Welsh of Ayr—worthy daughter of John Knox—who repelled with scorn the suggestion of the same royal bully that she should persuade her husband to submit to the bishops, by spreading



out her apron and saying, "Please, your Majesty, I'd rather *keep* his head there," has the force and grim reference of her words taken out of them by the meaningless substitution of, "I would rather *keep* his head there".

There are inaccuracies in grammar, such as the coupling of a singular nominative with a plural verb, and *vice versa*. There are transpositions in the figures of dates, as for example when Benedict XIII., the anti-Pope, is stated to have claimed papal rank "from A.D. 1378 to A.D. 1714," and when, on page 243, the active persecution of John Brown of Wamphray is said to have begun "in May, 1762," although shortly before that the author of the *Apologetic Narration* is represented as "probably settled in Wamphray about 1638". And there are blunders not a few in the naming of places and persons. Thus the Galloway covenanters who captured Sir James Turner in Dumfries are represented as thereafter marching all the way to "Argyleshire" instead of stepping into Ayrshire. In the case of persons, Principal Hadow, the opponent of the Marrow men, figures as "Principal Haddow"; Thomas Colier, one of the founders of the Relief Church, as "Mr. Collier"; Lord Rutherford as "Mr. Rutherford afterwards a distinguished judge". John Brown of Haddington, author of the *Self-Interpreting Bible*, receives at the hands of Mr. Macpherson what no university conferred upon him during his life, the honorary degree of D.D.; and Sir Henry Moncreiff Wellwood, the biographer of Dr. John Erskine, suffers a double disfiguring of his name which appears in two successive chapters as "Sir H. Wellwood Moncrieff".

These and other inaccuracies are obviously slips either of the penman or the pressman. The exercise of a little care in revision of the proofs would have rectified them, and it is safe to predict they will not disfigure the pages of subsequent editions of a work which so amply merits reprinting.

C. G. MCCRIE.

## Sermons on Faith and Doctrine.

*By the late Benjamin Jowett, M.A., Master of Balliol College.  
Edited by the Very Rev. the Hon. W. H. Fremantle, D.D.,  
Dean of Ripon. London: Murray, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp.  
354. Price 7s. 6d.*

AN evident attempt to rescue a remnant of faith in the Unseen from extinction in many minds hard pressed by special temptations to unfaith, such as the last quarter of the nineteenth century presented, is the keynote of these discourses. A disciple, on the contrary, of St. Paul, echoing that Apostle's determination "to know nothing" among the doubters of our day, "but Jesus Christ and Him crucified," would find but little to foster his resolution, and, candour compels the avowal, would find not a little to shake it. Yet the attempt to find a common standing ground, where the rescue of that remnant may be effected, is boldly and honestly made; and may with a large class of minds be successful, or at any rate prove sympathetic and acceptable. True, this common ground is, from a Christian standpoint, largely neutral territory. The great primary attributes of God, Love, Justice and Truth, are repeatedly invoked. They emerge ever in the foreground; and the effect of their prominence is to overshadow all that is most characteristic of "God in Christ reconciling the world to Himself," through the incarnation and redemption effected by the Divine Son, and through the sanctifying and sacramental grace imparted by the Holy Spirit. The reader, indeed, rises from the perusal of these sermons with the thought, what a first-rate philosophic heathen the late Master of Balliol would have made, how enthusiastic a preceptor, how illustrious an example, of the Platonico-Pyrrhonist School! He might

have been "a guest" not "with Daniel at his pulse," but with Socrates at his pint of hemlock; might have discoursed of the good, the true, the beautiful, the ideal good as rooted in the idea of God, have insinuated a qualm of doubt as to the conclusiveness of the argument in the *Phaedo*, have shown how the doctrines of all the leading schools might be "reworded" into each other, and have ended by vowing the final cock to Asklepius, as the curtain fell.

"On Faith and Doctrine" is their assumed title, *i.e.*, on a faith independent of creeds and a doctrine which soars above dogma. Yet there are here and there noble passages which individually command assent and compel acceptance. Take, for instance, the statement on p. 15 of the inherent and insuperable "distance between man and the lower animals".

Even in his external characteristics the difference is enormous. How, in any struggle for existence, could the brain of man have been developed, which is said to be three times as great in proportion to his size as that of any known animal? How did he acquire his upright walk, or the divisions of his fingers, or the smoothness of his skin, all which might be useful or suitable to him in his human condition, but could not have tended to preserve him in his previous struggle. How did he learn to make or use tools, and especially the greatest of all of them, that is, fire? Who taught him language, or gave him the power of reflecting on himself, or imparted to him the reverence for a superior being, of which there seem to be no traces among the animals? . . . The approximation, though striking to the eye, is not in what is characteristic of man, but in what is not characteristic of him. Still the chasm remains between the jabbering of animals and the language of man, between the stationariness of animals and the progress of man, between the instinct or imitative powers of animals and the reason of man.

Again, in the "Additional Sermon on Friendship" we find some noble thoughts. There, indeed, the thinker's course was more unfettered. He had all the ancient world behind him where to choose, and justly remarks that, "partly owing to the different character of domestic life, the tie of friendship seems to have exercised a greater influence among the Greeks and Romans than among ourselves". He notes with enthusiasm the open door of friendship in youth; and after discussing the triple-graded friendship of "the ancients,"

adds, in reference to the highest kind, that "for the sake of the noble and the good":—

They seek to impart to one another the best which they have; they inspire one another with high and noble thoughts; they may sometimes rejoice together over the portion of their work which has been accomplished, and take counsel about that which remains to be done. . . . They desire, if I may use a homely expression, to keep one another up to the mark; not to allow indolence, or eccentricity, or weakness, to overgrow and spoil their lives.

Again, who would not concur heartily in the following founded on "One having authority" (St. Matt. vii. 29)?

In the exercise of authority there must be a basis of kindness and goodwill; but many other qualities are also required in those who would influence or control others. Perhaps there must be a degree of reserve, for the world is governed not by many words but by few, and nothing is more inconsistent with the real exercise of power than rash and inconsiderate talking. We are not right in communicating to others every chance thought that may arise in our minds about ourselves or about them.

As a counsel of prudence, from one who had felt the cares of office, this reads masterly.

The following gives probably a truer key to the preacher's mental standpoint than any other of equal length:—

It is not absurd sometimes to discard the ordinary use of language, and to seek to form a conception of religious truths without employing the technical terms in which theologians have described them. Half the controversies in the world would have been at an end, if this condition had been imposed upon them, neither can we really understand religious or any other propositions if we are unable to "re-word" them.

And the preacher invites us to see what follows, if we apply this method to "our judgment of men"; adding, "we can no longer divide them into theists and atheists, religious and irreligious," etc. Of course, when for exact language inexact is substituted, all tests become hazy and all distinctions, which the exact imposes, tend to vanish. In proportion as a science is exact, it at once becomes unscientific by the process, and loose thought follows loose language. Try it by "re-wording" a proposition of Euclid. "Too severe a test," some one would say. Well then, try it by re-wording

an Act of Parliament, or the medical diagnosis of diseases. No sane man would attempt this happy-go-lucky method with any subject which he regarded as supremely of importance. Jowett did not regard theological distinctions as important, and therefore recommends the experiment *in vili corpore*, as it appeared to him. Of course, as a mere mental exercise for ourselves, such "re-wording" may have its use; but to erect it into a practical standard of judgment, which he clearly does, is to trifle with the truth which language was meant to guard.

He gives us in effect a sample of his method on p. 351, where, as an illustration of how friendship may flow out of a religious principle, he quotes, and at once re-words, Ps. lv. 14 (Heb. 15). "'They walked together in the house of God as friends';<sup>1</sup> that is, if I may venture to paraphrase the words, 'They served God together in doing good to His creatures'." There is something approaching a travesty in this sample. The thought of the original founds companionship on the most solemn act of Divine worship in the temple; the preacher distorts it into human beneficence outside. "Peter and John went up into the temple at the hour of prayer," and on their way healed the impotent man outside. The actions which the sacred narrative distinguishes, Dr. Jowett by his "re-wording" confounds. In short to "re-word" means "to explain religion quite away".

And this compels the further remark that the preacher's quotations, in his treatment of them, lose their original point, and come in merely as garnish to a preconceived idea. So he treats Rom. xi. 32, and Gal. iii. 22 (of "God concluding all in unbelief," or "under sin"). St. Paul's context in each case shows that his meaning refers to the special mercy of salvation through Christ being thrown open to all without preference. The preacher uses them as if declaring a wholesale mercy to those who have never heard of the name

<sup>1</sup>The phrase "as friends" is wide of the mark: "in the (festal) crowd" is Bishop Perowne's rendering: "with the throng" is R. V. Dr. Jowett here follows the paraphrase, misleading in this instance, of the Prayer-Book Psalter.

of the Saviour. St. Paul's argument in Rom. x. 13 f., "whosoever shall call upon the name . . . shall be saved. How then . . . call on him in whom they have not believed? How . . . believe in him of whom they have not heard," etc., would be an *argumentum nihili* with the preacher. He would probably not shrink from re-wording the Lord's Prayer, the baptismal formula, and the apostolic benediction.

On p. 246, repeated in effect on p. 249, we have the astounding statement, "The life of Christ is the life of a private man, which stands in no relation to the history of the Jewish nation". Surely Our Lord's own words before the High Priest (St. John xviii. 20), "I ever taught in the synagogue and in the temple whither the Jews always resort; and *in secret have I said nothing*," are an express contradiction of the preacher; just as the entire acts and words of the Holy Week are a general refutation of his statement. Even the chief priests and Caiaphas knew better than this (xi. 48, 50, 51). They saw clearly the closest relation between His "life" and their "nation," and took their measures expressly on that ground.

So on the even more vital and awful question of what men may pray for (p. 255), one too deep in its roots to be argued here; it is enough to say that every one of the Lord's own healing mercies contradicts the canon which the preacher seeks to lay down. Finally, the sermon on immortality (pp. 317 f.) is argued throughout without any definite reference to the Resurrection of Christ as its basis in fact. The sublime words, "I am the Resurrection and the Life," nowhere appear; while a statement on p. 321 (bottom), "Nor, again, should I be disposed to rest the belief in immortality on *any past fact, once happening in the course of the world's history*" (our italics), appears explicitly to renounce any such basis. How far this squares with the universal tenor of apostolic preaching, "Jesus and the Resurrection," and more particularly with St. Paul's express and elaborate vindication of it in 1 Cor. xv. 12-18, any average reader can judge for himself.

HENRY HAYMAN.

**Pro Patria! Sermons on Special Occasions] in England and America.**

*By Rev. C. W. Stubbs, Dean of Ely. London: Elliot Stock.*  
Pp. 182. Price 6s.

**"I say unto you."**

*By J. W. Owen, B.A. Oxon.. Melbourne: Melville Mullen & Slade.* Pp. viii. + 220. Price 7s. 6d.

**Studies of the Portrait of Christ, Vol. II.**

*By Dr. George Matheson. London: Hodder & Stoughton.* Pp. 357. Price 6s.

**Evening Thoughts.**

*By Rev. Paton J. Gloag, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.*  
Cr. 8vo. Pp. 284. Price 4s.

**The Miracles of Jesus, as Marks of the Way of Life.**

*By Rev. Cosmo G. Lang, M.A. London: Isbister.* Cr. 8vo.  
Pp. 296. Price 6s.

THE contents of the first volume would be more accurately described as addresses. They are hardly sermons. They deal with subjects of the most diverse character. "A Thanksgiving for Shakespeare," "The Rosary of St. Michael," "The May Festival of Church and Labour," "The Health Right of the People," are among the titles, and give a very fair idea of the scope of these collected addresses.

It is right to say, as the author explains, that the publication is due more to importunities for a memorial volume, than to there being any confident message, or even to their own intrinsic importance. The different subjects have no interrelation, other than the well-known attitude of the Dean to

Christian social thought and life. These several addresses have not the continuity of thought that many readers will remember in *Village Politics*. The truth is they are very loosely thrown together. A lumbering sentence like the following is not uncommon. "It is the contention indeed of those who accept the Christian philosophy of history as the true one, that the struggle for liberty in its various forms which has in effect been the subject of the civil history of modern Europe since the time of Christ, is directly to be traced to the primary Christian doctrine of the intrinsic value of the human soul as such" (p. 166).

By far the best of the addresses are one on International Peace, a luminous statement made at the Hague in the Embassy Chapel when the International Peace Commission was sitting there; and one on the Creed of Christian Socialism. The latter is diffuse, and, in regard to the form, open to criticism; but has the directness and thoroughness which characterise the author's works whenever he has the necessary leisure to mature expression.

The book is fresh and interesting, though fragmentary.

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Mr. Owen's book is a somewhat elaborate effort to state afresh the supreme authority of Christ. There is a feeling of strain throughout the work. Terms are changed, sometimes gratuitously; as when the author adopts for the Apocalypse "*The Book of the Unveiling*"; the word "*Katholick*" as a protest against the exclusive use of Catholic by a single school or church.

The author describes his work as an essay in constructive religious meliorism. The first forty-five pages are taken up with prefatory note, another note of ten pages on the due use of terms, and an autobiographical introduction. In this last he narrates previous mental and moral errancy. To avoid the constant repetition of "writer," the name of "*The Outcast*" has been assumed, partly that it may stir some kind-hearted people's sympathy and so incline their ears to hear, and partly because it truly describes, to himself at



least, the position in which his expression of what he has come to regard as the Way of Truth seems to have landed him, in great measure, for the remaining days of his earthly pilgrimage (p. 14).

A curious limitation appears, however, in his reactionary doctrine of the Church. Schism is still a fearful bogey in his imagination, although to other minds equally loyal to Christ that which he so describes would mean evangelic freedom.

The book is an earnest, honest piece of work ; but has not the sharp personal imprint that betokens the true teacher.

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Dr. Matheson has been encouraged by the cordial reception of his first volume to prepare these later studies for the press. The scope of the present volume is from the Feeding of the Multitude at Bethsaida Julias to the supreme event on Calvary. There is a continuation of the same method as in the former work. The human development of Jesus is again the leading purpose. We have the same rare insight, occasional extravagance of fancy and interpretation, boldness of penetration and independent imagination everywhere. Certain words seem to fascinate him for the time being, getting down on the paper by their own importunity rather than because they are the most apposite word at the moment ; "glittered" is an instance on pp. 2, 218.

There is much pleasant and helpful reading of a stimulating and devotional kind ; but the author does not attain the same uniform excellence as in the first volume. In particular the devotional paragraphs appended to each chapter are not so spontaneous. They are indeed more of the nature of soliloquies than of prayers. The work is fresh and a real help to the devout life ; and is cordially to be welcomed alike for its strength and beauty.

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Dr. Gloag has brought together in this volume some thirty sermons. They are representative of his ministry of fifty years. The book is of the nature of a memorial volume. It

is dedicated to the three parishes in Scotland where the author laboured; and his old people are sure to welcome this remembrance of days that are gone.

The subjects are not consecutive. Great variety indeed obtains. All are either ethical or doctrinal; they all touch practical life. Among the themes may be mentioned: Christian Courage, The Test of Experience, Angels Examining the Scheme of Salvation, Immortality the Characteristic and Responsibility of Man, The Joy of Jesus. They are earnest, even statements of doctrine, duty and aspiration.

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Mr. Lang gives us a notable volume of sermons. They are very human, simple, earnest, lucid, luminous. They place the author in the front rank of Anglican preachers.

There is nothing showy or pretentious. Learning is not obtrusive; but the knowledge of the human heart is intimate and wide. They are not apologetic sermons. Neither are they mere hortatory spiritualisings of the miracles. There is a strenuous directness and an intense devoutness which give singular power to these pages. The restatement of the miracle aims at and as a rule strikes the conscience. The spiritual significance is seized upon, skilfully illustrated and enforced. It is always fresh and suggests some pregnant truth of life.

Any of the chapters will show the method. Take the very first: The Water made Wine. There are four sections: 1, Jesus at the Marriage Feast; 2, Jesus and His Mother; 3, The Water and the Wine of Life; 4, The Best at the Last.

The treatment of the man sick of the palsy may also be instanced. Again there are four sections: 1, The Faith of Friends; 2, The Secret of the Sick Man; 3, Social Palsy; 4, Forgiveness.

"The faith of the friends availed for the sick man's healing. . . . The linking of lives is one of the common mysteries of the world. The forces that mould men's lives have often their springs in the lives of others" (pp. 62, 63).

“ But how is it (repentance) to be aroused? Many of the older methods avail no longer. Threats have lost their terror. It is vain now to draw pictures of the doom of the sinner, such warnings were once too common; they have lost their power. . . . The face of the man in the street as he listens to the appeals of a street preacher is a sign of the times. The sense of sin, the revival of conscience, can only come through the attractive constraining power of a vision of goodness. The man sick of the palsy must be brought into the presence of Christ. . . .” (p. 73).

“ There is some old sin, haunting ever the chambers of memory, restless, unappeased. There is some ‘root of bitterness springing up’ and spreading its bane over all the energies of the soul. It may be in itself apparently small, a grudge, perhaps, which I will not forget; a resentment which I will not conquer. It may be a crossness of temper; an indulged irritability; a germ of jealousy; an uncontrolled looseness of speech; a habit of censorious judgment; a love of gossip; a reluctance to pierce softness of living with the sacrifice of discipline. . . .” (pp. 67, 68).

These are specimens of passages all through the book. The book is so strong and worthy that it is an ungracious task to so much as intimate blemishes. In a second edition, however, such a barbarism as “scything,” “a peasant scything the grass” should be removed.

W. B. COOPER.

### **1. Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament.**

*Eight Lectures on the Lyman Beecher Foundation, Yale University, U.S.A. By George Adam Smith, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Old Testament Language and Literature, United Free Church of Scotland College, Glasgow. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1901. 8vo, pp. xii. + 325. Price 6s.*

### **2. Student's Hebrew Grammar, with Exercises and Vocabularies.**

*By Michael Adler, B.A., Minister of Hammersmith and West Kensington Synagogue; Senior Hebrew Master at the Jews' Free School, London. London: D. Nutt, 1901. 8vo, pp. viii. + 196. Price 3s. 6d. net.*

### **3. Die Geschichtlichkeit des Sinaibundes.**

*Untersucht von F. Giesebrecht, Professor der Theologie an der Universität Königsberg. Königsberg i. Pr.: Thomas & Oppermann; London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. 8vo, pp. 65. Price 1s. 2d. net.*

### **4. Studien zur Religions- und Sprachgeschichte des Alten Testaments.**

*Von Dr. Willy Staerk, Lic. Theol. II. Heft (I. Prolegomena zu einer Geschichte der israelitischen Vätersage; II. zur Geschichte der hebräischen Volksnamen). Berlin: G. Reimer, 1899. 8vo, pp. vi. + 85. Price M.3.*

### **5. Ueber die Abfassungszeit des Tritojesaia.**

*Von Dr. Eno Littmann. Freiburg i. B., Leipzig und Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. vi. + 52. Price M.1.50.*

**6. Der Gottesknecht des Deuterojesaja.**

*Eine kritisch-exegetische und biblisch-theologische Studie von Lic. Theol. Gerhard Füllkrug. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; London: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. vii. + 119. Price 3s.*

1. IF justice is to be done to Professor G. A. Smith's book, its title must be noted—*Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament*. Its aim is not to establish critical results but to popularise them and to show their practical bearing. The Old Testament scholar will find little information here that is new to him, but to the working minister and the educated layman the book is meant to fill what is widely felt to be at present a serious gap. Dr. Smith has special qualifications that fit him to mediate between the expert and "the man in the street". He speaks at once with knowledge of his subject and sympathy with the perplexities of a transition period. He has the gift of clear exposition and the command of interesting language. Himself a born preacher, he may be listened to with confidence as he shows the preacher how to use the Old Testament, and fixes on the points that are of permanent homiletical value. At the present juncture the book before us possesses something of the character of a manifesto, similar to the interesting and suggestive article, "The Old Testament in the Light of To-day," by Dr. Driver in the *Expositor* of January last.

The eight lectures that make up the present volume were delivered before the Yale University in 1899, and are printed very much as they were spoken, except that into some of them additional matter has been introduced, based upon three more recent works, Driver's essay in Hogarth's *Authority and Archaeology*, Budde's lectures on the *Religion of Israel before the Exile*, and Charles's *Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life*. Lecture VII. has been entirely rewritten for the purpose of introducing a detailed account of the influence of the prophets upon the social ethics of Christendom.

Although, as we have said already, our author does not seek here to *establish* the results accepted by modern criticism, he finds it necessary in the first two lectures to pave the way for the practical treatment followed in the other six.

Lecture I. seeks to prove from the New Testament that Old Testament criticism is not only a liberty but a duty. While we find Jesus and His Apostles treating the old Testament as of abiding validity, Jesus yet deals very freely with some of the requirements of the Law. While the Apostles of our Lord manifestly believed even in the inspiration of the text of the Old Testament, their methods raise critical questions at every turn. Not only do they cite extra-canonical writings and appeal to questionable traditions (1 Cor. ii. 9; Heb. xi. 37; Jude 9, 14 f.), but they quote the Old Testament for the most part in the Septuagint version, and that even in cases where the Greek conveys an opposite sense from that intended by the original writer (1 Cor. xv. 55). They quote from memory, they mix up different Old Testament passages, and appear at times (*e.g.*, 1 Cor. ii. 9) to fuse an Apocryphal quotation with one from Isaiah. Still more remarkable is the Apostles' exegesis in some instances (*e.g.*, 1 Cor. ix. 9; 2 Cor. iii. 13 ff.; Gal. iv. 22 ff.). From all the phenomena taken together, Dr. Smith considers that we may infer, on the one hand, the abiding value of the Old Testament for the life and doctrine of the Christian Church, but, on the other hand, that the Church is not bound to obedience to all its laws or to belief in all its teachings. She must discriminate, as her Master did, and she will be helped to do this by facing the problems of textual, literary and historical criticism. The author appears to us to accomplish his purpose in this lecture, and that in a fashion which has a good deal of originality about it.

Lecture II. gives within the compass of 44 pages one of the best sketches we are acquainted with of the course and character of modern criticism. Our author has no difficulty in showing, in the first place, that the historical criticism of the Old Testament is neither so recent in its origin nor so precarious in its results as is often alleged. It had its

pioneers as long ago as Simon (1680) and Astruc (1753), and the movement was carried forward by Eichhorn, Ilgen (the discoverer of the second Elohist), Geddes, Vater, de Wette, Bleek, Ewald and Hupfeld (who arrived independently of Ilgen at his results and established them on a sounder basis). In this way, as Dr. Smith points out, the main lines of the analysis of the Hexateuch had been laid down before the middle of the nineteenth century, and all subsequent investigations have only confirmed and developed them. We need not linger on the services rendered by more recent critics, like Kuenen, Wellhausen, Robertson Smith, Driver, Briggs, who have also done much for the prophetic and poetical books. Scripture students who have worked hard on the Old Testament for years *know* that criticism has been victorious all along the line, and that the traditional conception of the Old Testament is as completely superseded as the Ptolemaic conception of astronomy. The strength of the critical position, as Dr. Smith shows, lies in the fact that its grounds are historical not philosophical, that its conclusions are reached *a posteriori*, by induction, and not *a priori*, as part of a system. Our author is equally convincing when he shows that there is no antagonism between criticism and archæology.

Lecture III. is one to which many will turn with interest. Under the title "The Historical Basis in the Old Testament" it deals with the question, What does criticism leave us in the Old Testament? Addressing himself especially to preachers, Dr. Smith points out to them how much there is in the historical books (leaving out of account for the moment the Hexateuch) whose authenticity is unquestioned, *e.g.*, the Song of Deborah, the Dirge upon Saul and Jonathan; that many of the stories of the Judges are universally accepted as historical; and that with Samuel we enter upon real and indubitable history. He notes too, in passing, the relief that criticism affords the preacher, relief sometimes *intellectual* (as when it shows him that we have often duplicate narratives of the same event, as, for instance, David's introduction to Saul), at other times *moral* (as when

it proves that David's dying charge to Solomon in 1 Kings ii. is probably late and unhistorical). How rich, again, in homiletical material is the story of Elijah! And even if, with the great majority of recent critics, the Davidic element in the Psalms has to be reduced to very meagre proportions, the religious value of the Psalter does not suffer. Nor are the profound moral and religious truths with which the stories of the Creation and the Fall are charged, discredited by the fact that their framework is myth and legend similar to what we have recovered from Babylonia. Even the historical value of the early chapters of Genesis, he thinks, is not wholly destroyed by their legendary character (p. 92). The stories of the patriarchs, although in them personal and tribal history are often confused, and later conceptions and conditions transferred to an early date, have at the heart of them historical elements. But, more important, the power of these narratives on the heart, the imagination, the faith of men can never die.

Lecture IV. deals with the evidence for a Divine Revelation in Israel. Our author finds in Israel's *ethical* attainments before the eighth century the distinction between her religion and that of the other Semites; traces the source of this to the introduction to the nation of Jahweh as their God; and pronounces every stage of its progress to have been achieved in connection with some impression of His character. Very interesting is Dr. Smith's criticism of Dr. Budde's utterances upon Israel's choice of Jahweh. The whole argument in this lecture is so constructed, as the author himself allows, as to produce its full force on the mind only of a believer in the Incarnation. But "if we recognise that God was in Christ revealing Himself to men and accomplishing their redemption, it cannot be difficult for us to understand how at first, under the form of a tribal deity—the only conception of the Divine nature of which the Semitic mind was capable—He gradually made known His true character and saving grace".

Lecture V. deals with the spirit of Christ in the Old Testament and deals very satisfactorily with such subjects as typology and Messianic prophecy. By the way, we regret



to find Dr. Smith still holding to the *individual* sense of the servant of Jahweh in Isaiah liii., a view which we hope to see abandoned before long. At present, however, if our author errs, he errs in good and numerous company.

Lecture VI. is one of the finest in the book. The English reader who wishes to learn what were the beliefs and the hopes of men in Old Testament times regarding immortality, will find here a statement at once clear and exhaustive. With scarcely a word of it are we inclined to disagree, and we would specially note, as helpful to the preacher, section 3, entitled "The Use to our own Day". We have, indeed, seen exception taken to the paragraph on p. 213 beginning "Yet . . . it is well for us all sometimes to pitch our religious life in terms which do not include the hope of a future". Read, however, *in its connexion*, there is not a wiser, a truer, or a nobler paragraph in the book.

Lecture VII., in which well-merited tributes are paid to Professors A. B. Davidson and W. R. Smith for their services to the Prophetic literature, deals with the preaching of the prophets to their own times, with some account of their influence upon the social ethics of Christendom.

Lecture VIII. shows how the Christian preacher may find valuable material for his purpose in the Wisdom literature of the Hebrews. In both lectures there is a great deal of instruction, and not a little with an intensely practical bearing, but we must ask readers to go to the volume and discover this for themselves.

Dr. G. A. Smith is a scholar who knows whereof he affirms, and it is well to remember that the verdict of *scholarship* will be the final verdict on the points treated of in this volume. He is at the same time aware of the responsibilities of scholarship. The work he has done here had to be done, and he has done it well. We trust that his book will find its way into the hands of many an earnest perplexed student of Scripture, for sure we are that the only safe "Lines of defence of the Biblical Revelation" (the sad misnomer of Professor Margoliouth's extraordinary articles in last year's *Expositor*) are such as are here laid down.

2. Mr. Adler, already known as the author of *Elements of Hebrew Grammar*, has published a useful manual entitled *Student's Hebrew Grammar*. In relation to such a work as Kautzsch-Gesenius it occupies an intermediate stage, a good deal less advanced than the unrivalled *Grammar* of Professor A. B. Davidson. We have gone pretty carefully through the book, and have been specially struck with the skill displayed in the construction of the exercises. The *why*, as distinguished from the *that* (e.g., in the matter of the declension of nouns) is not so clearly explained as in Davidson's *Grammar*. The hints for learning the verb (pp. 79, 80) are, as the author claims for them, very helpful. We regret to have to add that the reading of the proof-sheets cannot have been very carefully attended to, for not a few slips have been overlooked which detract from the value of a work intended for *beginners*. We refer especially to the incomplete pointing of Hebrew words in many cases where it was meant to be complete. And why is Professor Kautzsch's name uniformly misspelt "Kautsch"?

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3. Dr. Giesebrecht has done well to publish this pamphlet, which has grown out of a lecture he delivered at Königsberg. It deals with an interesting and difficult subject. While the historicity of a sojourn of Israel in Goshen, and of their Exodus thence under the leadership of Moses is increasingly admitted by historical criticism, a very large proportion of Old Testament scholars, headed by Wellhausen, continue to question the narrative (Exod. xx. ff., xxxiv.) of the Sinai covenant. The literary difficulties that surround this problem have long been familiar, and still more formidable are the objections from the side of the supposed religious development of Israel. Was the ancient popular notion not that of a *natural* relation between Jahweh and Israel? What place or need was there for establishing by "covenant" a relation which was a matter of course? Is not the whole conception of a covenant entered into at Sinai the product of reflection based on the ethical monotheism of the prophets? The pamphlet before us seeks to answer these questions and to meet the

objections, which are most fully and fairly stated. Giesebrecht believes that he can trace the monotheism of Amos much further back, through men like Micaiah ben Imla and Elijah, to Moses himself, and he certainly succeeds in establishing the probability that a *choice* was made at Sinai, whether of Jahweh by Israel or of Israel by Jahweh, which may be represented as a "covenant". He appears also to meet not unsuccessfully the objection founded upon the meagre, if at all existent, references to such a covenant in the older historical and prophetical literature. We cannot, however, follow him in placing the weight he is inclined to do upon passages like Hos. vi. 7 and viii. 1.

The pamphlet merits and will repay careful study, were it for nothing more than the clear account it gives of the *status quaestionis*.

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4. This is the second and final instalment of Dr. Staerk's preliminary investigations with a view to a history of the Israelitish patriarchal stories. It deals first with the figures of the Jacob story: Jacob-Israel, Esau-Edom, Leah and Rachel, Reuben, Simeon and Levi, Dan, Joseph and Ephraim and Manasseh, Benjamin. Similar conclusions are reached to those which were formerly put forward regarding Abraham, Isaac, etc. An important part of the work is that which deals with place names and sacred spots, Sodom and Gomorrah, Beer-sheba, Hebron, Moriah, etc. Then comes, finally, a section on the history of Hebrew national names, Israel, Jeshurun, Samaria, Jerusalem and Zion. Every student of the history of Israel will find material of value in the investigations of Dr. Staerk, which are conducted in a strictly scientific spirit, and will await with interest the appearance of the work for which the foundation has now been laid.

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5. Deutero-Isaiah has long been an accepted fact, and Trito-Isaiah (the author postulated by Duhm and others for Isa. lvi.-lxvi.) is striving hard to gain a permanent footing in the domain of Old Testament scholarship. The object

of Dr. Littmann in the pamphlet before us is not to prove that the above chapters do not belong to Deutero-Isaiah (this is rather taken for granted), but to fix their date. He finds sufficient grounds, linguistic and those connected with the subject-matter, for assigning lvi.-lxiii. 6, lxv., lxvi., to one author, Trito-Isaiah proper, who wrote after the interruption of the building of the walls, but before the arrival of Nehemiah (*i.e.*, between 457 and 445). He ascribes lxiii. 7-lxiv. to an earlier period (538-520) and to a different pen. Some of Littmann's arguments, notably those based on supposed allusions to the Samaritans in chapters lvii., lxv. and lxvi., appear to us to be rather precarious, but that he has made a contribution of real value to the discussion of the question will be admitted by all competent judges.

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6. Dr. Füllkrug writes with full knowledge of the points at issue in the Ebed-Jahweh controversy, and he has given us a very full and interesting discussion of these in the work before us, which consists of two studies, a critico-exegetical and a biblico-theological. In both there is much valuable matter, and the book may be commended to all, while it will receive a specially warm welcome in some quarters. At the same time we have to confess for ourselves that there is not a little in it from which we dissent, and in particular we differ entirely from the author when he makes the Servant to be in the mind of the prophet a personage of the *future*, who is to deliver Israel from exile. The soteriological elements in the Servant conception can be conserved without an interpretation which appears to us to be inconsistent with many passages and required by none.

J. A. SELBIE.

## A Century of Scottish History.

*By Sir Henry Craik, C.B. Edinburgh and London: Wm. Blackwood & Sons, 1901. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. xiii. + 486, x. + 472. Price 30s. net.*

SIR HENRY CRAIK'S sketch of the making of Modern Scotland "from the days before the '45 to those within living memory" appeals to two distinct interests. Of the historical chapters of his book we do not propose to speak here. They are always carefully and often brilliantly written, and they constitute a notable addition to the sources of recent history. The philosophical and ecclesiastical side of the work will more naturally attract the readers of the CRITICAL REVIEW, and to this portion of the story we intend to confine our remarks. The only portion of the book which we might venture to describe as inadequate, is the chapter dealing with the Scottish Universities and the Scottish Philosophy, and such inadequacy arises from the fact that the North of Scotland has not the honour to number Sir Henry Craik among its sons. All Scottish historians should belong to the North; Edinburgh and Glasgow will always command sufficient attention from the Aberdonian press; but what justice can Aberdeen expect from the South, which (like virtue) is self-sufficient? In dealing with Aberdeen, Sir Henry Craik's wonted accuracy deserts him entirely; he has even forgotten that Aberdeen like England once possessed two Universities. The result of forgetting the existence of Aberdeen has more than once led to disastrous results, and a just fate has not permitted Sir Henry Craik to escape. Thus he tells us that Regenting was abolished in Aberdeen in 1754, and a few pages later mentions that it was in full force during Reid's tenure of office of 1751-1766 (Sir Henry Craik says 1752, but that is Dugald Stewart's error). Both statements are partially correct; Marischal

College abolished the regenting system and King's (under Reid's own guidance) maintained it for fifty years more. Reid, by the way, would not have described King's College as his *Alma Mater* nor Beattie as his colleague in the Professorship of Philosophy. It is a piece of poetical justice that almost all of Sir Henry Craik's few lapses from accuracy should occur in dealing with Reid, the only Aberdonian who atoned for his sin of birth by migrating to Glasgow. Reid did not visit in 1738 "his uncle David Gregory, Professor of Astronomy at Oxford" (that great and good man had died two years before Reid was born), but his cousin, David Gregory, Professor of Modern History. May we add that an Aberdonian, in writing of Reid, could not have omitted a reference to his influence upon Cousin and French philosophy in the early part of the nineteenth century. Sir Henry Craik's injustice to Aberdeen is not confined to Reid. It was scarcely fair to say so much of Beattie and nothing of a much greater than Beattie, Principal George Campbell, the author of the *Dissertation on Miracles* and the *Philosophy of Rhetoric*. And lastly, Sir Henry has brought against the Universities of Aberdeen the serious indictment of having "apparently neglected the injunction" of the Commission of 1695 to prepare compendiums on "the generall and speciall physicks". When did Aberdeen neglect any duty? The MSS. in question are still preserved to meet Sir Henry's slanders: and, not only so, but they are preserved in Edinburgh, and so might be thought to have merited attention. The King's College MS. is in the Library of the University of Edinburgh, and the Marischal College MS. in the Register House. All this, too, occurs in a chapter in which we frequently have the author at his best; his sketches of Hutcheson, Hume, Adam Smith and Dugald Stewart are written with a sympathetic insight into their characters and aims, which none can earn who were born North of the Forth. Five years spent in Aberdeen should be an indispensable qualification for the historians of Scotland.

When we turn to the ecclesiastical chapters of the book, we find Sir Henry Craik a doughty champion of the Moder-

ates. In his second chapter, he defends the Patronage Act of 1712, on the ground that it rendered possible the existence of the Moderate party, and he describes the Patronage Act of 1874 as the result of one of "those strange moods of compli-  
 ance which sacrifice principle to popularity," and of "a vain attempt to conciliate irreconcilable opponents". We agree with Sir Henry Craik that the Moderates have received but scant justice, but we doubt if the growth of a more liberal spirit in the Church can entirely be attributed to the Patronage Act. For the more extreme Presbyterians had either refused to enter the Establishment in 1689 or had been offended by the Union of 1707, and the Evangelical party were never devoid of representatives who "passed beyond a conception of religion founded upon Hebraic models, and found interest and occupation in literature and in the general intercourse of the world". Moreover, Sir Henry Craik has to acknowledge, later on, that the passing of the Act was a gross breach of faith on the part of the English Parliament which had covenanted to maintain the Church of Scotland as it existed at the Union of the Kingdoms. To this infamous Act is due directly or indirectly almost every division in the ranks of Scottish Presbyterianism. We decline, by the way, to hear, even from so staunch an advocate of party principles, anything about "irreconcilable opponents" in Scotland; they are unknown in the twentieth century.

Sir Henry Craik's account of matters ecclesiastical is written entirely from this standpoint, and we expect from him, accordingly, a satisfactory treatment of the great epoch of moderation. Nor are we disappointed, for he has given us the first concise and adequate description of the Church under moderate rule, and without unduly minimising the merits of their opponents. His treatment of Alexander Webster of the Tolbooth is, for instance, eminently fair. Into the Disruption controversy we do not propose to enter. Sir Henry Craik seems to us to take things a little too seriously when he says that "no government could have satisfied claims which in their very essence were inconsistent with the supremacy of civil law," and a little too lightly when he

sympathises with smiles evoked by "the solemn guise of enthusiastic heroism which religious contentions, conscientiously no doubt, but sometimes mistakenly, assume". On many of the controversial issues raised in the book we should be constrained to differ from Sir Henry Craik. We therefore the more willingly acknowledge the many merits of his book: its pleasant style, its wide outlook, its sense of proportion, and its loyalty to Scotland. It is an essay which no subsequent student can afford to ignore.

ROBERT S. RAIT.



### Publications diverses sur le Fidéisme.

*Par Eugene Ménégoz. Paris: Fischbacher, 1900. 8vo.  
Pp. 425.*

MORE than twenty years ago M. Ménégoz published a little work entitled *Réflexions sur l'Évangile du salut*. The brochure was a brief and summary statement of a certain view of the nature and contents of Christian faith. During the interval between that publication and the present time, M. Ménégoz had occasion to amplify his doctrine and explain its bearings, in the course of his New Testament studies; and throughout that period, as his views attracted attention and gained influence, they also excited a certain amount of controversy, especially in French Protestant circles. The present volume is a collection of the various contributions made by M. Ménégoz to discussion and controversy upon the nature of faith, since the first publication of his *Réflexions*. A book so constructed out of occasional writings is necessarily lacking in outward unity and coherence; and many of the pieces included in it are of a slight and fugitive character; but the general effect of the whole is undoubtedly to set the writer's main positions in clear relief. In viewing his problem from many different points and answering a variety of objections, Ménégoz maintains a clear and simple doctrine with great consistency and tenacity; and in spite of its apparently miscellaneous character the book leaves a single impression upon the mind. In fact, it must be allowed that the method adopted forms an admirable introduction to the author's system of ideas, and that many of the shorter fragments, which are in truth no more than letters to journals, shed rays of illumination upon cardinal points. Besides controversial pieces, articles and addresses on various occasions are included in the volume; and relevant passages from the author's pub-

lished works. The original *Réflexions* are republished by way of introduction to the whole, and well serve the purpose of a summary or conspectus of the writer's position. The work of 1879 was a brilliant little performance: although no more than a sketch it was wonderfully complete in outline; the bearings of the central principle upon the various aspects of Christian life and heads of Christian theology were rapidly glanced at, and the main points of a revised theological system filled in with a light but firm hand.

The new book may be described as a collection of essays and suggestions towards a true view of the nature of saving faith, and the relations of saving faith to historical belief and theological dogma.

The chief purpose of M. Ménégoz in his various writings upon faith has been to distinguish faith from belief in theological dogma. In this effort, however, he has not been actuated (at least according to his own profession and intention) by the spirit of negation. He expressly bases the distinction of faith (*la foi*) from intellectual belief (*les croyances*) upon religious grounds, and argues for it as an application of the great evangelical and Protestant principles of the *simplicity* and the *spirituality* of faith. It is, he says, the essentially Christian view of life and religion that we are saved by *faith alone*, and that faith is of a moral nature—a movement of the whole personality, a spiritual quality and a spiritual act.

He accuses orthodoxy (so called) of contradicting in effect this fundamental Christian principle. The elder orthodoxy, as is well known—Catholic and Protestant alike—solemnly declared that whosoever did not firmly “believe” the dogmas proclaimed in the Athanasian Creed (*Symbolum Quicunque*) should without doubt perish everlastingly (*absque dubio in aeternum peribit*). Next, since for Protestantism all that it was needful to believe for salvation was contained in the Bible, belief in the Bible and in a certain view of its authority (*croire à la Bible in abstracto*) was understood to be involved in saving faith. Something more than the intellectual assent was required; but the intellectual assent was always

presupposed. The "enlightened orthodoxy of the present day" (l'orthodoxie mitigée moderne) has somewhat modified this view of what is essential to saving faith. It has pared down and attenuated its demands in the way of theological and historical belief; some of its exponents have reduced them to a *minimum*. There remain, however, certain dogmas and certain facts to which by the nature of the case only an intellectual assent is possible, and intellectual assent to which is considered to be a constituent element in saving "faith". (See pp. 30, 220, 252, 267.)

A singular distinction has arisen (M. Ménégos remarks in one place) which was unknown to the Reformers, between essential and non-essential Christian facts (des petits faits chrétiens et des grands faits chrétiens). The line of distinction is variously drawn by different individuals among our modern "enlightened" theologians. "This is excessively convenient." It allows each to class among "small matters" those narratives which he does not believe or which he permits his friends to disbelieve, but to reckon as essentials of faith what he himself holds to be historically true and will not permit to be doubted. The domain of non-essentials is in our day, says M. Ménégos, being progressively enlarged. The region of "essential facts" is by many orthodox theologians reduced to the supernatural conception and bodily resurrection of Christ (p. 220).

M. Ménégos suggests that this whole mode of reasoning proceeds upon a false conception of the nature of faith, and of its relation to revelations of God and the truths of the Gospel.

He defines faith as "the consecration of the soul to God". It is (to quote his own words) "un acte intérieur, libre, personnel, correspondant au péché et accompli dans la même domaine central de la vie spirituelle, un acte du moi tout entier, par lequel l'homme s'arrache au péché et se donne à Dieu" (p. 17). "La prédication de l'amour de Dieu pour la créature pécheresse rencontre un joyeux et entier assentiment dans notre âme" (p. 16). "Celui qui lui donne son cœur est sauvé, quelque justes ou fausses que soient, du reste, ses

croyances, et celui qui ne le lui donne pas sera condamné, quelque orthodoxe qu'il ait été" (p. 225).

This is the doctrine to which M. Ménégoz has given the somewhat barbarous name of "le Fidéisme". He opposes it on the one hand to the ecclesiastical confusion between surrender to God and intellectual assent to dogma; and on the other hand to "liberalism," which rejects salvation by faith and proposes salvation by "love". The criticism of "liberalism" is important as defining the Paris theologian's real drift and intention. He does not disparage belief in order to arrive at a doctrine of justification by works. His view of life is not that of legalism, or even of "moderatism". On the contrary he points out that the moralist's difficulties about salvation by faith originate in the misconception of the nature of faith into which the dogmatist has betrayed him. It is quite true that a man cannot be saved by his "beliefs". On the other hand, he is saved indeed by faith, considered as the act of surrender which reconciles him to God. "Liberal" moralism shares the defect of every other legal view of life: it does not allow for man's actual condition, and takes no account of the fact of sin. "We might be saved by love, if our love to God and our neighbour were pure and perfect." But, says M. Ménégoz, "if we had to look to our own love for the assurance of our pardon, we should be the most miserable of all men, for it is just the insufficiency of our love to God and men which condemns us". (Pp. 31-33.)

He contends, however, that faith is in its nature a spiritual act. The length to which he is prepared to carry this principle will appear from one application which he makes of it. It is commonly said, observes M. Ménégoz, that a sincere unbeliever is more pleasing to God than an orthodox hypocrite. This familiar antithesis he declares to be false and misleading. No hypocrite can be a "believer" at all, in the sense in which Christ understood faith. On the other hand, a man who was truly sincere in his relation to God would necessarily be in a right attitude towards Him. Although he might have incorrect views in some respects, and mistaken thoughts of God, he would not be (in Christ's sense) an unbeliever.

Even if he had doubts about Christ's own Person he might still be guiltless of that wilful antagonism to God, which is the sin against the Holy Ghost. "Jesus Christ does not speak of 'sincere unbelievers'. . . . For Jesus, unbelief is a determination of the heart, and not an intellectual error. He does not oppose hypocrisy to unbelief; for in his eyes the hypocrite is an unbeliever. He treats the Pharisee hypocrites as unbelievers. Jesus knows no antithesis to unbelief but faith". (Pp. 270, 271.)

M. Ménégoz is careful to point out that on his view of faith as the act of surrender to God, independent of beliefs, an important place is still left for doctrine and in particular for the proclamation of the Gospel of the Divine revelations. True thoughts of God, he declares, must always be of great importance to the religious life. For his own part, he claims that he shows his sense of this, in his very insistence upon a sound and scientific view of theological truth (pp. 222, 228, etc.). The truth of God, and in particular the Gospel, are "objective conditions" of salvation; but faith may exist in very anomalous intellectual conditions, and it is faith which is the *spiritual* condition of salvation (p. 222). He refers to the analogy of the evangelical doctrine of faith and works. "Good works are the fruit of faith, and there is no true faith which does not bear the fruit of good works; but that which saves is not good works, but the faith which engenders them." In like manner, sound doctrine plays an important part in evoking faith; but it is faith which saves. (Pp. 120, 121.)

It is evident, as a matter of psychological fact, that there must be a certain intellectual element in every act of faith. It is this truth which has given colour to the dogmatic view of faith. But two other facts must also be noticed; and it is these facts which make it so important, practically, to distinguish between the intellectual causes or conditions of faith and faith itself as a spiritual act. One is, that faith may not always be fully conscious of itself: there is an intellectual element in the act of a child embracing its mother, but the child does not therefore know what it is doing. The other fact which

affords the justification and the necessity for M. Ménégoz' distinction of faith as "surrender to God, independently of beliefs," is that along with an instinctive consciousness of God, sufficient for true surrender, a given human mind may entertain many erroneous beliefs about God and His ways. "Outre cet élément intellectuel constitutif de sa foi, cet homme a encore d'autres croyances, des croyances, au sens courant de ce mot, peut-être justes, peut-être fausses. Il croira, par exemple, que les récits miraculeux de la Bible sont des légendes, que Jésus a été fils de Joseph et de Marie, que le dogme de la Trinité est une invention des Pères grecs, que l'homme est sauvé par des bonnes œuvres, que la Sainte Vierge exauce nos prières, que le pape est infaillible. Voilà des croyances qu'un chrétien peut avoir et qui sont très discutables." (Pp. 291-3.)

The attitude of M. Ménégoz towards doctrine is indicated in such words as these: "I believe that it is the revealed truth, the word of God, which converts and regenerates hearts and brings them to true saving faith. It is the good seed which, cast into good ground, brings forth good fruit" (p. 252). He cannot therefore fairly be charged with indifference to truth.

But we have not yet touched on this writer's real answer to the question concerning the *fides quae creditur*. His answer to that question is a very simple, yet a very strong one. It is that *God* is the object of faith. The faith of Abraham was faith in God. The object of the faith of all who believe the Gospel is still God. To have faith in Christ is to find God in Him. To reject Christ is, logically, to reject God; although we have the Master's own authority for saying that a man may come short of conscious faith in Him without deliberately refusing to surrender his heart to God, and that even "blasphemy against the Son of Man" need not amount to the final sin of "blasphemy against the Holy Ghost". Such is the inconsistency, says M. Ménégoz—*les conséquences*—of the human mind.

The *fides quae*, then, the object of saving faith, is not dogma, or historical fact, or any other matter of intellectual demon-

stration and intellectual assent, but the living and personal God. It is He who by faith is apprehended in any of His revelations of Himself. Ménégos earnestly protests against the suggestion that this is to make the object of faith vague or unreal. What, he asks, could be more real, as the object of faith, than the God of the Bible, the God of the prophets, the God of our Lord Jesus Christ; the God of prayer, the God of salvation? (p. 273). Again he repudiates with just indignation the interpretation put upon his teaching, that by faith apart from dogma he merely means "believing something," "believing anything, no matter what". "The object of religious faith is God. The forms under which this faith manifests itself may vary according to times, places, individuals. But if the faith is real, it goes back always in the last analysis to God. . . . Faith is the consecration of the soul to God. And we believe and confess that when a man has that faith he is saved. He is saved, though he may have in his head all sorts of erroneous ideas." (P. 245).

A. HALLIDAY DOUGLAS.

## **Die Dynastie der Lahmiden in Al-Ḥīra. Ein Versuch zur arabisch-persischen Geschichte zur Zeit der Sasaniden.**

*Von Dr. Phil. Gustav Rothstein, Kandidat d. Theologie und Mitglied d. Kgl. Predigerseminars zu Wittenberg. Berlin: Reuther und Reichard; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo., pp. vi. + 152. Price M.4.50.*

THE town of Ḥīra occupied a site a little to the south-east of the modern Meshed Ali, seventy miles or more south of the site of ancient Babylon. The district around was of more than average fertility: "Have you ever seen anything to compare with this?" exclaimed a prince of Ḥīra to his vizier. It appears also to have been more healthy than might have been expected from its situation. "A day and a night in Ḥīra is better than a year of medicine"; so ran the proverb. When the Mohammedans conquered Persia and added it to their empire, Ḥīra was eclipsed by the newly-founded Kufa, which lay some three miles to the north, and, as the capital of Irak of the Arabians, played an important part in the early period of the Caliphate. Dr. Rothstein's monograph, however, deals with a time prior to the rise of the Mohammedan power.

A number of years before Mohammed began his career of conquest Ḥīra had been invaded by Arabs who settled in the district, and established a government of their own. The date of this invasion it is not easy to determine. If the opinion is well-founded that Ḥīra under the Arabs had early to contend with Zenobia, the settlement must have been effected near the beginning of the third century A.D., and this, upon the whole, is the most probable date. At that time the Parthian Empire was about to disappear. An outlying district, like Ḥīra would be a tempting prey to an ambitious warrior or tribe who had the courage to strike the



necessary blow. Ardishir (Artaxerxes) struck for Persia, and, in the year A.D. 226, founded the Sassanide dynasty, which revived the glories of Cyrus, and humbled the might and the pride of Rome. There is no more likely period for a successful invasion of Hīra by Arabs from the peninsula to the west of the Persian Gulf.

The early history of the colony is involved in obscurity. So is the beginning of the Lahmide dynasty. There are traditions (North-Arabian, and South-Arabian), but they cannot be verified. The founder of the house appears to have borne the name of Naṣr, and the first actual ruler was Amru son of 'Adī. If the tradition is trustworthy that Arabs established themselves in Hīra in the first half of the third century, it is probable that the Lahmides came into power in the last half of the same century. Further, as they maintained their sovereignty to the eve of the Moham-medan conquest, it is not improbable that they rose to power under the favour of the Sassanides, who would find it to their advantage to have a friendly Arabian dynasty near the head of the Persian Gulf; this, however, is a pure conjecture.

Dr. Rothstein traces the history of the country under the Lahmides from Amru to Nu'man III., who reigned from A.D. 580 to 602. On his death Chosroes II. took the government of the country into his own hands, and the Lahmide dynasty came to an end. The country had its share of the chequered experiences of the last years of the Sassanides, and, in A.D. 635 or 636, fell into the hands of the all-conquering Moslems.

These Lahmide rulers were capable men and gained for themselves and their country a position of considerable influence. They were not independent. Their country, as already noted, formed part of the Persian Empire of the Sassanides, and shared its chequered history. But Hīra under the Lahmides was not the least important or influential of the Persian provinces. Its connection with the heart of the Arabian world was maintained through its suzerainty over Bahrein in the Persian Gulf. The door was thus kept open for fresh migrations from the Arabian

Peninsula, as opportunity might offer, or the condition of Ḥīra might require. This connection with Arabia enhanced the value of the province to the new Persian empire, and it causes little surprise to find Hormisdas IV. bestowing on Nu'man III., a diadem of the value of 60,000 dirhem or drachmae (probably worth between two and three thousand pounds sterling).

An interesting question is raised in connection with the religion of Ḥīra. The population appears to have consisted of three distinct classes, (1) the Tauûh, (2) the 'Ibād (3) the 'Ahlāf. The first dwelt in huts or tents, like the Bedouin, the third formed a sort of *clientèle* to the other two classes. Our interest lies chiefly with the second class, who abandoned the Bedouin life, built houses and settled in fixed habitations. The name, 'Ibād, means servants or slaves, and it appears to have been applied to the *Christians* of Ḥīra. Those who bore this name belonged to different tribes of Arabs, the bond uniting them being that of religion. There is no reason to believe that this name was applied to the Christians of Ḥīra as a term of reproach, by those of a different faith. In matters of religion, 'Abd, among the Semites, bears too honourable a sense for such an explanation. It may be, as Dr. Rothstein suggests, that the name was self-assumed. Worshippers were servants—slaves—of the god they worshipped. Christians were persuaded that they worshipped the one true god; and they might fitly claim to be Al-'Ibād,—*the* servants or slaves—the only true servants or slaves of the one true god. That the name was of ancient usage appears from the fact that Arab authors of a later period were ignorant of the origin, and gave different explanations of it. Accordingly there must have been a Christian community in Ḥīra at a comparatively early date. *When* the Christians were designated 'Ibād we have no means of determining. But the probability is that they were comparatively numerous before a distinctive title of this kind was generally acknowledged. Whether the situation was created by a spécial migration on a large scale, or by the gradual growth of years, must be matter of conjecture.

The Christians of Hîra—as might have been expected from their relation to Persia—supported Nestorius. Al-Hîra became a Nestorian cathedral city, and Dr. Rothstein gives a list of bishops from A.D. 410 to A.D. 604. The Mohammedans were then almost at the door.

Though the Christian part of the population was sufficiently numerous and important to bear a special name, the Lahmide dynasty, as such, does not appear to have formally accepted the Christian faith. Members of the royal family came under Christian influence, and apparently the last ruler of the house professed himself a Christian. But, with Persia on the one side and Arabia on the other, it is possible that, in matters of religion, these Lahmides anticipated Henry IV. of France, who held that the sovereignty of his country was worth a *Mass*.

This little volume furnishes a good example of the kind of work which we have become accustomed to expect from German scholars. The movements of life in Hîra as depicted by Dr. Rothstein have not affected the history of the world, either politically or ecclesiastically. But for the industry and the patient investigation of details (often comparatively uninteresting) on the part of German specialists, these pre-Mohammedan annals of Hîra would probably not have been narrated to us in these exciting days at the close of the nineteenth century. But the Kaiser, if Providence consents, is by-and-by to have a Railway Terminus on the Persian Gulf. And Dr. Rothstein has perhaps rendered a patriotic service by directing attention, as he does, in this volume, to the pre-Mohammedan history of a district which, if this Railway is constructed, will, at no distant date, fall under German influence, with the consent of the head of the Mohammedan world. To Britons, whose interests are supreme in the Persian Gulf, any work which throws light on the past history of the territories adjacent to the Gulf should be cordially welcomed; and we offer such a welcome to Dr. Rothstein's history of Hîra.

GEO. G. CAMERON.

### **Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes.**

*Von Johannes Weiss, Doctor und Professor der Theologie zu Marburg. Zweite, völlig neubearbeitete Auflage. Göttingen : Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht ; Edinburgh and London : Williams & Norgate, 1900. Pp. viii. + 214. Price 5s.*

### **Die Idee des Reiches Gottes in der Theologie.**

*Von Johannes Weiss, Doctor und Professor der Theologie in Marburg. Giessen : J. Ricker'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung ; Edinburgh and London : Williams & Norgate, 1901. Pp. 155. Price 3s.*

JOHANNES WEISS's *Predigt Jesu* has made an undoubted "hit". It is more than eight years since the first edition was published. Other books such as Bousset's *Jesu Predigt in ihrem Gegensatz zum Judentum*, and Haupt's *Eschatologische Aussagen Jesu* have occupied more or less the same ground, and latterly in his discussions of the Son of Man problem (*Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, Heft 6, 1899), Wellhausen has rushed into the fray with much of his wonted force, but much also of unwarranted confidence. All this goes to corroborate the opinion that Weiss has struck a mine in the criticism of the New Testament which some leading students of the Gospels see clearly, and many others feel vaguely, promises a yield of real value in the way of understanding the interaction of ethical truth and religious conviction in the mind of Jesus. Weiss's book had from the first the interest of the personal element. The views it contains had to come to expression if the author's mind were to be relieved of the pressure of the conflict between the "fine modern thought" of the Kingdom of God in the system of his master, Ritschl, and the idea of the same name in the teaching of Jesus. The general result of the conflict, as the readers of the first edition know, was that the bond of connexion between the

modern doctrine and the thought of Jesus was found to be very loose indeed. The difference might be expressed by saying that in Ritschl's system the kingdom is mainly an *ethical* and only secondarily an *eschatological* magnitude, whereas in the actual teaching of Jesus rather the converse is true. The special interest of this "new and fully revised edition" is threefold. (1) There is the admission that the antithesis between the ethical and eschatological elements of the concept was stated in the first edition in a somewhat extreme and offensive way. (2) There is the assertion that the author's thesis has been in the main accepted even by his critics, and that his own view of things in harmony therewith has been "deepened and placed on a broader foundation" (Preface). (3) Thirdly and specially there is the claim to have to come to an understanding with the intervening literature on the matters under discussion.

Weiss's leading idea is that Jesus habitually thought of the kingdom as a magnitude of the future which yet was immediately to appear. Every one sees that there is an eschatological element in the preaching of Jesus. It gathers emphasis on the eve of the Passion. It is prominent in the talk with the disciples on the downfall of the Jewish State. It appears in the testimony of Jesus at His trial, but it appears also—for the ethical systematiser disconcertingly enough—in other places, *e.g.*, Matt. x. 23-32 f., xvi. 27 f., xix. 28. Up till recently it has seemed natural to students of the teaching of Jesus to lay the main stress on what they considered the "ethical" element—the kingdom to be sought first, the kingdom like leaven, its law that of service, etc. The eschatological element had an alien and dubious aspect, and the "obvious defectiveness" of the reports as seen in their contradictions (*e.g.*, Mark xiii. 30, *cf.* with ver. 32) offered a fair excuse for declining to give it prominence. It may be soberly claimed for Weiss that his book has done much to make evasion of this kind henceforth impossible. As we read his book we get the impression that the time has come to do justice to an element in the recorded teaching of Jesus that has been unwarrantably thrust into the background. It is

not merely that the element in question is in the records just as clearly as the so-called ethical element, but that it can hardly have been in the mind of Jesus in the degree which some at least of the witnessing passages imply without affecting the *set* and *substance* even of the teaching where no distinctly eschatological element appears. According to Weiss the eschatological element is not only pervasive but dominant. The antithesis between eschatological and ethical is, of course, not an absolute one, for even a kingdom that is only "coming"—especially one that is "at hand"—must be conceived under ethical conditions. But the peculiar conviction of Jesus regarding the imminence of the kingdom and His own relation to it has given a colour to His ethical teaching, of which modern systematising of His doctrine has largely failed to take note. For instance, it may very well suit the Christian conscience of to-day to treat sayings like *losing* one's life to *save* it, or *hating* one's father and mother as mere "significant paradoxes," but in fact, according to Weiss, the terms employed are explicable only on the assumption that the Speaker believed that the natural life of men with all its circle of interests was on the point of being completely dissolved and transformed.

It is, perhaps, too early in the day to attempt any finality of judgment on the main thesis of Weiss's truly able and fine-toned book, but it may safely be said that to read it with care is good advice to give to any one who wishes to get at the heart of the most burning problem of present-day criticism of the Gospels. It may turn out that more falls to be said for the every-day ethical side of the teaching of Jesus than Weiss (the Preface notwithstanding) is willing to allow, but it may be cordially admitted that his book—particularly in the new edition—invites those who aspire to a "rigorous" treatment of the evangelical records, to enter upon a path of investigation, which promises better results than those that are merely or chiefly negative.

Those who have read the first edition will probably turn with special interest to the sections of the new edition on the Son of Man problem, the philological aspects of which

have been made so prominent since the appearance of Lietzmann's *Menschensohn* in 1896, and they will read Weiss's criticisms on the views of Wellhausen on the one side, and Dalman on the other, with none the less interest that they are the criticisms of one who modestly claims to be only a "layman" as regards the purely linguistic question. It is, perhaps, too much to expect that the philologists will accept the last word on this subject from a layman, but one who is not a philologist and yet has tried to learn something from those who are versed in Hebrew and Aramaic, may be allowed to testify that Weiss's utterances on this whole subject seem to him the most satisfactory that have yet appeared in print. The argument, in which Weiss claims both for Jesus and the recorders of His words—whether in Aramaic or in Greek translation—the same kind of liberty of abbreviated reference to the "one like unto a son of man" of Daniel vii. 13, which Wellhausen claims for the authors or translators of Enoch and Ezra iv., will, I venture to think, strike most readers as both just and acute. In any case, the theory that accounts for the phenomena of our Gospels by the supposition of blunder on the part of the Greek translators—as if *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, in a distinctive titular sense, were as natural to Greek, as the experts say, *Bar-nasha* is unnatural to Aramaic—may be considered once for all exploded.

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This very living little book is an enlargement of a paper delivered by the author at a theological conference held at Giessen in June, 1900. It may be taken as a sequel to his *Predigt Jesu*. In that work he told his readers that, though Ritschl's conception of the Kingdom of God and that expressed by the same phrase on the lips of Jesus are "two very different things," the modern conception, of which Ritschl was the latest interpreter, was yet justly the central idea of present-day Christian teaching and the fittest to "bring the Christian religion near to our generation" (*op. cit.*, Preface). Also he had indicated his belief that the roots of Ritschl's conception were to be sought in Kant and the

theologians of the Aufklärung. *Die Idee* endeavours to justify this statement of the case from history. Those who think that in his longer work the author has exaggerated the degree in which the thought of Jesus was confined to the forms of Jewish eschatology (in particular the thought of this world as the kingdom of Satan and of its impending destruction), will find the fault repeated here and to that degree will incline to the opinion that Ritschl's conception is closer to the thought of Jesus than Weiss will allow. But it will be possible even for those who take this view, to feel that Weiss has done within wonderfully brief compass a very valuable piece of critico-historical work. He traces the conception of the kingdom from the times of Jesus down to the present day, devoting the last and longest section (pp. 110-155) to Ritschl and the criticism to which his doctrine is liable together with the extension of which it is capable. It by no means detracts from the value of this historical sketch that one feels often, especially perhaps in the sections on Augustin and the Pietists (pp. 19-25 and 43-48), how much the author owes to the master whom he criticises. It rather adds to it. We have here a criticism of Ritschlianism in its central ethico-theological idea by one who is not ashamed of his father's house, and would probably bear the badge "Ritschlian" more willingly than any other. Also the author has placed us under debt by the footnotes, in which in most cases he gives us in the authors' own words the statements criticised in the text. The fullest and most interesting sections are naturally those on Augustin, Luther, Schleiermacher and Ritschl himself, but of scarcely inferior interest are the more speculative sections on Kant and the rationalists. Notoriously, the strong positive tendency in Ritschl's teaching (the force of which, by the way, is seen most convincingly in religious personalities of the type of J. Weiss himself) was bound up in Ritschl himself with a somewhat ostentatious scepticism as to the powers of the human mind, yet it is as impossible for a thinker to escape being a metaphysician, whether a good or a bad one, as it is for any one to leap beyond his own shadow, and a perusal of



Weiss's book will confirm most people in the impression that Ritschl's negation of metaphysics, and his positive vindication of the value-judgment, both rest on the Kantian theory of the confinement of knowledge to the *phenomenal* as distinguished from the *noumenal* world. A sign of this is his well-known comparison of the compass of Christian theology to an ellipse (as distinguished from a circle) with the two foci of the doctrine of Reconciliation and the doctrine of the Kingdom. Persons who are mathematicians as well as theologians, may find something helpful in the image or in the amendment suggested by Weiss, *viz.*, the figure of two intersecting circles; to others it may suggest only a pause in thinking that cannot be prolonged even by the subtlety that would escape metaphysics.

In another point of view, perhaps, this unsatisfactoriness is a sign of the real greatness of Ritschl as a religious and theological personality, and readers of this notice, who can enjoy a well-written German book, but fear Ritschl even in English, will find themselves stimulated and edified in a rare degree if they are induced to read this singularly sympathetic appreciation and, at the same time, keen criticism of a great master by one of his most living pupils. Specially deserving of attention, as showing both the religious spirit of Weiss himself and his intellectual outlook, are the few closing pages devoted to the comparison of Lotze and Ritschl. With much appreciation of the high-toned genius of both these great contemporary Göttingen professors, Weiss marks with unmistakable point the contrast between the pessimism of the philosopher, who bewails the conversion of the inspirations of one generation to the "current coin worn away in the handling" (*abgegriffene Münze*) of the next, and the optimism of the man of faith, even the Ritschlian, who, in view of the same facts, rejoices because no fire is dead whose sparks strike new matter and burst into new flame.

After reading *Die Idee*, one is tempted to say that even "Ritschlianism" cannot be dead, if, striking the minds of its own pupils, it bursts into brilliant criticism of itself.

LEWIS A. MUIRHEAD.

**Luther's religiöses Interesse an seiner Lehre von der Realpräsenz. Eine historisch-dogmatische Studie.**

*Von Karl Jäger, Lic. Theol. Giessen: J. Ricker. 8vo, pp. 92.  
Price M.2.*

THE influence which Luther has in the German Churches is quite unique. His writings have appeared in countless forms, and the finest complete edition is now being slowly issued from a publishing house in Weimar, to consist of about forty volumes. Students preparing for the ministry are required to study several of his works with care, and the preaching which is heard in the churches is largely coloured by his ideas. He is honoured by the straitest school of theologians, and the Ritschlians claim his support for their master's teaching. What the writings of Wesley are to the Methodist ministry, that the works of Luther are to the preachers and theologians of Germany. It is unfortunate that so little of Luther can be had in English translation, but what we have is valuable. His *Primary Works* have been edited by Wace and Buchheim, containing his catechisms, "The Babylonish Captivity of the Church," etc. His *Table Talk* can also be obtained, some of his commentaries, a collection of his sermons, one or two of his doctrinal treatises, and certain volumes of "Select Works." We have only a small portion of the large mass of Luther's writings, and these do not show the whole course which his ideas ran. His writings were mostly occasional, composed to meet the needs of the Church in different periods and at each new emergency. He always spoke out plainly, as he then thought and felt, without much regard for consistency with what he had said before. As he wrote, he was slowly laying aside the doctrines, customs and prejudices of the Mediæval Church, at one time taking for granted what at a future time would be denied. The nearest analogy, perhaps, is in the writings of Cardinal Newman, who wrote passionately in defence of the views that prevailed with him at every stage of his spiritual

development, but the two men were going in opposite directions; Newman was going Romeward, Luther had turned his back upon Rome.

The course of Luther's advance in regard to the Lord's Supper may be traced in many treatises, sermons and letters. These have been admirably summarised by Karl Jaeger in the essay named above. In his own statements upon the nature of the Eucharist, the author follows the guidance of Dr. Hermann Schultz and shows himself also a disciple of Ritschl. In his standard work, *Zur Lehre vom heiligen Abendmahl*, Dr. Schultz gives a sketch of about 150 different German treatises upon the Eucharist that have appeared since 1817, the year of the Union of the German Churches. One after another of these is condemned as not genuinely Lutheran, and the question becomes acute, What did Luther teach? Answers to this question may be found in the larger books upon the reformer's life and theology, and the account here given by Jaeger, which is brief, clear and sufficient, may be confidently recommended. In Part I., the author shows, by the earlier writings, between 1517 and 1523, how Luther gradually arrived at his manner of stating the doctrine of Consubstantiation, and how it was connected with his proclamation of justification by faith. For Luther the Christian life was a life of conflict against sin and its terrors. He longed for some assurance that his sins were forgiven by God, and that his Master, Christ, was with him indeed to be his helper. It seemed to him that the Real (bodily) Presence of Christ in the Bread and Wine, brought this assurance within the reach of every one who partook of the Supper. Doubtless, in time, Luther might have seen that in his doctrine of the Grace of God, he possessed the solution of his difficulty, without the aid of a Bodily Presence in the Bread and Wine. He was hindered from making this further advance by the controversies into which he was drawn by Protestant leaders who had proceeded more quickly than himself in reconstructing Christian doctrine, upon lines which he himself had suggested to them. In conflict with them Luther's doctrine was prematurely crystallised.

The second part of the essay describes the contest with Carlstadt and other enthusiasts, in which Luther dogmatised about the Real Presence and fell back upon the authority of Scripture, demanding a superstitious reverence for the letter which he had not hitherto shown. At this time he began to reiterate his phrase, "The words of the Lord stand fast: 'This is My body'".

The third part deals with the still more important controversy with Zwingli and the Swiss Reformers. In the course of that discussion occurred the Conference at Marburg, in 1529, at which an attempt was made to unite the divergent parties of the Reformers upon a common basis of doctrine and of policy. The interpretation of the Lord's Supper was the matter upon which they could not agree. It seemed to Luther that the doctrine of Zwingli proceeded from an inadequate Christology. If they could not maintain the Real Presence of the divine-human Christ in the Bread and Wine, neither could they have confidence that Christ was sufficient in Himself to be the Saviour of men. In reading Luther himself, especially in his earlier works, we see that the controversial element is much less insistent than the religious and practical. There is a unique charm in Luther's homiletic. His language is terse, graphic and richly coloured. The endless variety and the simplicity of his style are apt to be lost in translation. His sermons are full of surprises and full of suggestiveness, as when, in his discourse of 1519, he shows that trial and sorrow prepare men for the Lord's Table, by making them seek the sympathy of Christ and of their fellow Christians. The passionate desire for salvation which underlay his whole religious life, compelled Luther to maintain his opinions tenaciously and to be vehement in controversy. To very many, his battles with Romanists, and with Reformers who differed from him, have appeared to be only a pitiable display of dogmatism and stubbornness. It is interesting to learn from a careful student and staunch defender, what the religious interests were for which Luther so earnestly contended.

CHARLES F. FLEMING.

## **The Historical New Testament.**

*Being the Literature of the New Testament arranged in the order of its literary growth and according to the date of the Documents. A new Translation.*

*Edited with Prolegomena, Historical Tables, Critical Notes, and an Appendix. By James Moffatt, B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901. 8vo, pp. xxvii. + 720. Price 16s.*

### **FIRST NOTICE.**

THIS is a massive book, which everywhere gives evidence of scholarship, extensive reading, and untiring industry. It would do credit to an old and experienced hand. As the production of a young minister it is a remarkable achievement, and it indicates a capacity which speaks of good work yet to come. We have need of more students of the New Testament. It is a satisfaction to see that in the ranks of our younger men there are some who are devoting themselves to this supremely important line of study, and who have the faculty for it. If they are willing to walk in the paths of sober, solid inquiry, practising patience and content to put themselves in training under the hand of the great masters of scientific historical investigation, they will do much for the Church of Christ and for sacred learning. Mr. Moffatt has it in him to take a high place in that list. By this volume he has at once acquired a right to be heard, and has made a distinct addition to the literature of a great subject.

It is but the simplest justice to say this. A great deal more, indeed, might well be said of certain outstanding and excellent qualities of the book. As we make our way through its crowded pages our respect is won by the width of its acquaintance with what has been written by others, and the feeling deepens as we see more and more of the author's command of the details of the various questions which come under discussion. The treatise is distinguished throughout

by the strenuous, conscientious endeavour to know its subjects all round. And while it handles the literary and historical problems belonging to the New Testament writings with the freedom of independent inquiry, it is reverent in presence of the Word of God. It is a pleasure to discharge this debt of thanks and commendation before we look more narrowly into the book. Those who knew Mr. Moffatt as a student in the University of Glasgow and in the Free Church College in that city expected much of him. In some directions these expectations have been more than fulfilled by this publication. But there are things in it which we cannot but regard as disappointing, and some of these are of serious moment. We should be slow to think that they are likely to adhere to Mr. Moffatt's style of work. There is a good deal in his book that may secure the cheap applause that is given to anything that looks startling, defiant, or out of the way. We think better of Mr. Moffatt than to apprehend that he may be misled by that. We believe him to be capable of doing something better than this first effort, something less ambitious perhaps, but more consistently scientific and of more enduring value.

There is one thing, however, that unfortunately forces itself upon our notice in the preface, in the Prolegomena, and here and there all through the book—that is, Mr. Moffatt's attitude to others, especially to some of those who have earned the best title to our gratitude and honour. He allows himself to speak of these in terms which would be unbecoming on the lips of a veteran. They are utterly out of place and unseemly on the part of one who is making his first venture in regions in which these others have been workers for a lifetime. The superb nonchalance with which he dispenses his approbation and disapprobation on all sides is quite embarrassing. At times one knows not whether to be indignant or amused. His sympathies go too evidently and too often with extremists of the type of Messrs. Reville, Blair and Brandt. Our great English scholars come off rather poorly at Mr. Moffatt's hand, and even Harnack does not escape. Far less is made of Lightfoot's work than

ought to be, nor is Mr. Moffat always quite fair to scholars of his order. He does not indeed always take time to understand them. He refers to Canon Driver as if he "declined to admit the legitimacy" of real historical research in the New Testament literature, and as if he played "the rôle of the theological Canute". How gross a misrepresentation this is, any one may see who takes the trouble to look into the very passage that Mr. Moffatt points to. At times he says an appreciative word about Hort. But even that scholar is placed before us as an instance of "the desperate plight to which literalists are reduced," when he takes a different view of "the problem of the twelve and the Gentiles" from Mr. Moffatt. And as to Dr. Sanday, he is disposed of in a way that is past all endurance. Supporting himself by a reference to a passage in the Canon's *Commentary on Romans*, Mr. Moffatt is unrestrained enough to speak of "a concern to establish the historicity and continuity of the faith," which "assumes the advocate's garb and intrudes upon the study of Christian literature," and is apt then to "bring a leprosy of incompetence which taints even work that is professedly written upon critical principles". The victim of a "leprosy of incompetence"—this is Mr. Moffatt's polite and modest description of one of the best of men and the most esteemed of scholars!

If we were to take Mr. Moffatt's estimates indeed, we should have to look upon New Testament study, in our own land at least, as having been in a chaotic and parlous condition till this *annus mirabilis*, 1901. He describes the present state of New Testament criticism in this country as "still marked by immaturity in many vital sections". He tells us that whole pages of his book would "have been gladly omitted" . . . "had there been (for example) any modern and thorough N.T. Introduction to which an English student could be referred with safety or satisfaction". As to "this side the channel" the condition of things is, in his view, that "the reign of timidity and superficiality lingers on in the treatment of writings such as Acts and the Apocalypse". It would be unjust to say

that this is always Mr. Moffat's tone, for he can be appreciative too. But one regrets to find so much of it. It is no pleasure to speak of it. There is a spirit in it of which Mr. Moffatt should purge himself, if he is to do what his talents make him capable of doing. Modesty is not the least of the qualifications for understanding the New Testament and finding the secret of its problems. We can wish nothing better for Mr. Moffat than that he should commit himself for the next half-dozen years to the guidance of men like Lightfoot and Hort, and Sanday and Driver and Hatch, and study their methods and work through some section of early Christian literature in their way. At the end of that term he would think very differently of some of his predecessors in New Testament inquiry. He would also have a better conception of what historical criticism is, and of the nature of the demands it makes upon the student.

In his interesting preface Mr. Moffatt explains very clearly the idea of his book. His object is to trace the literary growth of the New Testament writings and place them in their exact historical *lie* and chronological order. This is a very proper thing to aim at. But we confess to considerable surprise when we notice the claims which, in this respect, Mr. Moffatt prefers in behalf of his work. He speaks of it as if it were quite a novelty. Of his scheme of grouping the critical materials, he says that, so far as he knows, it is "quite unique". He describes his edition as a "pioneering edition". But there is nothing so very unusual in his object and his plan. Every one who attempts to write a New Testament Introduction has to settle with himself first of all whether he is to follow this method or not. Not a few have adopted it and worked it out with great ability long before Mr. Moffatt. Not to speak of writers like Conybeare and Howson and Dean Farrar, there is the eminent case of Reuss in his *Geschichte*, a book which deserves much more recognition than it gets in this volume. It is the plan followed by von Hofman in his systematic examination of the Tübingen construction of the New Testament literature in his *Heilige Schrift zusammenhängend untersucht*, and (under the Tübingen idea) by Hilgen-



feld, Samuel Davidson, etc. It is by no means an unfamiliar method. It is also one for which much can be said. We agree with Mr. Moffatt in thinking it the best. But we must add that we do not agree with him in his exaggerated view of the benefits that accrue from it, and the small account which he takes of the dangers attending it. The limits of time within which any valid criticism must keep the origin of the bulk of the New Testament writings, deprive the historical arrangement of books to a large extent of the value in respect of the evolution of ideas which it might have in the case of the Old Testament, if it could be made out on an adequate scale there. Even within these limits the relative dates of a number of the books are by no means sufficiently certain to give the scientific student much confidence in connecting important results with matters of chronological succession.

As it is, while we gladly confess that there are many painstaking discussions in this volume, and much to which it is well to have our attention directed, the "historical" method which it claims to pursue does not appear to us to either be very thoroughly or very consistently carried out. There are frequent lapses into subjectivity, and *ideas*—ideas of the probable or improbable, the appropriate or inappropriate, on the part of the writers in given circumstances—again and again are made the ruling elements. The principles stated in the Prolegomena, and the application of these to some of the more important questions, offer much matter for criticism. Above all, the theory of "interval" between event and record, and the position in which the testimony of the gospels is left, require careful consideration. The limits of this preliminary notice permit us to speak only of certain general aspects of Mr. Moffat's treatment of his subject. We shall say something of these particular questions in our next issue. Meantime we recognise the value of much that is attempted here in source-criticism, in the construction of a chronology of the writings, and in the adjustment of the books to the external as well as internal history of the times.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

## Notices.

The Rev. D. Butler, M.A., of Abernethy, Fifeshire, writes on *Scottish Cathedrals and Abbeys*.<sup>1</sup> The book belongs to the Guild Library series, and has the advantage of an introduction by Principal Story. It is packed full of matter. On every page it bears witness to the zeal and industry of the writer, and to his diligence in consulting the best authorities. Those who wish to get in small compass a reliable account of old Scottish architecture and the most interesting of the old ecclesiastical edifices of the North will find it in these compact pages.

The Rev. G. W. Garrod's *The Second Epistle to the Thessalonians: Analysis and Notes*<sup>2</sup> is constructed on the plan on which he has already dealt with the Epistle to the Colossians, First and Second Timothy, and First Thessalonians. It is intended especially for the use of students in the Training Colleges of the Church of England. In simple and lucid terms it gives a digest of the matters which it most concerns such students to know with regard to the origin and history of the Epistle and its contents. It provides also an exposition of the Epistle verse by verse, which is done in a careful and scholarly way, and with a proper regard to the object specially in view. It makes a very good text-book.

Mr. How's *William Conyngham Plunket*<sup>3</sup> is a very readable book. His previous memoirs of Bishop Walsham How and Bishop John Selwyn have won him a good name among

<sup>1</sup> London: A. & C. Black; Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 210. Price 1s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> London: Macmillan & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 163. Price 2s. 6d. net.

<sup>3</sup> *William Conyngham Plunket, Fourth Baron Plunket, and Sixty-first Archbishop of Dublin*. A memoir by Frederick Douglas How. London: Isbister & Co., 1900. 8vo, pp. viii. + 392. Price 16s.

writers of biography, and the present work is as well done as these others. Archbishop Plunket was certainly one that deserved to be remembered. Descended on the father's side from one of the great Parliamentary orators, and on the mother's side from an Irish Chief Justice, William Plunket was marked out for distinction, and he sought it in the service of the Church. All through his career he was a decided and consistent evangelical, and longed for closer relations among the various Protestant Churches. He was by no means narrow, however, in his doctrinal position, nor could it be said of him that he was anything but fair and tolerant in the exercise of his Archiepiscopal rule. He did not, indeed, please all parties on every occasion; but he lived in difficult times and had some unusually delicate questions to deal with, and the final judgment must be that he conducted himself with a dignified consistency, and a firm but generous wisdom that showed him to be a man far above the average rank of Irish ecclesiastics. He took a large part in the controversy over the proposed revision of the Irish Prayer-book, advocating changes which should conciliate the Protestant laity. He took a strong and determined position also in the keenly contested question of the consecration of Bishop Cabrera for the Spanish Reformers, inspired by a just zeal for the cause of the Protestant faith in Spain. Above all, the disestablishment of the Irish Church brought out his best qualities. He did much more than most men to reconstruct the Church and give her a new lease of life. His whole policy at that juncture was far-seeing and judicious. While the Primate and Archbishop Trench and others were gloomy and full of fears, he addressed himself hopefully and vigorously to a new settlement of affairs, and in his later years he was frank enough to confess that when he counted up the advantages and disadvantages which followed disestablishment, the gains outweighed the losses. The account which his biographer gives of these events, of his work as Bishop of Meath, of his brief tenure of the Archiepiscopate, and of his personal character is full of interest. It leaves us with a distinct and pleasing impression of a good and capable

man who had the qualities of a statesman as well as a churchman, and played a large and useful part in the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland.

The April number of the *International Journal of Ethics* opens with an article by John M. Robertson on the "Moral Problems of War," which is in the main a lively criticism of Professor Ritchie's paper on "War and Peace" in the previous issue. There are suggestive papers by Bernard Bosanquet on "The Meaning of Social Work"; Mary Mills Patrick of Constantinople on "The Ethics of the Koran"; Guglielmo Ferrero of Florence on "The Evolution of Luxury," etc. Mr. Charles Gray Shaw of the New York University writes on "The Theory of Value and its place in the History of Ethics". He is of opinion that something more fundamental is demanded now than the adjustment of the respective claims of Hedonist and Intuitionist, and that this is to be found in a theory of value. He criticises the ancient method of ethics, with its idea of objective good and subjective virtue, as "lacking in life and force," and declares modern systems of ethics, as well as ancient, faulty, as wanting value as an ethical principle. He proceeds to show how a valuational theory should be regarded from the standpoint of psychology, and ethics, and metaphysics, and how the nature of the concept and its ultimate validity are to be determined thereby.

In the *Homiletic Review* for May we notice a short, popular paper on the "Hittites," by Professor Sayce, and an interesting lecture by Professor Schechter of the University of London on "Some Rabbinic Parallels of the New Testament," dealing with the genealogies, the various passages in which fruits, harvest, flowers, etc., are used as similes, the symbolism of the Holy Ghost, etc.

In the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April Professor Frank Hugh Foster writes very sensibly on "The Limits of Theological Freedom," and Mr. R. R. Lloyd contributes a good paper on "The Historic Christ in the Letters of Paul". Not to mention others well worth reading, there is also an interesting article by Professor George Mooar, entitled "Reminiscences of Atonement Theory". It takes us back to the Hopkinsian

theology, the teaching of Bushnell, Park and Shedd, the infiltration of Broad Church ideas, the influence of the Kantian philosophy and the Ritschlian theology, etc., and concludes by pointing to some significant instances of the reassertion of the deep expiatory view.

In the issue of the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for the current quarter Dr. James Lindsay of Kilmarnock writes on "Man's Place in the Cosmos," and the Rev. N. M. Steffens says some true and seasonable things on "Calvinism and the Theological Crisis". Among other papers we make special mention of one by Professor Warfield of Princeton on "The Making of the Westminster Confession," which gives an able and admirably clear and extended account of the modes of procedure in the Westminster Assembly, the course of the debates, and the whole way in which the Confession took shape.

The most important paper in the *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses* for Mars-Avril is one on the Babylonian myths and the first chapters of Genesis, in which M. Alfred Loisy deals in his scholarly and capable way with the special questions of Creation, Primordial Chaos, and the Conflict of the Creator with Chaos. There are good papers also by M. Charles Cumont on "Le Taurobole et le culte de Bellone," and M. Charles Michel on "Greek Mythology," one of a series on the religions of the classic nations before Christianity.

The April number of *Mind* begins with an able paper by Sydney Ball on "Current Sociology," in which the prevalent conceptions of the study and the various claims preferred in its behalf are reviewed, and the necessity of organisation and the division of labour is urged. "It seems a matter of indifference," the article runs, "whether you give the title of 'Sociology' or of 'Social Philosophy' to the general plan of such studies; the one suggests the more positive, the other the more teleological aspect of social science. The main thing is that sociology, so far as it claims to be an application of the scientific spirit to social and political problems, must be prepared to 'imitate' the 'infinite patience' of science." Another important paper is one by Professor James

Seth on "The Ethical System of Henry Sidgwick". Professor Seth takes Sidgwick's main interest to have been in "the question of the true method of the distribution of the Good, rather than the question of the nature of the Good". He adds that "in spite of the acuteness of his criticism of psychological Hedonism, he seems to have underestimated the difficulties of ethical Hedonism".

In the current number of the *Journal of Theological Studies* Professor Moberly of Oxford reviews the "Fulham Conference on Communion with the Atonement". The question of the exact statement of the Eucharistic doctrine is carried back to the question of the interpretation of sacrifice and the theology of the atonement, and the argument is that the evangelical doctrine of the Eucharist (which is explained as a "reception of the dead Christ") can be made to appear adequate only "if the whole significance of the atonement, as atonement, was completely consummated when the tomb closed over the dead Christ, so that all that followed after was but the sequel which ensued upon, but was no vital part of the significance of, atonement or sacrifice". In his line of argument, which contains some good points, Professor Moberly commits himself to those views of the Biblical use of the term "blood" for which Bishop Westcott's name has gained a too easy acceptance, but which have no real foundation in Scripture, and in natural connexion with this to a mistaken interpretation of the classical passage in Leviticus xvii. 11. Dr. James Drummond writes on "The Use and Meaning of the Phrase 'The Son of Man' in the Synoptic Gospels". In this paper he deals with the preliminary question whether the title existed or could exist in Aramaic, and whether Jesus ever applied it to Himself. As to the linguistic argument, he is content to allow it to remain in suspense until Aramaic scholars are more agreed among themselves. He thinks, however, that the weight of opinion and of probability is "in favour of the view that the original expression translated 'Son of Man' in the Gospels was *bar-nasha*," and that this meant simply "the man". He adds that "if, as Dalman supposes, it was not current, it would

more easily lend itself to a special interpretation ; but, even if it was current, it is surely not impossible that 'the Man,' pronounced with a little emphasis, might be used to denote the figure in Daniel's vision".

The master of St. John's College, Cambridge, has laid Hebrew scholars and others under large obligation by the publication of his *Hebrew-Greek Cairene Palimpsests*.<sup>1</sup> They are taken from the Taylor-Schechter collection, and are printed in splendid style, with eleven admirable collotype reproductions. They are of very considerable interest, and are furnished with useful notes on the script and on the renderings. They include a Hexaplar fragment of Psalm xxii., parts of Psalms xc.-ciii. in the Greek of Aquila, and some small portions of the Gospels, Acts and 1 Peter. Among other points of interest in these fragments, Dr. Taylor notices that some Hebrew letters are vocalised according to the *Third System* of pointing. The volume is a credit to the editor and to the University Press. There is, however, one awkward slip in the Preface in the title of Gesenius's *Geschichte*.

Mr. C. B. Beeby's volume on *Doctrine and Principles*,<sup>2</sup> is made up of a series of "Popular Lectures on Primary Questions". It is written in a clear and telling style, and handles a number of subjects of present-day interest in a free and trenchant manner. It makes a good many affirmations with which we by no means agree, and takes up again and again an extreme position. We see Mr. Beeby at his worst on properly doctrinal questions, and at his best on such subjects as the principles of Protestantism and Catholicism, Agnostic Philosophy and Christian Truth, the contrast between the Nicene Creed and the Athanasian, etc. His treatment of the doctrine of imputation is a fair example of his method. He admits that the "old notion of imputation lingers on in the New Testament, and lies at the background of all its system of thought". He counts it impossible that "the

<sup>1</sup> By C. Taylor, D.D. Cambridge: University Press, 1900. 4to, pp. 104. Price 15s.

<sup>2</sup> London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. 8vo, pp. viii. + 217. Price 4s.

Evangelical theologians of the New Testament Scriptures should have emancipated themselves wholly from the dominion of the forms and idioms of thought which belonged to their age—a reflection of their social life, with its law of corporate responsibility”. But he thinks that “with the higher conception of the character of the Divine Being, the doctrine of imputation has lost all its sting. For it is now the imputation only of the righteousness of Christ and no longer the imputation of sin and guilt,” that being, according to our author, the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews. In most of the statements of the book there is a good deal that almost hits the mark, and there is much that deserves consideration, but there is also often a curious misconception both of the New Testament teaching and of the Church’s doctrine.

From Mr. Robert S. Rait, fellow of New College, Oxford, we have a handsomely printed volume on *The Scottish Parliament before the Union of the Crowns*.<sup>1</sup> It is based upon an essay which won the Stanhope prize in the University of Oxford, and it is to a considerable extent a reprint of two articles which appeared in the *English Historical Review*. These papers attracted attention at the time, and Mr. Rait has been well advised to prepare the present volume. He has a good, clear style, a great love for history, and a remarkable faculty for historical research. He has been trained in a good school, and has kept the best models before him. He has a very healthy sense of the difficulties and limitations of his task, and a just perception of the wide general difference between English constitutional history and Scotch. “The student who would attempt such a problem as this must be familiar,” he well says, “with the outlines of English constitutional development, but he must also be prepared to banish from his mind all prejudices and prepossessions derived from such knowledge. For he will here find no record of liberty slowly broadening from precedent to pre-

<sup>1</sup> London, Glasgow and Dublin: Blackie & Son, 1901. 8vo, pp. xxvi. + 121. Price 5s. net.



cedent, no statesman kings, surrounded by sagacious advisers, defining the scope and the purpose of a legal system, no patriot barons banded together to wrest from an unwilling monarch a power which was not being wielded for the national good, no common aim uniting reformers of the thirteenth century with reformers of the seventeenth." The conclusions which he reaches with regard to the Scottish Parliament are given as "merely tentative". By the necessity of the case they are to a large extent negative. But he is able at the same time to point to some "positive and definite results". Among these he names the Education Act of 1496, which provided that barons and freeholders of substance should put their eldest sons and heirs to school from eight or nine years of age and keep them at the grammar schools until they were "competently founded" and "had perfect Latin," and thereafter send them to the Universities. But he rightly instances the judicial system of the country as the most notable result. "Alone among European countries, Scotland still possesses a judicature which is the direct descendant of a Committee of the Estates." Mr. Rait will take an honourable place in the ranks of our rising students of history. We look upon this book as the earnest of much excellent work in scientific historical study.

To Mr. Frank Ballard, minister of Wycliffe Church, Hull, we are indebted for a very good book on *The Miracles of Unbelief*.<sup>1</sup> He has in view the "paralysis of faith" which has seized large classes, and which means great loss to the Church. He regards it as one of the pressing needs of the day that the churches should meet this condition of mind with wisdom and love, and thinks it should be useful to utter a "reasoned protest which is, so far as it goes, unanswerable". His object, therefore, is to show that in point of fact the difficulties of unbelief are greater than those of faith. He does not claim for this line of reasoning the value of a final proof of the truth of Christianity, but he rightly asserts first that "it at least opens the way for the appreciation of such

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 1900. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 362. Price 6s.

proof as only experience and observation can afford". Taking in succession the realm of physical science, the facts of history, the realm of psychology, the moral realm, the problem presented by Christ Himself, and the spiritual realm, he works out his argument with much acuteness and in a telling, popular way. As it is finally summed up it is skilfully put, and makes a distinct and deep impression.

Under the title of *Principles of Religious Education*<sup>1</sup> we have a valuable course of lectures which were delivered under the auspices of the Sunday School Commission of the Diocese of New York. The Bishop of New York, Dr. Henry C. Potter, contributes a brief Introduction. The lecturers are Professor N. M. Murray of Columbia University, Bishop Doane of Albany, Professor De Garmo of Cornell University, Dean Hodges of Cambridge, Mass., Mr. Pascal Harrower, Chairman of the Sunday School Commission, Diocese of New York, Dr. W. L. Harvey, President Hall of Clark University, Professor F. M. M'Murry of Columbia University, Professor Kent of Brown University, and Professor Moulton of Chicago University. These are men of reputation and experience. They are capable of doing good work, and they have done it here. They say much that is of worth on religious instruction, the educational work of the Church, the Sunday school, the preparation of the Sunday school teacher, the child-mind, etc. The book amply repays the reader.

Three volumes of the series of the "New Testament Handbooks," edited by Professor Shailer Mathews, are before us. Professor Ezra P. Gould writes one on *The Biblical Theology of the New Testament*.<sup>2</sup> His critical presuppositions are that the early teaching of the Apostles is given in the first twelve chapters of Acts, and their later in the Synoptic Gospels, James, 1 Peter and the Apocalypse; and that Ephesians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, Hebrews, 2 Peter, Jude

<sup>1</sup> New York, London and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx. + 292. Price 3s. 6d. net.

<sup>2</sup> New York: The Macmillan Company, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 221. Price 3s. 6d.

and the Johannean writings are all Alexandrian. His general conclusion consequently is that the spiritual teaching of Jesus became "in the hands of the Twelve a materialised Jewish Messianism, in the hands of Paul a return in part to the spiritualism and catholicity of our Lord's teaching, but, on the other hand, a mixture of theologising and priestism with that spiritual element; that in the debate between Paul and the Twelve, the early Apostles went back to the teaching of our Lord, writing the Synoptic Gospels to show His view in regard to the matters under controversy; and, finally, that in Alexandrianism the Gospel underwent its last transformation into a system of speculative philosophy". This is all given as if it admitted of no question. In reality, it is a new and dubious form of the familiar Tendency Criticism, open to most of the objections which have proved fatal to the main Tübingen positions. Apart from this, however, the exposition of the ideas of the New Testament is in many cases able and instructive, and is less influenced by the critical presuppositions than might have been expected. A large amount of work is represented by the volume, and there are abundant references to the literature of the subjects handled. Professor Henry S. Nash contributes a volume on *The History of the Higher Criticism of the New Testament*.<sup>1</sup> He gives an excellent vindication of the rights of criticism, and a good summary of its history. The most interesting sections of the book are the sketches of the leaders in the critical movement from Richard Simon and Semler onward. The estimates of Schleiermacher, Baur and Ritschl are particularly good. The onesidedness and exaggeration which are apt to cling to criticism in the reaction against traditionalism are frankly acknowledged. But it is rightly said that "the sins of critics no more impair the authority of criticism than the sins of Churchmen impair the right of the Church to exist". Not only so, but Professor Nash is bold enough to claim that criticism has its inspiration and that it "enters, as a new ideal, into the life of the Church". The third

<sup>1</sup> New York: The Macmillan Company, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. + 192. Price 3s. 6d.

volume is *An Introduction to the New Testament*<sup>1</sup> by Professor B. W. Bacon of Yale Divinity School. The first part of the book is occupied with an account of the history, method, scope and present state of the science, the growth of tradition, and the formation of the canon. Much is packed into the two chapters which deal with these things. The New Testament books are then examined in groups in the following order: the Pauline Epistles, the Catholic Epistles, the Historical Books, the Johannean writings. A careful analysis of each book is given. The literary and historical questions are discussed in a capable and independent way. The author follows his own course and looks at things with his own eyes. He is more in sympathy with Harnack than with the original Tübingen position. The great English scholars, Lightfoot, Hort, Westcott, Hatch, Sanday, etc., obtain much less notice than they deserve. Professor Bacon's method, however, resembles theirs to a considerable extent. He gives his first attention to the historical testimony, and aims at getting *through* tradition back to fact. He bestows much attention, therefore, and with good reason, on *early* tradition. Some of the results to which he comes are of interest. He regards Galatians as the earliest of the Pauline Epistles, or at least as only a few months later than 1 and 2 Thessalonians. The only one of the earlier epistles of Paul which admits of any reasonable doubt is 2 Thessalonians, and with respect to it he is of opinion that no theory of its origin is "so free from serious objection as the view supported by its own representation and by the unbroken tradition of antiquity". The cosmology of Ephesians seems to him essentially Pauline. Of the thirteen epistles of Paul only the three Pastorals appear to him to "give good cause for dispute". Of the twenty-seven New Testament books he finds only one, *viz.* 2 Peter, whose testimony he is compelled to reject. The Apocalypse seems to him to be of composite origin and to belong to the later years of Domitian. As to our present Gospels and the book of

<sup>1</sup> New York: The Macmillan Company, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. + 285. Price 3s. 6d.

Acts, he concludes that these are the "outcome of a larger and more complex process of growth than most critics admit": On 1 Peter, the Fourth Gospel and other constituents of the New Testament Canon, he makes some suggestions which are of importance. The book altogether is a very able and useful one.

Under the striking title of *The Fatal Opulence of Bishops*,<sup>1</sup> the Rev. Hubert Handley, M.A., Vicar of St. Thomas's, Camden Town, gives us an "essay on a neglected ingredient of Church Reform" which is certain to attract attention and deserves to have it. It is a vigorous indictment of the great anomaly in the English Episcopal Church which leaves multitudes of the clergy miserably underpaid, and bestows upon a few dignitaries incomes which seem princely and out of all proportion. Mr. Handley shows in detail to how large an extent these great incomes are spent on the maintenance of "palaces," and on a style and state of life which separates the great men of the Church from the vast mass of those for whom they are appointed to care. The book is written in the plainest terms and with admirable courage, but all the while in the best spirit. It is in many ways a notable publication and a sign of the times not to be neglected.

*From Apostle to Priest*<sup>2</sup> is the title of a very sensible book by a Canadian minister, the Rev. James Falconer, M.A., B.D., of Truro, Nova Scotia. It is a "study of early Church organisation," and is based upon a course of lectures delivered in Queen's University, Kingston. The writer has made a conscientious and discriminating use of the well-known works by Reville, Hort, Löning, Moberly and others, and has produced a volume which will fill a useful place in the recent literature of the subject. He writes in a liberal spirit. His general position may be seen from these sentences: "the authority within the Church is not in a divine commission transmitted in material lines of descent, and confined to a class, but in the people led by the Spirit of God"; "a ministry is necessary to the Church from the con-

<sup>1</sup> London: Adam & Charles Black, 1901. 8vo, pp. 149. Price 5s.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. + 292. Price 4s. 6d.

dition of human affairs, and for the sake of order some form of government must needs arise ; but this by no means leads to the position that any one form of ministry is of absolute necessity because divinely ordained. It may be that one form is more in accordance with the New Testament standards than another, but Episcopacy is not of divine right any more than Presbyterianism." Mr. Falconer's argument goes to show how little of a fixed constitution the Church had at first, how free she was in her movements on to the end of the first quarter of the second century, and how clear it is made by the Epistles and the Book of Acts that within the New Testament period, the policy of the Church and her methods of administration were guided by the circumstances that emerged from time to time, and not by any pre-determined plan.

Mr. A. W. Jackson's *James Martineau*<sup>1</sup> is a welcome book. It is described as "a biography and study," and in both directions it makes an important contribution to our knowledge of Martineau and our appreciation of his genius. The first of the three books of which the volume consists is devoted to biography. We get a rapid but sufficient sketch of his career—his education, his ministry in Dublin, his ministry in Liverpool, his life in London, his literary efforts, etc. Nothing of moment seems to be omitted. Among other things to which we are glad to see proper attention given, is the painful incident of his candidature for the chair of Logic and Mental Philosophy in University College, London. Beyond all comparison, he was the fittest man for the office, but the position was given to a very young man who afterwards did excellent work, but who had slender claims at the time. The rejection of so distinguished a metaphysician as James Martineau was due to the narrowness and sectarianism of Mr. Grote and some others who were among the loudest in their professions of liberalism. It makes one of the most discreditable chapters in the history of an important educational institution. The second book

<sup>1</sup> London and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900. 8vo, pp. x. + 459. Price 12s. 6d.

exhibits him as the "Religious Teacher," and the third is taken up with an exposition of his position as the "Philosopher of Religion". In these books Mr. Jackson's own views of religious and philosophical questions occupy some space. But they are worth having, and we are grateful to him for the very careful and elaborate expositions he gives us of James Martineau's most characteristic teaching. Until we get an authoritative *Life of Martineau*, Mr. Jackson's "biography and study" will hold the field. It will be a valuable, an almost indispensable *vade mecum* for the student. The author deserves our best acknowledgments for the important and opportune service he has done us in providing us with this book.

Professors Ernest Dewitt Burton and Shailer Mathews, of the University of Chicago, have published a volume of *Constructive Studies on the Life of Christ*.<sup>1</sup> They form part of a series of *Constructive Bible Studies* edited by Principal W. R. Harper and Professor Burton. They are described as "an aid to historical study and a condensed commentary on the Gospels". The object which is in view deserves the heartiest commendation. It is to promote the historical study of the Gospels in academies, colleges, and the advanced classes of Sunday schools. There is much need of a series like this, and the idea which has inspired it is ably carried out. The standard which is aimed at is high. The work is done in a very capable way, putting young people in possession of the results of the best historical and exegetical inquiry, and leading them on to a systematic and scholarly study of the sacred records. We wish the series of which this is part large success. It will be a great boon to many, and above all it should help both to keep our most intelligent youth longer in the Sunday school system and to make the work in which they are invited to engage there more thorough, more profitable, and more interesting.

The third of a series of interesting papers on "Methodism and the New Century," by Dr. T. B. Stephenson appears in the March issue of the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*.

<sup>1</sup> Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1901. 8vo, pp. 302. Price \$1.

President Harper gives the second of his "Constructive Studies in the Priestly Element in the Old Testament" in the February issue of the *Biblical World*. He deals here with the history of worship in the earlier Old Testament period, showing how worship constituted religion and tracing the development of the primitive Semitic worship as seen in the Old Testament on to B.C. 650. Another paper of interest is one by Professor Goodspeed of Chicago on the "Atonement of Communion" in the non-Christian religions.

In the *Homiletic Review* for February, Lieutenant-Colonel Conder writes briefly on the "Results of Syrian Stone-Lore". The example of the art and script of the Hittites discovered by Dr. Koldewey helps us, he thinks, to give an approximate date to the Hittite texts. He regards the new monument as to be placed probably between B.C. 2250 and 2150. The Rev. W. W. Everts writes sensibly on the "Argument from Silence" in its bearing upon the account of our Lord's Nativity.

The January number of the *Antiquary*, an illustrated magazine devoted to the study of the past, has a further instalment of the interesting series of "Quarterly Notes on Roman Britain," by F. Haverfield, M.A. The *Genealogical Magazine* for January contains among other things a paper by Mr. C. S. Romanes on "An Old Scottish Manuscript"—a record of documents under the Great and Privy Seals of Scotland, and another by R. A. G. H. on the "Records of an English Manor for a Thousand Years". In the first issue of *L'Humanité Nouvelle* for the year, R. de la Grassene concludes his papers on the classification of social phenomena, and A. Hamon continues his on "Les Congrès et la situation du socialisme contemporain". The second issue has good papers on "Le Nirvâna" by M. Léon de Rosny, "L'Étude d'éthique chez les races inférieures," by M. Washington Matthews, etc.

The *Methodist Review* for January-February has some very good papers, e.g., one by Dr. W. M. Patton of Yale on "Death and the Intermediate State in Islam," another by Professor C. G. Shaw of New York on "The Unity of History and Religion in Christianity," and a third by Dr. C. V.



Anthony of San Francisco on "The Doctrine of Divine Retribution".

We have received the first number of the *Monatsschrift für die kirchliche Praxis*. It is a new series of the magazine known for a good many years as the *Zeitschrift für praktische Theologie*, and is edited by Professor O. Baumgarten of Kiel. The editor contributes a paper on the "Entstehungsgeschichte einer Predigt". The opening article is by Professor Drews, and has for its title "'Religiöse Volkskunde,' eine Aufgabe der praktischen Theologie". The new series promises well.

The first issue of Dr. Erwin Preuschen's *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums* for 1901, opens with an important paper by P. Corssen on Thomas of Mabug's Recension of the Philoxenian Version, bringing out the fact that the Philoxenian had in some things the same fortune as Jerome's Vulgate, its text being depraved by readings of older translations. Another article which has an interest of its own is one by A. N. Jannaris on "St. John's Gospel and the Logos". Its object is to show that the Greek term λόγος cannot be taken in a hypostatic or anthropomorphic sense, that the "doctrine of the so-called Johannine Logos is foreign to the New Testament writers including St. John," and that in point of fact it is a theological product which originated and developed in the apologetic speculation of Post-Apostolic Christianity". In its most important points the paper is very far from being convincing.

We have also to notice these: *Die altchristlichen Goldgläser*,<sup>1</sup> by Dr. Hermann Vopel, an interesting contribution to the history of early Christian art, written in a clear and pleasant style, made the more attractive by a number of very good drawings, and provided with full lists of the objects and their locations; a study of *Thomas Carlyle*,<sup>2</sup> by Paul Hensel, forming the eleventh volume of Frommann's *Klassiker der Philosophie*, giving a very readable account of the career

<sup>1</sup> Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. x. + 116. Price 3s. 9d. net.

<sup>2</sup> Stuttgart: Frommanns Verlag (E. Hauff); London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1901. 8vo, pp. 212. Price 2s.

of the sage of Chelsea, useful tables of the dates of the main incidents in his life and the publication of his various writings, and a valuable appreciation of his teaching and his influence; a second edition of Dr. Richard Francis Weymouth's acute pamphlet *On the Rendering into English of the Greek Aorist and Perfect*; <sup>1</sup> a couple of small publications by Martin Rade, entitled *Reine Lehre, eine Forderung des Glaubens und nicht des Rechts*, <sup>2</sup> and *Die Wahrheit der christlichen Religion*, <sup>3</sup> both well worth attention, dealing with important questions, and containing not a few suggestive lines of remark; a treatise on the important subject of *Das Wesen des evangelischen Glaubens*, <sup>4</sup> by a veteran pastor, H. C. Tamm, in which the Lutheran principle of justification by faith is examined, interpreted and vindicated, and the views of Schleiermacher, Dorner, Pfeiderer, Kaftan and others on the essence of the Christian faith subjected to a careful criticism; a concise and acute criticism of *Haeckel*, <sup>5</sup> with an able restatement of the just relations of natural science to Christianity by Superintendent August Heinrich Braasch—brief, pointed and eminently fair; a pamphlet by P. Bräunlich giving a detailed and interesting account of the remarkable movement in revolt from Rome in Austria, as it is affecting Bohemia <sup>6</sup>; a Lecture by Professor Wilhelm Volck of Greifswald on the *Attitude of Christ and the Apostles to the Old Testament* <sup>7</sup> seeking the explanation of the applications made of the Old Testa-

<sup>1</sup> London: Houlston. 8vo, pp. 55. Price 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Tübingen: Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1900. 8vo, pp. 48. Price 1s. net.

<sup>3</sup> Tübingen: Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1901. 8vo, pp. 80. Price 1s. net.

<sup>4</sup> Berlin: Schwetschke und Sohn. Cr. 8vo, pp. 195. Price M.3.

<sup>5</sup> *Ueber Ernst Haeckel's Welträtsel*. Tübingen, Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1900. 8vo, pp. 49. Price 1s. net.

<sup>6</sup> *Das Fortschreiten der "Los von Rom-Bewegung" in Oesterreich. I. Böhmen*. München: Lehmann, 1900. 8vo, pp. 75. Price M.o.60.

<sup>7</sup> *Christi und der Apostel Stellung zum Alten Testament*. Leipzig: Deichert. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 44. Price M.o.60.

ment by the New Testament writers in their insight into the typical character of Old Testament Scripture, and finding in the use made of the Old Testament alike by Christ Himself and by the Apostles a witness to its inspiration; a Study of Schleiermacher's idea of religion and his religious position at the time of the first publication of his *Reden*, by Lic. Emil Fuchs,<sup>1</sup> a full, careful and instructive statement; a small volume on *The Mosaic Tabernacle*<sup>2</sup> by the Rev. John Adams, B.D., giving a clear and concise account of the Levitical Priesthood and Sanctuary, admirably adapted for use in Bible classes; a short but vivid and charmingly written treatise by M. Lucien Gautier on the *Calls of Prophets*,<sup>3</sup>—Ezekiel, Jeremiah, Isaiah and Amos; *Sermons on the Books of the Bible*,<sup>4</sup> by the late Fenton John Anthony Hort, D.D., a separate reprint of an admirable series of addresses which appeared in the volume of *Village Sermons* published in 1897, now issued in this form with a view to use as a textbook for Indian students; *Counsels for Church People*,<sup>5</sup> a series of selections from the writings of the late Bishop Mandell Creighton, judiciously chosen and arranged by the Rev. J. H. Burn, B.D., giving many devout and suggestive reflections on the Church and Society, Christianity, Music and Worship, Sympathy, Influence and other subjects; the fifth part of the nineteenth volume of Holtzmann and Krüger's invaluable *Theologischer Jahresbericht*,<sup>6</sup> containing the index for the volume, carefully prepared by Pfarrer C. Funger.

<sup>1</sup> *Schleiermacher's Religionsbegriff und religiöse Stellung zur Zeit der ersten Ausgabe der Reden* (1799-1806). Giessen: Ricker; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1901. 8vo, pp. 103. Price 2s.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 112. Price 6d.

<sup>3</sup> *Vocations de Prophètes*. Lausanne: Bridel. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 93.

<sup>4</sup> London: Macmillan & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 143. Price 4s. 6d.

<sup>5</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1901. Fcp. 8vo, pp. 202. Price 5s.

<sup>6</sup> Berlin: Schwetschke und Sohn; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1900. 8vo, pp. viii., 937-1087. Price 2s. The vol. complete 30s.

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## **Greek Thinkers: a History of Ancient Philosophy.**

*By Theodor Gomperz, Professor at the University of Vienna.  
Vol. I., translated by L. Magnus. 8vo, pp. xv. + 610.  
Price 14s. net.*

## **Truth and Reality, with Special Reference to Religion ; or, a Plea for the Unity of the Spirit and the Unity of Life in all its Manifestations.**

*By John Smyth, M.A. (New Zealand), D.Phil. (Edin.). With  
Introductory Note by Prof. R. Flint. Edinburgh : T. & T.  
Clark, 1901. 8vo, pp. xvii. + 214. Price 4s.*

ALL those who are interested in the early history of thought will welcome the appearance in English dress of Professor Gomperz's well-known work. It appears with every advantage of external form. The translator, Mr. Magnus, has performed his task in a manner worthy of all praise. The literary style is excellent, and the reader is never for a moment left in doubt as to the meaning.

It is our first duty, as a critic, to point out in what respects Professor Gomperz's work differs from the histories of Greek thought already current in this country. As compared with Zeller, the following points may be noticed. Professor Gomperz is much more ambitious of literary form. Whereas Zeller incorporates into his narrative the discussions on the value and bearing of the evidence which meet the student at every step, Gomperz rigorously dismisses all such matters to an appendix. His aim is to present a continuous, brilliantly written view of the subject, without saying much about the relative trustworthiness of the authorities. In this way he makes a considerable economy of space; and his work contains a great deal that is not in Zeller, in spite of the latter's formidable array of volumes.



Another important point of difference is that Professor Gomperz is freer from philosophic prepossessions. Zeller began his career as a Hegelian, and though in the introduction to his *Philosophie der Griechen* he expressly renounces his old master's historical method, his general view of Greek history is still dominated by the Hegelian formalism, and his interpretation of details is obviously influenced by Hegelian principles. The reader will remember what a part is played in that great work by the antithesis of subjective and objective and by the "concept". In Professor Gomperz, however, he will not find anything of the sort to worry him.

To Professor Gomperz, then, Greek thought in its general character is not a formal oscillation between "objectivity" and "subjectivity," but an aspect in the unfolding of a national culture. Accordingly, he has incorporated in his narrative such portions of the story of religion, literature and the special sciences, as are necessary to an understanding of the speculative movement. He has also availed himself of some material which did not exist when Zeller wrote, *viz.*, those researches into primitive thought which are associated with the name of Professor Tylor. It would have been an advantage to his work if he had used them even more freely.

The only other works which need be mentioned in connexion with Professor Gomperz's are Erdmann's *History of Philosophy* and Mr. Benn's *Greek Philosophers*. The ancient part of Erdmann's book is, however, but a brief compendium; while even Mr. Benn's two brilliant volumes cover much less ground than Professor Gomperz. Mr. Benn, too, has his own presupposition which is not less definite than Zeller's, though much more fruitful. He holds that the vital principle of philosophy is that private disinterested curiosity whose foes are superstition and scholasticism, and that its history is one long struggle against these foes, beginning with partial victory in the Periclean flowering-time and ending with the defeat of the Dark Ages. And this presupposition is no less foreign to Professor Gomperz than Zeller's.

Thus it is clear that there was plenty of room for Professor Gomperz's book in the literature of the subject. We

really needed a full history of Greek thought written in this objective spirit, and whatever fault may be found in detail, Professor Gomperz deserves high credit for his general conception and the honest spirit in which he has addressed himself to his task. As to his measure of success, it is considerable but not complete. He has made a distinct advance but has not achieved finality.

In the first place, it is evident that the latter half of the work is more successful than the earlier, and that, we think, is because, in the earlier, Professor Gomperz has attempted the impossible. He has made up his mind to give a full and brilliant picture of the beginnings of Greek thought when the materials for it do not really exist. We quote an example almost at random: "Solitude and the beauty of nature were the muses of Heraclitus. He was a man of abounding pride and self-confidence, and he sat at no master's feet. If we seek the first springs at which he satisfied his thirst for knowledge, and caught the intimations of universal life and of the laws that rule it, we must go back to his pensive boyhood, when he roamed in the enchanting hills, with their well-nigh tropical luxuriance, that surrounded his native city." All this is very pretty, but one would like to know how far it can be justified either from the fragments of Heraclitus himself or from the few authentic traditions preserved about him. Such innocent colouring is well enough in a primer written to allure the young; but is rather irritating than otherwise to the mature student. Nor, we feel bound to say, is the colouring particularly successful of its kind. Much of it is too conventional, one might almost say journalistic. Nor are the outlines of the picture sharp enough. Professor Gomperz does not really give us a definite idea of Heraclitus, the disappointed aristocrat, despising the mixed populace of the busy trading city, despising the barbarous obscene worship of the Great Mother, preaching scornfully the prevalence in the physical and moral world of that law in the union of opposites so painfully wanting in his native Ephesus. He labours to tell us that Heraclitus was a profound and satiric writer. But

he does not invest his figure with much human interest or help us to divine the human passion behind the dark grand phrases of the fragments. His tale falls somewhat flatly between literature and erudition.

Still less does Professor Gomperz give us a clear portrait of that most ambiguous and puzzling figure in ancient thought, Pythagoras. We can hardly say that he has used all the sources of knowledge that were ready to his hand. It was proved long ago by Zeller that Pythagoras was primarily a religious reformer, and quite secondarily a philosopher. Professor Burnet, using recent anthropological researches, has shown further what kind of religious reformer he was. He was one of those who were not satisfied with the religion which the state provided, and therefore started a society of his own for the promotion of ceremonial holiness. His prohibition of certain foods and his doctrine of the transmigration of souls prove that he reverted largely to a primitive stratum of beliefs, connected with those systems of totem and taboo which we find in numberless savage tribes. In fact, on this side of his activity, Pythagoras was closely akin to those famous "medicine-men" of Hellas, Epimenides and Onomacritus. All this is to be found in Professor Burnet's *Early Greek Philosophy* published in 1892. Professor Gomperz, who published the German edition from which the present translation is made in 1896, might very well have availed himself of it. But he passes it by without notice; and, to judge by the omission of Professor Burnet's name from his index, never seems to have heard of one of the most notable modern books on the origins of Greek thought.

It is the latter part of the present volume which will be read with most satisfaction. The materials being much fuller, the reader has not the painful feeling that he is assisting at the manufacture of bricks without straw, or straw of the most inferior quality. One of the most interesting sections is that devoted to the Sophists, in which Professor Gomperz carries on the work of rehabilitation begun long ago by Grote. The general impression which it leaves upon us

is that the Sophists for the most part were neither religious sceptics nor assailants of the traditional morality, but highly respectable "professor-journalists," only needing a state-endowment to subside into conventional propriety. Their ill-fame, it seems, was due mainly to the snobbish Greek spirit which contemned wage-earning, however the wages were earned,—a contempt which finds various expression in Aristophanes and Plato. It was Plato, Professor Gomperz argues, who, not unmoved by the rancour of the amateur against the professional, did most to set that black mark upon an honest and useful body of men which now bids fair to be uneffaceable. There is a great deal of truth in this argument though it is hard to give entire assent to it.

The rehabilitation is most successful in the case of the greater Sophists such as Protagoras and Gorgias. In regard to the former Professor Gomperz attacks with great spirit some old interpretations which have been repeated so often as to be credited with a quite unmerited validity. He shows that the famous *Homo mensura* tenet has not the objectionable meaning which successive generations of compendia have attributed to it. It has nothing to do with moral subjectivism but is a contribution to the theory of cognition. As such it is not an expression of individualism. The "man" who is "the measure of all things" is not the individual but the race. It does not mean either that the properties of things or the existence of things depend upon the individual's cognition. It simply has the good common-sense meaning that human nature is the standard for the existence of reality, an assertion which was controverted by some phases of Eleatic scepticism.

Professor Gomperz adduces some equally reasonable arguments to modify the traditional estimate of Gorgias. He clinches the whole matter by observing that if the Sophists had not fought upon the right side they would never have enjoyed their enormous vogue. In regard, however, to the smaller fry of Sophists we question whether this does not imply an over-estimate of the moral stability of the Greeks. Professor Gomperz has compared the ancient Sophist with the modern

journalist, and the comparison is a good one. Now even among our own journalists there are many who are not exactly fighting for the right. At one end of the scale are our *Times* and *Spectator*, at the other—certain newspapers which had better not be mentioned. With all due respect to the ancient Greeks, we fear there was an even better field for the gutter-sophist then than for the gutter-journalist now. Vilipend our modern civilisation as we will, there was more cruelty, chicanery, private cynicism and public corruption in the Athens of that day than in the England of this; or to put it less offensively, such qualities had a better chance of success. And where vices pay there will always be plenty to teach them. Moreover, the way in which Sophists had to get a living was by itself unfortunate, apart from any depravity in individuals. We know how in modern life certain professions are specially liable to certain failings: actors to vanity, journalists to shallow cynicism, academic professors to captious envy, rhetoricians to empty sentiment, law-pleaders to chicane, while an unsettled wandering mode of life is always far from conducive to a settled scheme of morals. Now the strolling Sophist was rhetorician, journalist, tutor-of-barristers and professor-of-things-in-general all in one, and always aiming at playing a brilliant part before the public eye. What a life of temptations! In spite of Professor Gomperz' able advocacy we fear the final verdict must be that the Sophists were a bad lot upon the whole; though they were bound to appear in Hellas at the time they did, and played an important, nay indispensable part in the diffusion of culture through the nation.

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Mr. Smyth's book is a dissertation submitted to the University of Edinburgh for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and rewarded with that coveted distinction. The author commands our sympathy, both for what he maintains and for what he opposes, and also for the tone of moral enthusiasm which pervades his work. To quote his own words: "The writer's main aim is to point out that the roots of philosophy

and of religion, as of morality and of natural science, lie in the constitution of the human spirit ; and that, therefore, their questionings, methods, inquiries and results are as much a process of reason as is logic itself, and that their basis and objects belong truly to the constitution of things, if anything does." In the course of maintaining this thesis the author has just occasion to find fault both with naturalism and with the idealism which errs by laying stress upon the intellectual side of our nature only, to the neglect of other sides no less essential. As to the philosophic content of the work we cannot say it is commensurate with the enthusiasm of the writer. His is the fervour of the preacher who would call men to the truth by faith, rather than the patient analysis of the thinker who dare not say he believes more than he can prove by mere human reasoning.

HENRY STURT.

## Bible Studies.

*By Dr. G. Adolf Deissmann, Professor, etc., etc. Authorised Translation by A. Grieve, M.A., Edinburgh, etc. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 384. Price 9s.*

WITH the general aim of this erudite work one cannot but heartily concur. It is to recover for the Alexandrine Greek of the Old Testament its natural affinities in the family of language, its place in the general context of human speech. The LXX interpreters did not invent a biblical dialect; they found it ready—the result of growth. It has been, perhaps unconsciously by some, considered as an artificial product, the result of the pressure of Semitic thought on Greek expression; as though the ordinary tongue was not good enough or strong enough for a divine purpose, and had therefore been spiritually fortified to make it, as it were “up to proof”. But as the vulgar Aramaic of Palestine, and even its Galilean dialect, was good enough for the Sermon on the Mount, and as the Spirit at His first great outpouring chose expressly the current vehicles of human thought; so our professor stands to show that the provincial Egyptian Greek, as spoken and written in the Delta and elsewhere, was the vehicle adopted for the first great exposition of the Hebrew “oracles of God” in a form intelligible to the Gentiles. He argues that the larger mass of those special phrases which used to be labelled “Biblical” were native and current there from the Ptolemæan period onwards—some indeed until we touch and enter the Middle Ages; and thus that biblical Greek is not “a distinct entity” (p. 61), or “a philological department by itself”; and that by those who so regard it “the notion of the Canon is transferred to the language, and so there is fabricated a ‘Sacred Greek’ of primitive Christianity” (*i.e.*, as regards the New Testament, for which the LXX furnished

the quarry). He does not of course exclude the recognition of Hebraisms, and yet assigns them narrow limits :—

We may assume that a Semitic dialect was known among the Jews of Alexandria and Asia Minor, but this cannot be exalted into the principle of a full historical criticism of their language. It seems to the writer that their national connexion with Judaism is made too hastily, and with more imagination than judgment, to support the influence of a (so to speak) innate Semitic "feeling for language". But the majority of the Hellenistic Jews of the Dispersion probably spoke Greek as their native tongue. Those who spoke the sacred language of their fathers had only learned it later. It is more probable that their Hebrew would be Græcised than that their Greek would be Hebraised. For why was the Greek Old Testament devised at all? Why, after the Alexandrian translation was looked upon as suspicious, were new Greek translations prepared? Why do we find Jewish inscriptions in the Greek language even where the Jews lived quite by themselves, *viz.*, in the Roman catacombs? The fact is, the Hellenistic Jews spoke Greek, prayed in Greek, sang Psalms in Greek, wrote in Greek, and produced Greek literature; further, their best minds thought in Greek (p. 77).

This seems irrefragable. A Hebraism properly so-called is the outcome of a mind habituated to think in Hebrew, and which transfers, often unconsciously, its idioms to a strange medium of speech, because they form the native garb in which the thought presents itself. But the seeming Hebraisms of the LXX translation will nearly always admit of an explanation which is the reverse of this. There lie the thoughts in their native Hebrew before the translator. The less familiar he is with its idioms, the more likely will he be to render them literally, *i.e.*, to give the sense of the individual words instead of giving the sense of the phrase. In the phrase they modify each other. He takes them over without that modification, and the finer shades of meaning vanish; often, indeed, the whole tenor and colour, leaving a result which, if not erroneous or unmeaning, is bald and crude. Thus in Ps. cxlvi. (Heb. cxlvii.) 10 the phrase θέλειν ἐν literally renders the Hebrew, and so also in 1 Sam. xviii. 22. If we had an original work before us, this would count as a Hebraism; because the thought arose spontaneously in its Hebrew form before the writer's mind. But in a *translated*



work we suspect that the translator did not feel sure of the shade of meaning which he was required to reproduce, and so fell back on literality. The former case would arise from familiarity with the Hebrew, the latter from comparative ignorance of it. And if any one were to take the trouble to compute the instances of this literality, used apparently as a resource to cover poverty of scholarship, as they occur to him in reading the LXX, I think they would efface all doubt from his mind that this Hebraic poverty it is, not affluence, which characterises the version.

But I will give one instance which I think will save him this trouble. To a man whose mind is thoroughly steeped in a language, the familiar objects of daily life find in it the readiest expression. Now, Egypt was above all lands a land of temples and porticoes. These must have met the eye at every turn of the river. Yet the LXX description of Solomon's Temple exactly halts in those special terms where we might expect it to be readiest. The translator in 1 Kings vi. 3, knows not what to make of either אוֹלָם "the porch," or דְּבִיר, "the shrine". He is fain to leave them transliterated as αὐλὰμ and δαβίρ. One might even add that, if any preference were assigned as between the portions of Holy Writ allotted to superior or inferior competency in translating, the patriotic glories of the Solomonic period and of the Temple, its *chef d'œuvre*, would have challenged the best available resources of Ptolemaic current Hebraism. Yet here is the poverty-stricken result.

The LXX Pentateuch version is the flower of the whole, but does not wholly keep clear of these flaws. The ark of Noah (Gen. vii.) and the ark of bulrushes (Exod. ii.) is the same Hebrew word, תִּבְיָה. Yet in Genesis it is rendered by κιβωτός, in Exod. it is curiously transliterated as θίβις, and yet inflected as θίβιν, θίβει. But a single instance again may suffice to show the Pentateuchal superiority as a version to the later books of the history. The well-known phrase of entreaty, בִּי אֲדֹנָי, "pray, my lord," occurs in Gen. xliii. 20, where it is rightly rendered δέόμεθα, κύριε. It occurs again

1 Kings iii. 26 (Solomon's Judgment), where *δέομαι, κύριε* would have been proper; instead of which we find *ἐν ἐμοὶ κύριε*, making utter nonsense. The translator knew of *כִּי* only as the suffixed preposition; the *כִּי* of entreaty, even in a land of adulation like the Ptolemaic Egypt, lay beyond his knowledge, and the identity of form landed him in this blunder. The absolute *βάθος* to which the version drops when it reaches the obscurities of the minor prophets is comparable only to a schoolboy trying an "unseen" in a scholarship examination. The spurious Hebraisms due, as above shown, to ignorance, when once lodged in the text of the LXX, would acquire a halo of sanctity as time went on; and, before the Christian era, become fixed in the language of Græco-Jewish religion. They thus passed easily into the phraseology of the N.T.

But our professor carries forward his method to the New Testament, and urges, "just as we must set our printed Septuagint side by side with the Ptolemaic Papyri, so must we read the New Testament in the light of the Inscriptions". . . . "It is the Inscriptions and the Papyri which will give us the nearest approximation to the truth." The former formed "the actual surroundings of the New Testament authors" (pp. 80, 81). A note here recognises that in the *Classical Review*, 1887, and since in the *Expository Times*, this use of the Inscriptions had already commenced; but claims for a countryman of his own, one Walch of Jena, 1779, earlier thus by over a century than either, the primary recognition of their value, in his *Observationes in Matthæum ex Gr. Inscr.*

The recent exhumations of Papyri, largely at Fayyûm, known by the name of our countryman, Dr. Flinders Petrie, form the chief arsenal of our author's arguments for the identity of the terminology of the LXX translators with that current around them. All the great literary capitals now possess samples of these Papyri. One example of this sort of evidence, selected not for its special importance, but for its succinct completeness, is now laid before the

reader: In 2 Sam. xxii. 3, David applies to Jehovah the phrases ἀντιλήμπτωρ μου καὶ καταφυγή μου. The former is "hitherto unauthenticated in extra-biblical literature," but occurs in *Papyr. Lond.*, xxiii., 6 (B.C. 158-7), "in a petition to the King and Queen, in which the petitioner says that he finds his καταφυγή in them, and that they are his ἀντιλήμπτορες". Again, the phrase εἰς βεβαίωσιν occurs in the LXX rendering of a phrase of the Mosaic law, Lev. xxv. 23, and our author claims it as an example "of great fineness and accuracy" in that context. It renders the Hebrew, נִחַרְזָּל, which, by comparing Job vi. 17, where the same verb (ni. form) is used of the "evaporating" of snow-floods by heat, we may render "exhaustively," i.e., in the legal sense, of giving such an absolute title in a sale of land as shall bar all further claims. The term βεβαίωσις in the sense of precisely such a guarantee was known to Attic law, then found its way to Ptolemaic-Egyptian law-phrase, and so rooted itself there that it is traceable in the sale-contract documents of the Papyri from the second century B.C., to A.D. 600. Of course it would be as familiar to the LXX as our term "warranty" is to us. It occurs again in Heb. vi. 16, an epistle saturated with Old Testament LXX quotations, where its force is exactly explained as "barring all further question," πάσης ἀντιλογίας πέρας εἰς βεβαίωσιν (pp. 91, 104-9).

In explaining the use of ἰστός, our author is probably in error in apparently taking the stem ἰστ- as primary in the Greek ship, and secondary in the Greek loom (p. 135). The reverse is probably the case. The upright post with its cross-yard to hold up the thrums was an older adjunct of industry than ships rigged with mast and yard, and supplied the analogue to these latter. The spear of Goliath is compared to the "weaver's beam," i.e., the ἰστ- or upright post which upheld the loom. The spear of Satan is illustrated by "The tallest pine hewn on Norwegian hills, to be the mast of some great admiral". But the error, if such it be, does not affect his argument. Again,

in the argument to prove *καρπύω* as used in the LXX of Lev. ii. 11, and Deut. xxvi. 14, in the sense of "burn," an objection may be taken on a secondary point. Our author (p. 137) quotes "Stengel" for the statement, "*καρποῦν* properly signifies *to cut into pieces*; the holocausts of the Greeks were cut into pieces;" hence *όλοκαυτεῖν* as a resulting meaning. The italicised phrase above is gravely questionable. No example is adduced. It seems more likely that the word arose from a corruption, through transposing syllables, of *πυρκόος πυρκαῖα* (*πῦρ-καίω*). Our author, however, is right in his main contention; and might have quoted Deut. xviii. 1, where *καρπώματα Κυρίου* renders *הִתְּנָה יְהוָה* ("fire offerings of Jehovah"). This is plainly conclusive. Similarly, in discussing "the preposition (*κατά*) as an adverb" (pp. 138-9), he omits to quote the *ἔλαβον ἀνὰ δηνάριον* of St. Matt. xx. 9, 10, where the preposition is similarly employed. And even more strangely, in discussing "the expression *υἱὸς θεοῦ* ("Son of God") as one familiar in the Græco-Roman world from the beginning of the first century," although he quotes a Fayyûm Papyrus as ascribing it to Augustus (A.D. 7), he omits to quote St. Matt. xxvii. 54, where the heathen soldiers apply it to our Lord expiring. He rightly traces the *υἱὸς θεοῦ* in imperial inscriptions to the Latin *Divi Filius*, first so applied to Augustus as above; but this means "son of *Divus Julius*," as, of course, by adoption he was. *Divus Iulius* is common in Tacitus, and occurs earlier, ironically, in Cicero's Second Philippic. And yet once more, in discussing *φίλος*, "the (king's) friend," traceable through many Papyri and Inscriptions back to Alexander, and thence to the Ptolemæan, all reference to "Hushai, David's friend" (2 Sam. xv. 37; xvi. 16, 17, where *ἐταῖρος, ἀρχιεταῖρος* render *רֵעַ*) is omitted. The coincidence here, of course, is one "in the spirit not in the letter," but not therefore the less valuable.

Among the words and phrases shown to be of current use in the popular idiom, or receiving pertinent illustration from

it, there are many of profound, but of course more of slight, theological importance. Of the former examples are τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἀνήνεγκεν, 1 Peter ii. 24; the quotation of Isa. liii. 4, accommodated by St. Matt. viii. 17 to a new sense (see remarks on βαστάζω, pp. 102-3, and the author's remark on the probable transposition of the Isaian clauses there); also the proofs given that γραμματεὺς, ἐπίσκοπος, πρεσβύτερος, λειτουργέω, all bore the special (and in the case of γραμματεὺς rare) sense which the New Testament gives them, not in Jewish circles of thought only, but in heathen; but perhaps most noteworthy of all is ἱλαστήριος -ον (pp. 124-135), proved by inscriptions to have a definite *religious* use in heathen ritual. It will not be supposed that in recognising the importance of the evidence adduced, all the comments of the counsel who adduces it are meant to be guaranteed.

Considerable material towards a more complete grammar of the LXX and New Testament Greek has also come to light, *e.g.*, in regard to ὅς or ὅσος ἐὰν (for ἂν); to εἰ (or εἰ) μὴν as a jurastic formula; to the -ων in ἐλαιοῶν of Acts i. 12; to ἐνώπιον with an adverbial force; to λογεία (not λογία) of 1 Cor. xvi. 1 (pp. 142-4, 219-20). But perhaps nothing in the book surpasses the interest of the light thrown on some of the mystic symbols of the Apocalypse. What is the precise analogue, if any can be found, of the χάραγμα, "mark (of the beast)," of Rev. xiii. 11 ff.? The author gives a highly probable answer in an imperial circular stamp-plate, now in the Berlin Museum, and facsimiled here on p. 243, being about 2 in. in diameter. Λ λέ Καίσαρος is its legend in thick letters, deciphered to mean (Λ being a recognised symbol = ἔτους "of the year") "in the 35th year of Cæsar (= A.D. 5-6)". But in the middle are two letters, read as γρ, of doubtful interpretation. I think they are probably τρ, and refer, as commonly, to the "tribunitial" power. This stamp gave validation, it is supposed, to legal and public documents, especially relating to property and purchase. Taking the "beast," therefore, as the Roman imperial power personified, the χάραγμα is its official mark.

Last in the volume is the elucidation of Rev. vii. 9 ff.,

"white robes and palms in their hands," from an inscription of the Carian Stratonicea. Its inhabitants decree a votive *chorale* to two deities, to be performed publicly by thirty nobly born boys, "clothed in white and crowned with a twig (*θαλλοῦ*), likewise holding a twig in their hands". The author reasonably supposes this choral custom to have had currency in Greek Asia Minor. As regards the selection of the "palm" by the Apocalypticist, he may have been influenced by the ceremonial of the Feast of Tabernacles in the Jerusalem Temple, described by Dr. Edersheim in his *Jesus the Messiah* (II. 157, ed. 1900): "The pilgrims are all in festive array, in his right hand each carries what is called the *Lulabh*, which although properly meaning a branch *or* *palm-branch*," by usage contained other vegetation too. Of the eschatological significance of this Feast we have attestation in Jewish prophecy (Hos. xii. 9; Zech. xiv. 16, ff.).

HENRY HAYMAN.

## **The Philosophy of Religion in England and America.**

*By Alfred Caldecott, D.D., Professor of Logic and Mental Philosophy in King's College, London, formerly Fellow and Dean of St. John's College, Cambridge. London: Methuen & Co., 1901. Demy 8vo, pp. ix + 434. Price 10s. 6d.*

THIS book is a survey of the British and American literature of Theism from the period following upon the Reformation to the present day. About a fourth part of the volume consists of a classification of types of Theism. The rest of the work ranges writers under the different classes and gives some account, now the briefest of abstracts and now a lengthy critical exposition, of more than a hundred and twenty Theistic discussions.

Detailed discussion of the second part is impossible here. The general impression one gets is that of honest and careful work. Once, indeed, the author has obviously trusted to his memory, and it has played him false. But in most cases where the reader feels inclined to challenge the exposition, he will probably find on reference to the original texts, that Dr. Caldecott's view is at least a perfectly tenable one. As regards the proportion of space allotted to the various writers opinions must inevitably differ, but one feels that in some cases Anglican authors have got considerably more than their share. At the same time it is pleasant to be able to say that this is plainly due to Dr. Caldecott's naturally greater familiarity with those of his own communion and not to any ecclesiastical bias. From anything of that sort the book is singularly free. All through there is the most admirable candour and fairness, the frankest appreciation of work done by men belonging to other schools of thought and other sections of the Church. There are, however, some notable omissions that ought to be remedied in the next

edition, omissions one fancies to be explained by the fact that the neglected contributions are found in books more theological than philosophical and so not likely to be known to one whose work in other fields must have rendered impossible an extensive acquaintance with recent theology. The longer accounts are much the best. Some of the shorter strike one as inadequate, but others show real insight. In what follows an attempt will be made to summarise the earlier part of the book and to weave into the summary as much illustrative matter as possible from the second part.

Beginning with those schemes of Theism which put the emphasis upon knowledge, intelligence, truth, the constructive power of thought, we have first the type to which we may give the name of Intuitionism. It does not believe that we can demonstrate Theism, it acquiesces in the failure of reasoning, but it thinks that the Divine Being can be known by immediate perception as the external world can be known, or else that the affirmation of His existence is a self-evident intuition like the axioms of mathematics. Lord Herbert of Cherbury and Theodore Parker are the most notable names here. This first type is the simplest of all. It is mere affirmation.

Next to this ranks Demonstrative Theism. This may be either *a posteriori* or *a priori*. The first of these is the easiest for human nature to grasp and use, and has long held the field. This method proceeds to prove one thing from another, to pass from data by means of certain principles to conclusions. Its datum is the world of finites. From this the mind moves to the belief in the infinite and carries with it the conviction of reality. The principle is that of causation, in two aspects, from effect to cause and from order to purpose. Romanism has definitely adopted this method. Locke belongs to the school, and among later members we must reckon Mozley and Flint. In the epoch after Locke the stress was put mainly upon the teleological argument as by Paley and Chalmers. The method of *a priori* demonstration has had little hold of English-speaking



men. Samuel Clark, however, seems to rank on the whole with the ontologists. Closely akin to the Demonstrative Theists are the Transcendental Idealists. With them too all the stress is put upon thought, but the method is different. The thought of God, it is argued, is a necessary thought; it enters into the structure of experience, of reasoning, of knowledge; it gives form to that structure, it exhibits it as a consistent and coherent whole, without it experience falls asunder. Any other world view is incoherent and unsatisfying. The Cairds, Green and Royce are the best known writers using this method.

Alongside of these we must range some who can best be described as Quasi-Transcendentalists. Some writers of this school set forth the idea of the Divine Being as arising in the manner of a hypothesis to be verified by its interpretative power, but differ from the Transcendentalists in not recognising the necessity of the idea. Others apply the Transcendental method not merely in the sphere of thought but to the whole range of personal life. That is true, is real, which must be supposed in order to yield satisfaction to the manifold needs of our complex nature. This seems to be the position of Mr. Balfour. Demonstrative Theism and Transcendentalism alike emphasise the mental rather than the moral, but there is an Ethical Theism which finds its basis in the sense of the reality of the deliverances of the moral judgment, of the obligation to do right, to be virtuous, to love goodness and to pursue it. The whole duty is never done, the complete end is never attained. Ever the ideal is before us, higher and fuller than the actuality, and this ideality is the spring of the moral argument to Theism. Ethical Theism may be Demonstrative in its method, in which case we have simply another form of the causality inference. Or it may be Transcendental with a difference. The school classed as Transcendental seeks the starting-point, the fact to be explained, in self-consciousness as knowing: the Ethical Theist seeks it in self-determination towards the ideal of goodness. The former plants itself in the sphere of knowledge, the latter in the sphere of conduct, of the moral

consciousness. Dr. Temple and Dr. Campbell Fraser are typical Ethical Theists.

The next type should be that of Aesthetic Theism, making the beautiful a datum for Theism as the last type made goodness. It must of course be maintained that beauty is something apart from utility, and that it is not purely subjective. The method may be Demonstrative, arguing from the presence of beauty in the world to a cause adequate to account for it, a Being from whom it proceeds, infinitely beautiful in Himself. There is no English writer so dominated by this thought that we can class him here, but Shaftesbury and Hutcheson among earlier philosophers, Shelley, Ruskin and Seeley among men of letters, and Mr. Kennedy among theologians have done most in this direction. We have seen that the Inferential Method generally may start from two different sets of ideas, our intellectual conceptions and our moral ones, and so we may have either a Speculative or an Ethical Rational Theism. But there are some who accept both methods, who hold that speculatively or ethically Theism is proved with equal cogency. Three great typical English thinkers may best be ranged here, Hooker, Berkeley, and Butler. Among more recent supporters of this view we must reckon W. G. Ward and John Fiske.

Thus far, save in the case of the Quasi-Transcendentalists, we have been dealing with methods of Rationalism. It has been assumed that the belief in God is the result of the constructive activity of reason, and that this is more than a mental construction, that there is a reality corresponding to this necessity of thought. But there is another school of Theistic thought equally deserving of a place with the Rationalist. Empiricism claims that deeper than the constructions of our thinking lie the basal assertions of experience. The Empirical Theist holds that experience is competent to make the direct assertion that there is a Divine Being. He may take either the individual or the community as the true subject of religious belief. Some Empiricists rest content with the declaration of the common-sense of mankind, and commend it to the individual as giving a broader ground for

belief than his own personal experience could possibly supply. This may claim to be the ultimate account of man's religious belief, and that it is at least a proximate account is plain. It assigns a cause for it in the individual mind manifestly in actual operation. A social Theist might say: "When I have found the consummating thoughts of the religion of mankind, in this I will believe: they shall be my faith; and I will work for a religion of the future in which all men, gradually led to abandon temporary and local elements will join in what thus gathers up the common aspirations and thoughts of the race". Such a type would naturally follow the Rationalist as seeking in another fashion for that universality which Rationalism claims, and which seems impossible for the ordinary Empiricism. But no prominent British philosophers or writers have taken up Social Theism as their method. Even strong supporters of High Church views for Christian faith have not professedly extended the authority of the community over Natural Theology, whatever their real practice may have been. Practically a Romanist is in the position of being expected by the social authority to see cogency in Natural Theology, or at least to acknowledge that he ought to see it. If he does not see it, he is a Social Theist. Even among Protestants there is a practical appeal in many cases to Social Theism, an invitation not to run counter to the common consciousness of believers. In Bishop Westcott's work, individualist as he is, there are passages which include clear reference to the corporate mind of humanity as evolving religious belief.

If on the other hand the Empiricist takes the individual as the true subject of religious belief, he may think of the assertion of the Divine existence as made either by some factor of experience or by experience as a whole. It may be an assurance of feeling. It would be strange indeed if feeling were to be excluded from all share in the formation of belief. When there is presented to us the idea of God, feeling is aroused: feeling deep and penetrative and such as is not quickened by any finite source. In this we trust and by it we believe. To insist on the legitimacy of this trust is to

have a Theology of Feeling. Such a Theism rests on the assumption that a selective operation of feeling is natural and justifiable, and that a mere passive reception of objects in a purely disinterested way is not justifiable, even if it were possible, which it is not. The gratification of our feeling for the infinite is a natural right, and one upon which we are entitled to insist in face of what is at the outset a passively received picture. Such feeling, it may be urged, goes beyond mere individualism. Speaking emotionally, there is—at the highest level—but one kind of religious feeling in the human race, one kind of devotion, of adoration. There is no first-rate product of a Theology of Feeling in English thought, a somewhat surprising fact when we remember that Englishmen have given to the world an Ethics of Feeling. Hobbes alone of the Hedonists might perhaps be reckoned here. Brown-ing's Theism too seems to belong to this type. "Since we love, we know enough," is his formula for the Theology of Feeling. Generally the tide seems to be setting this way. There is already a strong tendency among philosophers to incorporate feeling with thought in all our working towards beliefs, and it is beginning to be felt among theologians. What is meant by the stress now put upon the so-called value judgments but that no mere affirmations or negations of bare fact or event are what we mean by truth; that every vital judgment is a judgment as to value or worth? Is this not to give feeling an inalienable place?

But the Empiricist may rest upon will as the factor in experience asserting the Divine existence. His assertion of that existence may issue from an act of faith in which will predominates. The formula of this Theism of the Will, as we may call it, is: I decide to believe. In all seriousness, with full sense of responsibility, I choose the positive answer to the question whether there be a God, and adopt it as my belief. Many have accepted Rationalism for Theism who at the same time have made resort to faith when dealing with Christian doctrine. It will be found that generally, when faith is thus insisted upon over against reason, it is either the right of following feeling or the right of actively exerting

will that is meant, and in Britain by far most frequently the latter. Were such writers to place their doctrine of God on the same basis with all that comes after it we should have a Theism of Will. The time, however, has not yet arrived for a solid and systematic example of a Theism of this type. But the marked advance in recent years of a Will-Psychology is significant of much, and already we have the first beginnings of a Theism of this type. Dr. James Ward has shown how the Will-Psychology can be used in order to make clear the nature of the experience in which the roots of Theism are to be found. According to Professor James, whatever may be the ideal condition of things, our beliefs are produced by our willing nature. This indeed he thinks the normal way of belief.

Next comes the Empirical Theism which rests upon experience as a whole and may be called Personalism. Reason, Feeling, Will ; so modern analysis gives the fundamentals of the life of the soul of man. In the types delineated thus far we have seen them used as furnishing separate bases or methods for Theism. But the characteristic of Personalism is that it refuses to make this separation at all, and insists on treating belief as an outcome of the soul acting as a whole. All along, at every stage, each has been contributing: a complex result has issued from a complexity of process in which the fundamental unity of personality has always been finding expression. The British protagonist of the Personal school is John Henry Newman. His central position is that the whole personality acts in judging and is concerned in assent ; while reasoning proceeds by abstractions and personalities, and no man really depends upon it for the beliefs by which he guides his life. All real assents are personal in their character. All these different Empirical types are content with one or more of the ordinary faculties. Personalism, for example, regards religious belief as the outcome of ordinary natural processes, carrying us right up to apprehension of the Infinite. But the next method, to which we may give the name of Intuitivism or Mysticism, founds belief upon a special faculty or capacity of our nature. By this we

are supposed to reach beyond what is sensuous and intelligible, and even beyond the range of the moral sense. God is presented to our soul as no abstraction but as concrete, not as composite but as simple, not inferentially known but directly, not a Being only but a Spirit. The method is not to be confused with Intuitionism which also speaks of direct knowledge of God, but of knowledge in the proper sense, akin to perception and reasoning, an immediate apprehension of the object. This latter type of Theism arises in Britain in several quarters and works itself out in various ways. In most of its adherents it is ingrained in their faith as Christians and in their mode of conceiving the life of the gospel. Coleridge and Wordsworth among the poets, Carlyle and Emerson among the men of letters, Maurice and Francis Newman, Westcott and Romanes among theological writers, all represent this type. Now we have reached the end of the Empirical types. But there are some minds able to respond to appeals from all sides. This is a similar character to that of the Personalists, but we need a group containing those who accept Rationalism in some form, and who use Empirical methods as well. The Personalists are Empiricists only, unable to see their way to Rationalism in any form. The men of this Composite type, as we may call it, take factors from both sides of the main line of cleavage. These are set side by side or more or less woven together. The most notable name to be put under this head is that of Martineau. He would not have ranked himself so, but he is wrong in describing his method of Theism as only twofold, resting on Causality and Duty. It includes a quite different feature, an intuitive apprehension of the Divine Being.

If we wish to include in our classification all those who have grappled with the Theistic problem and attempted in any degree to solve it, we must make two other additions to our list of types. There are some who reach a doctrine akin to Theism, but in so attenuated a form as to render the term Theism itself inapplicable in the sense in which Englishmen are accustomed to employ it. Such views we may describe as Quasi-Theisms. Hobbes comes

in here, and not among the Atheists. In Theism he vindicated a Deity, although of a character that to others seemed worse than worthless, and impossible as an object of worship. Some Quasi-Theisms recognise no infinity, acquiescing in finite character even for the Supreme Being. We have two prominent examples of this type in Hume and J. S. Mill. Of more recent writers Herbert Spencer and Mr. Bradley must be reckoned as belonging to other types of the same school, though on the whole spiritual Theism will claim Mr. Bradley as being on its side. The last type includes those for whom the light of Nature is too dim a guide in things divine, and who accordingly resort to Revelation. There are many assured Christian men who are sceptics or agnostics in Natural Theology. Here we must include not only those writers who deny the possibility of a Natural Theology but also those thinkers who more or less unconsciously leant all their weight upon Revelation. Dr. Dale, for example, found his own real satisfaction in the Christian Revelation of God, and experienced no practical need for Natural Theology, either personally or as a teacher and guide of others. Dr. Bruce, again, had not cleared his mind as to methods of Theism, and it is truest to his actual mind to rank him with those who have no real confidence in any other source than historical Revelation.

What is to be said of the value of this classification? One has to confess that at first it repels. It does not seem as if any good could come of so minute a division, and one feels sure that writers could not be fitted into it without much unfairness and misrepresentation. And this last objection would indeed be fatal if the great object of such a classification were simply to label each author in the most accurate manner possible. Just as one approached to this the division would become utterly useless. But what we need here is some classification that will take all this great mass of thinking and separate out the main drifts of it, show what are the paths that thought has more or less consciously pursued, that so we may take heart of hope for the future. We want to have some conception of the whole as more than

a mere aggregate, as a whole already partially ordered, and with possibility of greater order still. We want a classification that will make us feel that what has been done has not been labour in vain, that will strike new lights for the mind, suggest the certainty of progress in the future. Such a classification Dr. Caldecott has given us here. He would be the last to call it perfect, but it is the beginning of science in the matter. Once one has thought over it and read all the book, he finds the writers falling naturally into those groups, and if here and there there is a difficulty that is only what is to be expected. The typical will never be quite the same as the real.

Every student of Theism will find Dr. Caldecott's book an indispensable one, whether he agree or disagree. Only those who have done work of the same kind will recognise the amount of toil its preparation must have involved, but all will be grateful for a volume which is likely to mark a new departure in the branch of study with which it deals.

WILLIAM JOHNSTON.



## The Neo-Platonists : A Study in the History of Hellenism.

By Thomas Whittaker, Author of "*Essays and Notices, Philosophical and Psychological*". Cambridge : At the University Press, 1901. Pp. xiii. + 231. Price 7s. 6d.

WITH much care and scholarship, Mr. Whittaker here expounds Neo-Platonism and gives an account of the leading Neo-Platonic teachers. He writes in an interesting fashion, with full knowledge and lucidly, and keeps his exposition and his criticism rigorously apart.

The handling of the subject proper is prefaced by a consideration of preceding systems of philosophic thought and of the circumstances under which Neo-Platonism arose. This includes reference to Græco-Roman civilization in its political development, to the stages of Greek philosophy, to religious developments in later antiquity, and to the nearest predecessors of Plotinus.

To the system of Plotinus himself, Mr. Whittaker devotes many luminous pages. The handling is thorough and exact, and no better summary need be desired by the student. Stress is very properly laid on the Plotinian psychology and theory of knowledge ; and it will surprise many who are not acquainted with Siebeck to find how very psychological Plotinus and his school were. It may even be claimed for Porphyry that, in his *De Abſtinentiâ*, where he is arguing against the propriety of killing and eating animals, he makes a real contribution towards the solution of the question, Is an animal psychology possible? Next is handled the Plotinian metaphysics (cosmology and ontology) ; and there is a section on æsthetics, which serves to set forth Plotinus as the precursor of those modern philosophers who see in Beauty a revelation of the Divine. There is also a very

helpful chapter on the mysticism of Plotinus, where the connexion between this side of his teaching with his epistemology is clearly shown, aided by an appropriate reference to Spinoza. Perhaps, more should be made of the Plotinian Categories (being rest, motion, identity, and difference); which, although not accepted by the school generally, did have a distinct significance for the master himself, and, at any rate, possess an interest of their own.

Less space is needed for the consideration of Plotinus's successors. In a single chapter, Mr. Whittaker treats of Porphyry and Iamblichus; while he devotes another to the Athenian School, centring in Proclus. The polemic against Christianity also occupies a chapter; and the book ends with a chapter headed "Conclusion," supplemented by three brief appendices and an index of names.

It is the writer's object in this work, not only to show the place of Neo-Platonism in the history of philosophy and the significance of the system for modern thought, but also, and more especially, to bring out the originality of the Neo-Platonic thinkers. For this end, he emphasizes the two facts that Neo-Platonism is distinctively a Hellenic product, and that it is essentially a philosophy, not a religion. These points need to be insisted on; for, even yet, the Oriental element in Neo-Platonism is not unfrequently given as supreme and as determinative of the system, while modern theosophists would fix our attention on its religious accretions. On the other hand, the philosophy and the religion must not be too rigidly separated. As Neo-Platonism was the last stupendous effort of Greek Paganism to revive its hold on men's minds, it was wise enough to be largely eclectic; and, as it claimed to meet the whole wants of man's nature, it could not fail to be both a religion and a philosophy. It had a Roman period, a Syrian period (so-called), and an Athenian period; but, in all the periods, we can trace one supreme and guiding principle,—*viz.*, the longing of the individual to escape from finite existence and to become one with the Absolute, and the endeavour to do so, not through self-consciousness, but through ecstasy and self-annihilation.

This was Hellenic, only in the sense that the germ of it may be found in Plato: had it not been for contact with Eastern religious thought, it is hard to conceive how the germ would have developed as it did in the Neo-Platonists.

Mr. Whittaker objects to regarding Neo-Platonism as a part of Alexandrian philosophy. He reminds us that, although Plotinus was born in Egypt and studied in early days under Ammonius Saccas at Alexandria, he did not enunciate his philosophy till he had settled in Rome; nor was Alexandria the centre of the school in later times—that centre was Athens. No doubt, this is quite true; but, on the other hand, Plotinus was taught by Ammonius, and is reputed to have based his philosophy on that teaching. Moreover, the whole trend of Alexandrian thought is entirely consonant with Neo-Platonism; so that, on the one hand, Philo and the Judæo-Alexandrian school generally prepared the way for Plotinus, and influenced him, even if unconsciously; and, on the other hand, there is much in common between Origen, the Christian catechist, and Plotinus, both of them students under Ammonius. Surely, then, the general title of Alexandrian philosophy may quite well be retained, if we be strict in drawing the distinctions under it. There was a Judæo-Hellenic school (represented by Philo), a Christian catechetical school (of which Clement and Origen were the leading figures), and a Neo-Platonic school (headed by Plotinus); but all breathed the same atmosphere and drew their inspiration, directly or indirectly, from the thought of Alexandria.

In this way, it is possible to doubt whether Mr. Whittaker has not exaggerated the independence of the Neo-Platonists. There was Platonism before the Neo-Platonists; and the influence of (say) the Septuagint and of Philo must count for a good deal in moulding the common thought of the early Christian centuries. Here, in particular, we must look for the beginning of certain psychological conceptions and of a psychological terminology, which are only carried forward and perfected in Neo-Platonism.

In like manner, it may be possible to doubt whether, in

his concluding chapter, summing up results, Mr. Whittaker has not exaggerated the influence of Neo-Platonism on modern Western thought. Unquestionably, this influence was great — especially from the Renaissance downwards. But too much must not be made of the fact that a particular thinker (Bruno, for example, or Dante) read Plotinus. One thinker may read another and be influenced by him without the circumstance being responsible for every similar turn of thought or of expression. On the other hand, an ancient philosopher may appear much more modern in his thought than he really was or could have been. Hence, the attempt here made to bring Proclus into line with recent science, though ingenious, is hardly convincing.

These things apart, however, the book is a very able and a very welcome one. It goes far to remove the opprobrium that has so long rested on British scholars regarding the exposition of one of the most remarkable and most important of ancient philosophies.

WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON.

## **A Study of Social Morality.**

*By W. A. Watt, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil., Glasgow. Edinburgh :  
T. & T. Clark, 1901. Pp. xiii. + 293. Price 6s.*

THIS book is divided into two parts—the first approaching the subject from the standpoint of Virtue, and dealing with Justice, Benevolence, and Truthfulness; and the second approaching it from the side of Social Organization and institutions, ending with consideration of the State.

In the opening chapter, there is an interesting handling of Justice, viewed in its relation to Social Order, where the conceptions of equality, equity, and freedom fall to be considered, and where also such a puzzling point as that of Expectations is treated, and where the theory of Punishment is expounded. Here too Justice is viewed on the side of private conduct; and, still again, as impartiality. On each aspect the author touches briefly, but luminously, although several of the points might with advantage have been elaborated. The question also might have been raised as to the relation between Justice and Generosity or Mercy; for this, in every-day practice, is one of the greatest difficulties that confront us.

Benevolence is treated of in Chapter II. Good as the handling in some respects is, it lacks depth, and is too much concerned with the various meanings of the term, cursorily surveyed. A real analysis of Love and Hate, for instance, such as we find in the *Ethics* of Spinoza, would have brought out the central conception far more effectively, in one aspect; and a consideration of Altruism would have completed it. On the other hand, the consideration of the application of the principle of benevolence to particular spheres, to the forms of modern philanthropy (helping the needy, etc.),

is done with insight ; and one might specially refer to the analysis of Friendship.

The difficulties in connexion with Truthfulness are very well shown in Chapter III., and illustrated by interesting examples. Less satisfactory is the treatment of the self-regarding virtues (fortitude, temperance, etc.), included in this section. It is too summary and scarcely vital enough.

Chapter IV.—which opens Part II.—is concerned with illustrating the manner in which ethical principle may be seen working itself through the main social groups: *e.g.*, international relations, the Church, the family. As a survey of views, it is interesting and suggestive, but would admit of considerable elaboration.

The Inner Life (comprising conscience, moral pathology, and asceticism), the World (desire of wealth, power, etc.), and Work and Recreation find their place in Chapter V., entitled “Some Aspects of Individual Life”. In the handling of subjects so commonplace as these, it is perhaps unreasonable to expect much originality or freshness ; but Mr. Watt's analysis is not always adequate. For example, he divides conscience into its antecedent, concomitant, and subsequent phrases, and regards this as a particularly felicitous division—forgetful of the fact that conscience is a unity and that its functions involve each other. He naturally lays stress upon the legal aspect of Conscience, upon its authority or supremacy as a judge delivering sentence without the power of appeal ; but he should have noted the fact that Conscience may revise its judgments—*must*, indeed, revise them, in the case when fresh light has been thrown upon an act. It is also important to observe that Conscience is itself a revealer. Being a species of reflection, it is an illuminative process, a source of light, bringing character into clear view and disclosing to us the true nature of our acts. The influence of habit, too, in sharpening the individual's power of moral perception should be noted ; and particularly in place, in a treatise like this, would be reference to the essentially social nature of conscience—to the circumstance that its

very existence depends on the existence of persons holding distinct relation to each other.

Chapter VI. is one of the best in the book. It is concerned with moral rules and resolutions, and gives a spirited consideration of casuistry, with special reference, in the first instance, to the criticism of Pascal.

In Chapter VII. the author deals with the wider ethical unities—the general will, civilization, cosmopolitanism, duty to animals; and glances at the subject of moral progress and its various aspects. He is here much fuller in his treatment and more critical. Although he has no positively new light to throw upon the questions raised, he puts the matter in a clear and vigorous way, and urges very effectively the necessity of paying due regard to the social side of morality, if we would understand the true nature of ethical phenomena and of individuality, and yet the necessity of having the right conception of the social organism. “The question is not whether we are to abandon the idea of the individual; doubtless we cannot get rid of the individual in ethics: it is whether the relation between the one, as such, and the social whole, which is so continually put forward as if it were all-important, is not qualified materially by the intrusion of other elements. Thus, if I fall back on the conception of a plurality of human beings of which I am one, the question arises whether what occupies the field of my imagination is not one particular aspect merely (and that an aspect the practical importance of which is prone to be exaggerated) of the ethical organism or order which our nature demands. And misdirection in the manner of asserting our apparently pointlike personality will assuredly defeat the very end—of really asserting it—which we have in view. So far as ethics is concerned, the social organism is a conception which presents serious difficulties unless we are prepared to be, not indeed, like nature, careless of the single corporeal life, but very determined to see it in its proper perspective.”

The work concludes with a chapter, all too brief, on a supplementary view of the State.

This book, as will be gathered from what has already been said, has its defects as well as its merits.

Its leading defect is, that it is too much of a bird's-eye view, and lacks criticism, and even reasoned exposition, of the guiding principles of social morality. To state, for instance, the difficulties that attach to civilization in its dealings with uncivilized peoples is not enough; nor is it enough to mention how these difficulties are got over in practice. We need a critical handling of the ground of recognized practice in this respect, and some definite light to guide us apart from mere custom. Another defect is, that Mr. Watt deals too much in word-distinctions, and is not always felicitous in the discriminations that he makes. The result is that one cannot help having the impression that, at points, words take the place of thoughts—at any rate, it is not always obvious what precisely the bearing of the distinctions drawn has upon the subject under consideration.

On the other hand, the book has its merits. As a summary of views succinctly put, it will be found a convenient book to have beside one; and, as it is a treatise of the practical kind, written in a lucid style, and free from unnecessary technicality, it should be welcome to others than the professed student. It has, further, the virtue of keeping constantly in view the morality of our own time, and of not losing touch with the doctrines of common-sense.

WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON.



## Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde nach dem babylonischen Exil.

*Von D. Ernst Sellin, o. Professor der evangelischen Theologie in Wien. I. Der Knecht Gottes bei Deuterojesaja. Pp. iv. + 302. Price M.6.40. II. Die Restauration der jüdischen Gemeinde in den Jahren 538-516. Das Schicksal Serubbabels. Pp. iv. + 199. Price M.4.50; both volumes together M.10. Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf. (Georg Böhme), 1901.*

THE first of these two volumes treats of the servant of the Lord in Deutero-Isaiah, more especially in Isa. xlii. 1-7; xlix. 1-9; l. 4-10; lii. 13-liii. 12. In chap. i., Prof. Sellin argues that the servant in these passages is an individual. (1) In these passages the servant is anonymous (in xlix. 3 "Israel" is not genuine), whereas in other passages the author makes liberal use of the explanatory additions "Israel" or "Jacob"; (2) the description of the servant is so individual that several traits (*e.g.*, xlii. 2, 3; xlix. 2; l. 4 ff.) cannot possibly be explained in a natural manner of the people; (3) the servant is everywhere in these passages clearly distinguished both from the people as a whole, and from its Godpleasing kernel. In xlii. 3 the "bruised reed," and "smoking flax," from which he is distinguished, is Israel itself, or rather the oppressed good portion of it; in xlii. 6, he is represented not only as a bearer of light to the Gentiles, but also as the mediator of a covenant with Israel; in xlix. 1-9, he is described as the means whereby God brings the people back from the Babylonian captivity, and as one whom God makes to be a covenant with the people (vers. 5, 6, 8); in l. 4-9 the weary one whom he is to sustain (ver. 4) is the people itself, and the enemies of vers. 6-9 are godless Israelites as well as Gentiles; in liii. 1-7 the speakers are not the

Gentiles, but the people and the prophet, from whom consequently the servant is distinguished; he is also distinguished from the people in ver. 8. (4) The vocation of the servant in these passages is totally different from that of Israel in the other chapters of the book. He has an *active* vocation in behalf of Israel as well as of the Gentiles, whereas in the other chapters his active vocation is only for the Gentiles. It may be said that what is spoken of is the vocation of the good kernel of the people for the people as a whole; but not a single passage has been adduced in Deutero-Isaiah in which an action bearing upon the people as a whole is predicated of the people in the narrower sense: everywhere the latter is passive, suffering. Israel also has an active function to discharge as regards the Gentiles; but nowhere is anything said of Israel parallel to the function of the servant in xlii. 1-4; xli. 15 f., xlii. 13, xliii. 3 and xlv. 14 are totally different. According to Deutero-Isaiah's usual descriptions, Israel is incapable of such a function. This is true also of the *passive* side of the servant's vocation, more especially as described in liii. 2-10a, where the prophet speaks in his own name and in that of the people, and there is not the least trace of a distinction between Israel as a whole and ideal Israel. Prof. Sellin works out all these points with great care, and with constant reference to the most recent literature.

In Chapter II. he argues that this individual servant is neither a future nor an abstract ideal form, but a real contemporary of the author. He is certainly, in the author's estimation, the Messiah; but he is not to be sought for in the future; the prophet and his contemporaries are personally acquainted with him. Chapter III. is devoted to the proof that the servant is neither a prophet nor a teacher of the Torah, but a descendant of David, who is appointed to be the leader of the new Kingdom of God. Each of the servant-passages is examined with great minuteness; it is admitted that one of them (l. 4-10), if it stood alone, might equally well be explained of a prophet or teacher of the Torah as of a prince or leader of the people; but the explanation that

fits in best with all the facts, is that which makes the servant the mediator of the redemption of Israel, and of the setting up of the Kingdom of God in the whole earth, and consequently, on the assumption that he is a contemporary of the prophet, a descendant of David. This expectation of a personal Messiah is not in contradiction with Deutero-Isaiah's so-called theocentric conception of salvation; the servant is simply the instrument whereby God executes His saving purposes. This is true of his suffering in behalf of the people; God is the *prima causa* (liii. 6, 10). Nor does the activity of Cyrus as the instrument of Jehovah exclude a personal Messiah of the house of David. The activities of the two are supplementary; both serve the same saving purpose of God, and both are necessary. That the servant is nowhere called king, and that he lacks many of the traits necessary to the old Israelitish conception of a king, is no argument against his being a son of David. Taught by experience, the prophets had transformed the old Israelitish idea of kingship; in their picture of the true king, the secular side becomes secondary, and he becomes the personification of the fear of God and of righteousness. The characteristics of the coming king they transferred to David, the founder of the present dynasty. In this idealisation of David the Deuteronomists proceeded much further; in them David is the pattern of the fear of God and the servant of Jehovah *par excellence* (cf. Jer. xxxiii. 21, 26; Ezech. xxxiv. 23, f.). What was more natural than that a prophet, who saw in one of his contemporaries the son of David, that was to be the ideal king, should represent him as pre-eminently a ruler in righteousness, and should name him after his great ancestor, "Servant of Jehovah?" Sellin finds a confirmation of his argument in the fact that many of the expressions used of the servant are employed in the Babylonian texts of the Kings of Babylon. He concludes Chapter III. with a criticism of Bertholet's hypothesis.

In Chapters IV. and V. Dr. Sellin discusses at great length the date of Deutero-Isaiah, and the relation of the servant-passages to the rest of the book. In his former work,

*Serubbabel*, he argued that the whole book was composed in Jerusalem between the years 515 and 500; but he has now reached a different conclusion. Chapters xl.-xlviii. were published in Babylon shortly before its fall; they presuppose an activity of the prophet for many years among the people, and contain a few quotations from his previous predictions. Chapters xlix.-lv. were also written in Babylon shortly after its capture, in all probability after the issue of the general edict of Cyrus permitting the captured peoples to return to their native lands, but before the edict referring specially to Judah. In his previous work Sellin maintained that the servant-passages were composed at an earlier period by Deutero-Isaiah, and afterwards worked up by him into his present book. He still holds with König, Budde and Marti, that they are the work of Deutero-Isaiah, but now admits that the previous publication of any of them is only a possibility.

In Chapter VI. he attempts to discover the person of the servant in history. For several reasons he abandons, as utterly untenable, his former hypothesis that Zerubbabel was the person in question. After considering and rejecting the claims of Shealtiel and Sheshbazzar, he decides upon Jeconiah. It is true that in the year 539 the latter would have been 75 years old, but that is by no means an abnormal age. 2 Kings xxv. 27-30 does not prove that he died before the end of the exile; for the books of Kings contain a few post-exilic additions, and this epitome is probably one of these. Nor does it prove that he was dead when this epitome was written; for the suffix in "all the days of his life" (ver. 29 f.) refers most naturally to Evil-merodach (so also "until the day of his death," Jer. lii. 34). But how could Isa. liii. 9 be said of Jeconiah? It hardly needs to be said that 2 Kings xxiv. 9 pronounces no ethical judgment regarding him; while 2 Kings xxiv. 12 reports of him a very noble deed, the voluntary surrender of himself and his whole court in order that Jerusalem might be spared. From Jer. xxii. 20-30, Ezech. xvii., xix., and Lam. iv. we gather a very favourable impression of him; many among the people had expected great things

of him, and deplored the calamity that had befallen him. And now that in the year 561 he was delivered out of prison and advanced to honour at the Babylonian court, who could tell to what higher honour he was destined of God? His favour at the court lasted only two years; but he remained free; and a lofty spirit like Deutero-Isaiah, who discerned the signs of the times, saw in him, thus sorely afflicted and yet marvellously delivered, the one who should accomplish God's gracious designs in behalf of His people. How does this hypothesis fit in with the servant-passages? In answering this question, Sellin occupies himself mainly with lii. 13-14, and finds that there is no evidence within the passage itself that the servant was put to death, and that much in it points to the conclusion that he was one who had gone voluntarily into exile, was maltreated and imprisoned, and afterwards set free. There are several objections to this hypothesis; but our author finds no great difficulty in demolishing them. He is not, however, under the illusion that his new solution of the problem will speedily meet with general acceptance. In the closing Chapter (VII.) of this volume he discusses the religious historical significance of the servant-passages, which, on his interpretation, is at least not less than if one makes them absolute pictures of the future, which the prophet's contemporaries could not possibly have understood. These passages find their true fulfilment in Jesus of Nazareth.

The second volume contains two studies, the first on the Restoration of the Jewish Community in the years 538-516, the second on the fate of Zerubbabel. In the first of these studies, Professor Sellin discusses in successive chapters Ezra iv. 7-vi. 15; Haggai; Zechariah; Neh. vii. and Ezra ii.; the memoirs of Nehemiah and Ezra; the book of the so-called Trito-Isaiah; and the Chronicler. Against Kusters and others he maintains the unity and trustworthiness of Ezra iv. 7-vi. 15 (iv. 24 and "Artaxerxes," vi. 14, are additions of the Chronicler). We have here an Aramaic document, a petition addressed to Artaxerxes by those named in iv. 7, its superscription. The first part of this document (iv. 8-23)

treats of the interruption of a building of the walls of Jerusalem before Darius I., at the instigation of Rehum and Shimshai (ver. 8). The second part (v. 1-vi. 15) treats of an unsuccessful attempt by Tattenai to prevent the building of the temple under Darius. The authors of this document were the "Samaritan" opponents of Nehemiah (Tabeel iv. 7 is the Aramaic form of Tobiah, probably the real author), who had access to the archives of Jerusalem as well as of Samaria, and who drew it up in the hope that by informing Artaxerxes of the steps taken by his predecessors in the matter of the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem, they would induce him to withdraw from Nehemiah his permission to do so, and suffer him only to rebuild the temple. The Chronicler misunderstood the superscription of the petition (iv. 7); he thought that it and ver. 8 ff. treated of two distinct acts of hostility against the Jews; and this misunderstandinging led him to change the name Cyrus or Cambyses, which stood in the Aramaic document in vers. 8, 11, and 23, into Artaxerxes, assuming, in his ignorance of Persian history, that an Artaxerxes (different from the patron of Nehemiah) reigned before Darius I. From this anti-Jewish document, the conclusion of which the Chronicler does not communicate, we gather the following facts: the decree of Cyrus regarding the building of the temple; the laying of the foundation stone by Sheshbazzar, who is certainly different from Zerubbabel; a *gradual* return of the majority of the exiles; a futile attempt to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem; an interruption of the building of the temple; the laying of a new foundation and the completion of the temple by Zerubbabel.

As regards the building of the temple, the Book of Haggai contains nothing contradictory of Ezra v., vi.; while it contains notices that make it probable that Zerubbabel's was not the first attempt after 586 to found a sanctuary on Mount Zion. It certainly says nothing of a return of the exiles in the second year of Cyrus; but in many ways it presupposes that between the fall of Babylon and September 520 the majority of the people had again settled in Palestine. The Book of Zechariah, as generally understood, favours Koster's

hypothesis. Chapters VII. and VIII. certainly imply that in 518 the majority of the people had returned from Babylon, and that in 520 the foundation stone of the temple was laid; but they say nothing as to what happened in 538. It is in the visions of i. 7-vi. 15 that Kusters' hypothesis finds its main support (*e.g.*, i. 12, ii. 5 [Heb. ver. 10], vi. 10 ff.). But these are not documents for the history of the year (519) in which they were published. In i. 8-ii. the prophet's standpoint is in the exile, shortly before the hour of redemption; in iii. it is in Jerusalem: Joshua and his companions have already returned, and Zerubbabel is expected; in iv. 1-5, 10b-14 Zerubbabel is already in the land; in v. the standpoint is pre-exilic; in vi. 1-8 exilic; in vi. 9-15 one or two companies have already returned, and another, under Zerubbabel, is expected. In these visions the prophet, after the manner of the later Apocalyptic, weaves together past, present and future, and presents them as a divinely willed future organism; that which has already actually taken place is the prelude and presage of what has still to happen. By thus presenting the history of the past years as an organism willed beforehand by God, he seeks to convince his contemporaries that their still unfulfilled hopes will also be realised. Thus understood, the visions bear witness not only to the fact that a return of the exiles had begun in 538, but also to the fact that the return was *gradual*. Three companies of returned settlers in Jerusalem are clearly distinguished, (a) Joshua and his companions (iii. 2, 8a), (b) Heldai and his companions (vi. 9), (c) Zerubbabel (iii. 8b, vi. 12 f., 15), the latter two probably several years after the first (against Ezra ii. 2, as commonly understood). In the other documents examined by him, Sellin finds at least a confirmation of this view of his. The Chronicler has on the whole faithfully reproduced his sources. But he erroneously took Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel to be one and the same person; this mistake led him to regard the list of names, which he found in the memoirs of Nehemiah, not as the list of those who returned from 538-520, but of those who returned in 538 (Ezra ii., Neh. vii.); it also led him to infer, in contradiction

with Haggai and Zechariah, that it was Zerubbabel that laid the foundation of the temple in the second year of Cyrus (Ezra iii.). He is thus responsible for the mistaken view that the return took place, as a whole, in 538, instead of gradually, from 538-520.

As already stated, Dr. Sellin has abandoned the hypothesis that Zerubbabel was the servant of the Lord of Deutero-Isaiah; but he still holds that he attempted to make himself King of the Jews and perished in the attempt. Haggai and Zechariah manifestly proclaimed him a Messiah, *i.e.*, one chosen of God to be king, and this thought must sooner or later have been translated into deeds. Many of the Messianic passages in the pre-exilic prophets belong to the years 540-518; was it not a sacred duty to make the dream of a Davidic Kingdom a reality? There are many *indirect* proofs that Zerubbabel yielded to the pressure of the prophets and a majority of the people, assumed the royal title and perished as a traitor. These are (1) the removal of the Davidic line from the governorship; (2) the wretched condition in which Nehemiah, Ezra and Malachi found Jerusalem, the temple and the people; (3) the introduction of the Priests' Code, which altogether ignores Messianic hope, and (4) the discredit into which the prophets fell after Zechariah. In the Psalter also there are many confirmations of the rebellion and overthrow of Zerubbabel, *e.g.*, Ps. cxxxii., xx., xxi., lxi., lxiii. (probably also xlv., lxxii.) and lxxxix. which Duhm refers to Aristobulus and Alexander Jannæus.

Prof. Sellin is full of ideas and hypotheses. He writes in a pleasing manner; is very fair to opponents; but he is too apt to be satisfied with his own reasoning, and to confound possibilities, and even plausibilities, with certainties. Still, his two volumes are interesting throughout; they contain a great deal of valuable matter, and form a good introduction to the study of the important questions of which they treat.

DAVID EATON.



## **The Church of Scotland : her Divisions and her Re-Unions.**

*By C. G. M'Crie, D.D. Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace, 1901.*

*Pp. xi + 382. Price 5s. net.*

A SCOTCHMAN may be excused an interest in the story of his country's Church ; and the interest is the more pardonable when the story is of such a unique character as that unfolded in these pages. A Scotchman has an excusable feeling that there is no Church in Christendom whose story of contendings is so absorbing as that of his own ! And, indeed, it may fairly be asked if the student of Church History will find anywhere, at least in any Presbyterian Church of Christendom, so much that is of absorbing interest from every point of view : and if one wishes to study the currents of religious thought and the religious impulses which somehow ebb and flow like the tides, one will find few more instructive object-lessons than the post-Reformation story of the Scottish Church. From this point of view, one would find Dr. M'Crie's book extremely helpful, and the student would find here a faithful record of the movements which time and again have stirred earnest Scottish people, movements very diverse in character, and reflecting in each generation a different spirit, sometimes expressing themselves in separation and at other times in re-union. If one could quite understand the subtle movements which, generation after generation, pressed on toward secession or re-union in Scotland, one would be in a fair position to understand much of the general history of the Church in Christendom. These movements stir in one the wonder whether in Scotland they are all tending toward one goal ; whether the Church, by these strange steps and in these devious ways, is being led toward an end or stage in religious history more wonderful than we

have ever seen in Scotland. And if in Scotland, why not elsewhere ?

The work under review is by one who inherits a historic name, and has a hereditary right to be a historian of movements in the story of his Church. Dr. M'Crie, in writing this work, claims "to have sought after accuracy and impartiality". Both are essential in a historian ; but the latter, in one "with Secession lineage," is the more difficult to secure. One is bound, however, to admit that Dr. M'Crie has not sought after "accuracy and impartiality" in vain. We have read through this work with singular pleasure and find it a careful and accurate statement of the post-Reformation movements in Scottish Church history. One pardons the author his Secession bias: it is vain to expect "a colourless neutrality" in any historian who writes the annals of his own Church! Our chief regret about his valuable book is that the author has allowed himself to dispense so largely with footnotes and references to sources and authorities. No one knows better than Dr. M'Crie the literature of his subject, particularly of the eighteenth century, and we hope that the value of his work and its usefulness for students will soon be enhanced by the addition of the necessary references to sources and authorities.

As the title shows, this work deals with the divisions and re-unions that have taken place in the Scottish Presbyterian Church. In certain respects, the history is melancholy enough reading, and one sometimes wonders how our earnest forefathers were not inclined to insist as much on their agreements as on their differences! It must be admitted, also, that it is very difficult to think oneself into the mental situation of men who could in all earnestness, and in absolute loyalty to conviction, divide their Church over a burgher oath! Yet one has no sympathy with those who sneer at "the hair-splitting proclivities" of our Covenanting ancestors. They were most earnest men, who were true to their deepest convictions. They were men who had the light and did not hesitate to let it shine before men. They were men with a vision ; and one can never forget, notwithstanding the

multitude of their Covenants and their Testimonies, that it was by these things that they held before their age the ideal which kept ever shining before themselves of "a consecrated land with a covenanted king". One is thankful to Dr. M'Crie for his splendid testimony to these men, and as they move across his pages the memory lingers over them—Richard Cameron, Renwick and Donald Cargill; Boston, James Hog, Fisher and the Erskines; Thomas Gillespie and stout Adam Gib,—men whom the Church in Scotland will not let die.

One has always found it a difficult task to follow the divisions and subdivisions, the windings and the intricacies of the religious bodies in Scotland after the Revolution Settlement. Dr. M'Crie has made the task a much easier one than it used to be. He has shown us the separations from the Presbyterian Church—first, the Society Men in the seventeenth century; then the Secession and the Relief in the eighteenth; finally, the vast secession of the Free Church in the nineteenth century. Then he has shown us the re-unions—first, the "Repairing of the Breach" in 1820; then—not to mention smaller union movements—the union of the Secession and Relief Churches in 1847; the union of the Reformed Presbyterian and Free Church in 1876; finally, the union of the United Presbyterian and Free Church in 1900. These unions unfortunately were not accomplished without the loss of protesting fragments.

When we come to inquire into the cause or causes of these secessions from the Scottish Presbyterian Church, we are at once face to face with a great problem. According to Dr. M'Crie, the causes of separation lay partly in questions of doctrine and partly in questions of Church Government. One is left in no doubt of Dr. M'Crie's opinion that we owe separation in Scotland largely to the second of these causes. A candid reading of Scottish Church history makes it clear that the question of the Church and State connexion has always been in the background. That appears to Dr. M'Crie to be the stone of stumbling and the rock of offence in the Church of Scotland. The connexion of the Church with the State has directly or indirectly been the primal cause of

secession. After all, that connexion is but an accident in the Church's history; and it is not the principle—only an application of that principle—for which every Presbyterian has never ceased to contend, and will gladly make every sacrifice, that “an obligation rests on nations and their rulers to aim at the promotion of true religion and the prosperity of the Church of Christ”.

Dr. M'Crie's work raises inevitably this living question, What of the future? There can be no doubt that the Union of 1900 has given an immense impulse to the question of the re-union of the State and Free Churches in Scotland. There are to-day many hopes and prayers in many hearts. Can that union be accomplished and the State connexion be retained? The history of the past gives very small hope of that; and if the history of the Church's Secessions means anything, then such a union, except in a Church and a State of saints, a pure theocracy, would ultimately prove the starting-point of another era of Disruption! One hopes and prays that the way to the greater union in Scotland may be opened up; but the end is not yet. Until it has been seen that the State connexion is not in itself a worthy battle-cry, or involves an intolerable strain on the Church's freedom, or is a rock of offence which a finer charity ought to clear away, not till then will the larger Union be accomplished. Such is the conviction of many in Scotland; yet God moves in a mysterious way: and meantime it is our duty to labour for and pray for—in the words of Dr. Wm. Cunningham—“such a unity of sentiment among the Scottish Churches, and such a cordiality of affection for each other, as to secure united and harmonious action in regard to all important matters that may bear upon the welfare of each and all of them”.

W. BEVERIDGE.

### **Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament : Daniel.**

*Von D. Karl Marti, ord. Professor der Theologie an der Universität, Bern. Tübingen und Leipzig : J. B. C. Mohr, 1901. Pp. xxii. + 98. Price M.2.35.*

### **Das Targum zum Buch der Richter in jemenischer Ueberlieferung.**

*Von Franz Praetorius. Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1900. Pp. 62. Price M.4.*

### **Ueber die Herkunft der hebräischen Accente.**

*Von Franz Praetorius. Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1901. Pp. 54. Price M.4.*

THE twelfth part of the Commentary on the Old Testament, edited by Professor Marti of Bern, deals with the book of Daniel, and is from the pen of the Editor himself. Marti is, it will be remembered, the author of a very useful *Kurzgefasste Grammatik der biblisch-aramäischen Sprache* (Berlin, 1896); it is, therefore, quite appropriate that he should himself contribute the commentary on Daniel to his series. His treatment of the subject is necessarily brief, but very clear. (A good instance of this is seen in the few paragraphs in which he shows the author's slight acquaintance with exilic history as compared with his great familiarity with the events of the third century and the beginning of the second century B.C.) The notes are brief and pointed, and are strongest perhaps on the linguistic side; see, for example, those on אֲנִיָּה (ii. 8) and בְּעִי (ii. 13). The word תִּלְתִּי (v. 7) is taken by Marti in the sense, "Dreierherr, Triumvir," with a reference to 1 Esd., iii. 9. (οἱ τρεῖς μεγιστᾶνες). The book seems to be very valuable for its size.

Herr Franz Praetorius brought out in 1899 an edition of the Targum on Joshua printed from a Yemenite MS. preserved in Berlin (*Orient. Quart.*, 578), with a preface giving an account of the MS. He now continues the work with an edition of Judges from the same MS. with Nachträge, giving (a) various readings from some leaves of the Targum preserved at Strassburg, (b) a discussion of some points raised by Dr. G. Diettrich (in the *Z.A.T.W.* for 1900, pages 148-159) in his paper of grammatical notes on three Yemenite MSS. of the Targum of Onkelos in the British Museum. Praetorius' Joshua-Judges ought certainly to be in the hands of every student of the Targums, for though his consonantal text differs but little from that of Lagarde, the fact that Praetorius gives us a punctuation taken directly from MS. sources makes his text valuable beyond Lagarde's. The uncertainty which besets the pointing of the Targums is not unlikely to tempt younger students to content themselves with an unpointed text to be eyed rather than read. (There were persons some sixty or seventy years ago who learnt even Hebrew "without points"). The difference of pointing between the Yemenite text and the ordinary text (as printed in the Antwerp Polyglot of 1569-72 for instance) is considerable, as the following instances taken from Judges i. will show:—

ANTWERP.	PRAETORIUS.
<i>misrēth</i> (מסרית, ver. 2)	<i>m'sārīth</i>
<i>yābhdēth</i> (עבדית, ver. 7)	<i>y'bhādīth</i>
<i>l'āggāhā</i> (לאגחא, ver. 1)	<i>l'āgāhā</i>
<i>w'āggīhū</i> (ver. 5)	<i>wā'gīhū</i>
<i>w'ēhākh</i> (ואיחד, ver. 3, so Lagarde)	<i>wā'hākh</i> (ואחד)
<i>m'kūṣṣāḥīn</i> (ver. 7)	<i>m'kāḥ'īn</i> (so apparently Lagarde).
<i>gābhrā</i> (ver. 4, so Lagarde)	<i>gūbhrā</i>

Of differences in the consonantal text the following may be noticed:—

	ANTWERP POLYGLOT.	LAGARDE.	PRAETORIUS.
viii. 24.	[ערבאי] קטילו (pointed as <i>pēil</i> )	אינק	(as Antwerp, but pointed as <i>pael</i> )
ix. 1.	[אבהא] דאמיה	omit	(as Antwerp)
„ 8.	[אולו] המיזל	(as Antwerp)	מיזל
xii. 2.	אנש דין	אינש מצו	גבר אנש דין
„ 5.	אפרתי [את]	האפרתי	אפרתאי (read <i>appirtai</i> or <i>eppirtai</i> )

There is a misprint in xv. 4, דנבא (2<sup>do</sup>) is spelt with *caph*.

The third book mentioned in the heading is an attempt to trace the Hebrew accents to a Greek origin. It may be commended to the specialists to whom it appeals.

W EMERY BARNES.

## Evangelical Doctrine Bible Truth.

*By the Rev. C. Anderson Scott, M.A., Kensington Presbyterian Church. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. 308. Price 6s.*

THIS is an important contribution to the literature of the High Church movement. In a series of racily written chapters the author discusses the distinctive doctrines and principles of the High Church party, and criticises them in the light of the teaching of the Reformed Churches. Possessing a competent knowledge of the points at issue, he has at the same time a remarkable faculty of concise and convincing statement; and the result is a book of unusual interest and importance for those who are called to deal with the questions that are agitating the religious life of the England of to-day.

The book is an admirable specimen of controversial writing. Nothing could be better than the temper in which the subjects are debated, or more searching and conclusive than the criticism to which the views which he opposes are subjected; and a more helpful book there could not be to put into the hands of intelligent persons who have taken up with high views on the Church and Sacraments. If a book so sane and so sensible in its judgments fails to convince, or at least to open men's minds to the other side of the question, the task of doing so by books may be considered as hopeless.

The author has been happy in his adoption of the epistolary form of writing. The volume professes to be a series of letters addressed to an Anglo-Catholic; and this form gives a vivacity to the style and a directness to the argument that lighten the task of the reader and maintain the interest to the close. It adds to the usefulness of his book that, while not ignoring other writers of the school he opposes, the author deals specially with the arguments



contained in Mr. Sadler's well-known textbook of Anglo-Catholic teaching on the various matters that come under review.

The topics of the first three letters are "Catholic and Protestant," "The Affirmation of Protestantism," and "The Unity of Catholicism". He replies with effect to those who would discredit Protestantism on the ground that "being a negative term it does not express positive belief of any kind" (p. 29). "So far was the Reformation from being a merely negative movement, that its strength and success lay in the vigour and pertinence of its affirmations" (p. 32). "While a protest against the errors and corruptions of Rome, it is also a protest of the great truths of our religion, a re-enunciation of the Fatherhood of God, of the Mediatorial Power of Christ, of the universal operation of the Spirit, and of the validity of Christian experience, as these were apprehended by apostolic and primitive Church."

With admirable force he points out, in speaking of the external unity that is emphasised by the Anglican party, that in spite of the divisions of Protestants there is more real unity of spirit among them than is to be found in churches outwardly one, and that "there is no such cleavage between any two bodies of Evangelical Christians outside the Church of England as that which divides the Church of England itself" (p. 42).

In the fourth and fifth lectures the author deals with the foolish argument of Mr. Sadler that Protestants have not a gospel to preach because they do not use the Prayer Book which secures the presentation of the gospel facts in a particular form. In a very effective passage he points to the sadly disappointing results of the system as seen in the deplorable condition of religious life in England and "its failure to produce a religious nation".

The subject of the Sacraments follows in order and naturally occupies a considerable portion of the volume. In the letters on "Baptismal Regeneration," and "The Meaning of Baptism" there is much interesting matter. In accounting for the belief that came to be entertained in the magical

efficacy of the ordinance, he attributes a good deal to the practice of Infant Baptism and the necessity men felt of accounting for the blessing believed to accompany the administration of the ordinance in the case of infants. "There was much that disposed men towards a theory which cut the knot. It was easy. It was congenial to certain ideas which were widely current outside the Christian Church. It harmonised with the growing inclination to ascribe supernatural powers to a certain class of men and supernatural efficacy to certain rites and actions" (p. 103).

In his treatment of the Lord's Supper the author distinguishes between the *Figurative* view, the *Anglo-Catholic* view, the *Roman Catholic* view, and the *Catholic Reformed* view, each of which receives separate treatment. By the *Figurative* view the author means that which regards it as simply an ordinance of commemoration. This is commonly called the Zwinglian view. Mr. Scott, however, holds it to be a mistake to father this view upon the Swiss Reformer, and he betrays a quite unnecessary anxiety, as it seems to us, to dissociate the name of Zwingli from all responsibility for it. No doubt expressions occur in Zwingli's writings that indicate a fuller doctrine than that which is termed Zwinglian, but in spite of isolated passages, the whole drift of his teaching, which originated in a thorough-going reaction from the Catholic doctrine, was to deny to the ordinance a sacramental character in the proper sense of the word, or any virtue to it as a means of grace. This has been shown very conclusively by Schweizer, and no one had a better acquaintance with the writings of Zwingli than he. Mr. A. Scott's discussion of the *Anglo-Catholic* doctrine is instructive and discriminating, and its inconsistencies are clearly pointed out. His exposition of what he calls the *Catholic Reformed* view, that currently held in Protestant Churches, is tersely summed up in the following words: "The grace of the Sacrament is a special case of the universal grace of God accessible to us through prayer. The presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper is a special case of His continual presence with His people. The feeding on Christ in the Supper is a

special case of the general case that He is the Spiritual Food of men" (p. 175). If we ask wherein the specialty consists, the answer seems to be "the unusual fulness and special intensity" with which Christ's gifts, received in other exercises of faith, are received in the Lord's Supper; and if the further question is asked, Whence this more intense experience of Christ's gifts in the Lord's Supper?, the answer is, for one thing, because "they come by a channel specially appointed by Christ" (p. 176). And this leads me to remark that Mr. Scott has stopped at a point where, considering the present state of thought on the whole subject, he was bound, it seems to me, to have prosecuted his inquiry further. The results of New Testament criticism have brought about a change in the whole treatment of the Sacramentarian controversy. The question now is not what is the grace the Lord's Supper conveys, and what is the relation between that grace and the symbol: but, Is the Lord's Supper a Sacrament at all? Was it ever intended to be such? Did our Lord mean to make binding on His Church its observance as a rite? Was it in reality more than a simple and pathetic way of conveying to His disciples the fact and meaning of His approaching death?

These aspects of the subject have been in debate among the foremost New Testament scholars of Germany for the last ten years; and they are matters of really living interest in connexion with the Lord's Supper at the present moment. We could have wished that the author had turned his attention to those more fundamental considerations.

In the latter part of the volume the author gives us a series of admirable discussions on the Christian Ministry: Is it a Priesthood?, Church Government, Church and Ministry, Apostolical Succession, and The Church. In these good use is made of the results of the researches of modern scholars, English and Continental, to expose the baselessness of the claims of the High Church party.

The reading of this book has given us no ordinary pleasure. It exhibits a wealth of scholarship and learning as well as a capacity for dealing successfully with the questions of the

day, on which the English Presbyterian Church, that numbers Mr. Scott among its ministers, is to be congratulated. The wonder is that Church theories that are so foreign to the genius of Christianity, should still in this twentieth century have such a hold on men's minds as to call for so patient and thorough an investigation of them as this book contains.

DAVID SOMERVILLE.

## Communication on Some Aspects of the Edicts of the Persian Emperors in the Old Testament.

*From Professor L. H. Mills, Oxford.*

I WISH to say something of those edicts in the Old Testament which profess to derive their origin from Cyrus and his successors. Recorded in Chronicles, repeated in Ezra and corroborated by Isaiah, we have a statement of a nature so entirely out of line with pre-exilic Scripture that it may well awaken our surprise. It is this—

Now in the first year of Cyrus, King of Persia (in order) that the word of Yahveh by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled, the Lord (Yahveh) stirred up the spirit of Cyrus, King of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom and put it also in writing, saying: Thus saith Cyrus King of Persia: All the kingdoms of the earth hath Yahveh, the Elohim of Heaven, given me. And He hath charged me to build Him an house in Jerusalem which is in Judah. Whosoever there is among you of all His people, Yahveh His Elohim be with him and let him go up.

At the first glance these words might seem to convey an incorrect representation. The "people" were certainly "restored," so it might be said, by consent of the Persian government, and in the hope of strengthening their own case against their rivals in the re-settlement they patched up this decree, putting it forward as an inspired utterance from the mouth of the great Gentile ruler, or from his pen. And where, it might be asked, did he get such a connexion of ideas? Here we might seem to have a case for the prayer of Saint Didymus.

But we have a corroboration, and one in a form so accessible and simple that we are almost ashamed to bring it once more into notice. It may be useful, nevertheless, to bring such things, well known as they may be, again to view.

We have wondered, perhaps, how the Hebrew annalist could be so unguarded as to make Cyrus give orders for the building of the temple at Jerusalem, Artaxerxes supplement-

ing the announcement and lavishing assistance in the form of treasure, if not of men. But we take up the pioneer renderings of Rawlinson and Pinches, emended by Winckler, Hagen, Schrader and Delitzsch, and from the Cyrus vase inscription in the British Museum; also the Backstein inscription and the annals of Nabuna'id, in the British Museum. We see, then, that the rebuilding of places of worship was precisely the first thing of which Cyrus thought. He starts it and he returns to it; his son was with him and the two worked on together.

The first of the inscriptions deciphered by Sir Henry is a political decree, stamped doubtless upon hundreds of clay cylinders systematically distributed in different parts of the province or the empire. This "copy" has escaped destruction, and well did our great Bahnbrecher emphasise its interest. He thought, I believe, that it was deposited in the archives by Cyrus himself or by his personal direction. It was found by Hormuzd Rassam in a hill at Babylon. The transliterations of the transcribers differ very much, as our Pahlavi decipherments often do, and the renderings vary as they naturally must; but, as in the case of the Gâthas, the terms which carry the most valuable meaning are generally quite plain.

"The great lord Marduk," so Kûrash dictated (was he not thinking of his own Ahura Mazda?), "regarded propitiously the protection, that is to say 'the protector,' of his people, his victorious work, and his righteous heart, going toward his city Babil as a friend and a companion at his side." Compare Isaiah "whose right hand I have holden," "in righteousness have I raised him up, and all his ways will I direct. I will go before them and the crooked shall I make straight."

The inscription reads further: "His troops spreading out in numbers never known like the waters of a stream marched weapon-girded at his side". This is even more graphic than the prophet: "thus saith Yahveh to Koresh . . . to open before him the two-leaved gates and the gates shall not be shut," that is to say, they shall be forced with little effort.

"Without battle," says the inscription, "made he (Marduk) him (Kūrash) enter Babil; my widely thronging troops came in in peace." "Bars of iron shall I cut asunder," says Isaiah; and in an isolated spot of the worn inscription, according to Hagen at least, occur the words, "the door was destroyed".<sup>1</sup> . . . "I will loose the loins of Kings," saith Isaiah, . . . and the inscription runs, "Nabuna'id the King who feared him (Marduk), not he Marduk, delivered into his (Kūrash's) hand." Recall Isaiah's words of Yahveh, "he, Koresh, shall do all my pleasure". But the inscription goes further, and makes him out a "pleasure" not only to the Deity, but to the captured population. In fact, he claims at once a plebiscite from the masses or from the gods who represented them: "whose, Kūrash's, (Cyrus's) sovereign authority they desired to the joy of their hearts".

The Hebrew records teem with terms describing the welcome; and on his side, in the inscriptions, Kūrash claims the fawning homage of the Babylonians and dubs it genuine. It had however the meanest motives. "They rejoiced," says the ardent politician, "over his assuming the kingdom, . . . their faces beamed, for the Lord who by force of his power wakes the dead (a touch of Persian sentiment this, if the translations have not hid the truth; he was used to speaking so of his Ahura), who with care and warding protection had done all well, him did they bless with joy, guarding and maintaining his name."

The inscription seems to surpass our Hebrew texts; and if the Babylonian words were not all so simple, we should hardly believe them rightly read. We were also uneasy, as we remember, that Koresh (Cyrus) seriously professed some real regard for the (foreign) Yahveh. But all the same on the inscriptions he never stops in his great machine-like movement: "Since I entered Babil (so he ventures to assert) amidst exulting shouts and established the throne in the palace of the princes, Marduk the great Lord made the

<sup>1</sup> This need not have been a city gate; but that it was some portal of importance seems certain; that is to say, if it were indeed anything and it was cut asunder.

honourable hearts of the inhabitants of Babil inclined toward me because I was daily mindful of his worship. My widely thronging troops (did something favourable we may be sure). . . .

"All Sumer and Akkad, the honourable race, I allowed no affliction to seize. I justly took over all the necessities of Babil and all its cities; the inhabitants realised the satisfaction of their hearts' desires (so) and the dishonouring yoke (*n.b.*) was taken from them." The orator goes on, and laments the sad condition of Babil under the man whom he had just "relieved" of his crown and of his capital; not that Nabuna'id was immaculate. "Their sighs I hushed," so he proceeds, "their anger, as against the deposed sinner. I appeased (so). Marduk, the great Lord, rejoiced over my works so full of . . . beneficial results (?) . . . He blessed me, Kūrash, in grace who worship him, and also Kambuzi'a, my body's son; since we in righteousness praise before him his sublime divinity." This annihilates the cynical treatment of our Bible-texts. If Cyrus spoke thus of these false gods so inferior to his own Ahura, surely he must have said something like what Ezra records of Yahveh, so near his own great deity.

Isaiah had said "thus said Yahveh to Koresh his Messiah, to subdue nations before him"; and according to Ezra we have, "thus saith Koresh King of Persia: all the kingdoms of the earth hath Yahveh Elohīm of heaven given me" (but see the inscriptions, which heighten the expressions). "I am Kūrash King of the all (the then known world), the great king, the mighty king, King of Babil, King of Sumer and Akkad (which he had just conquered), King of the four quarters of the world (compare Isaiah's expression 'from the East to the West' not said of Koresh but in the immediate connexion and in consequence of his inspired action). I am the son of Kambuzi'a the great king, the king of Anshan, grandson of (a former) Kūrash the great king, King of Anshan of all royal blood." Notice how exactly this harmonises with Behistūn; it brings this inscription into line with that inscription and the others. Isaiah proceeds,



“thus saith Yahveh; the labour of Egypt and the merchandise of Ethiopia and of the Sabeans, men of stature shall be thine, they shall come after thee; in chains shall they come and they shall fall down unto thee saying, Surely God is in thee” (if said not of Koresh but of Israel, this was yet said in direct consequence of his deliverance). And according to the inscriptions not only did the dwellers in Babil, all Sumer and all Akkad, princes and potentates, fall down before Kūrash (Cyrus) but “all the kings of the heavenly regions (the four quarters) as well enthroned as they were in palaces, altogether from the upper sea (the Persian Gulf?), to the lower sea (the Mediterranean) the kings of the west lands dwelling in tents (Arab-like), all brought their heavy tribute and kissed my feet in Babil from . . . to Ashur . . . and Shusan . . . to the cities on the other side of the Tigris.” Then as to the actual restoration of foreign deities and the reinstatement of temple services which once sounded to some of us so strange when said of Cyrus and the Jewish Yahveh, read the words, “*I brought back to their place (the Gods . . .) and made them dwell in an abode for ever*”. And as to the rebuilding of the sacred city, see the Backstein inscription. Eshakkil was a temple city, as it seems, and the inscription reads “Kū-ra-ash ba-ni-i(m) Eshakkil u E-zī-da apil mKambū-zi-ia sharru dannu a-na-ku. Kūrash the builder of E. son of K. the great King I.”

And as to the return of captive tribes, if any one still hesitates at that, see the line: “All the inhabitants I collected and then restored to their dwellings”. I cannot help noticing here what we would once term the “romantic” item, where Artaxerxes after fulsome commands for that restoration makes an appeal for himself that they may “offer sacrifice of sweet savour unto Elohim of Heaven and pray for the life of the King and of his sons,” reminding us also of Ahasuerus and the rest. Who has not at times thought this an especially feeble adjunct to the tale? yet it was one of the most sober of sober statements, connected with all that went before. “May the Gods,” wrote Kūrash (Cyrus) after having comfortably restored them to their shrines,

"may all the Gods<sup>1</sup> whom I have brought into their cities, just as Yahveh was restored, pray daily before Bel and Nabu for long life for me . . . and speak to my Lord Marduk for Kūrash the King who fears thee, and Kambuzi'a his son".

This was of course political, nevertheless, as I take it, Cyrus was a man of faith; he really believed these gods could help him. Once again as to "building," see a last isolated sentence, if it be correctly given, "I sought to make their habitation strong" (so Winckler and Hagen). If this refers to the demolished houses of the inhabitants, it refers to those of their gods as well.

The language of Ezra is justified, as I maintain, if language ever was. It states what must almost of necessity have happened. And not only was it not one of Cyrus's sudden points of policy, but it was so to speak, a steady business continued by his great, though not immediate, successor; as we see from Behistun (Weissbach and Bang, bk. i. 14).

The empire was as complex in its religious types as it was vast in its extent, and the amount of business entailed in administering it must have been phenomenal. Beyond question there existed what was practically a ministry of "public worship," and a part of its constant duty was to restore the edifices and to see to similar needs of distant loyal subjects.

So far then from the records of the Hebrew chroniclers being what they might seem at our first glance to be, an effect of childlike vanity or a device of anxious policy mendaciously put forth, to build temples proves to have been one of the very first as well as one of the most necessary occupations of a Persian emperor after victories. He attended to the reconstruction of cities and temples as a first point of humanity, after the desolation of defeat. And the order for the work was regularly "personal" in form, issued in the king's individual name. Everything is even egotistically exuberant in the terms upon the records. In fact the Biblical edicts are restrained examples. Not only had the potentates no scruples in rebuilding temples, whether to Yahveh or to

<sup>1</sup> So both Hagen and Shrader as against the first personal.

Marduk, but such scruples as they had were doubtless in the reverse direction. Nothing like the spirit of a Christian martyr could have found a place within the ideas of the Achæmenians, nor could they have understood the thing. Conscience, instead of urging them not to build for gods whom they otherwise ignored, led them to such acts.

This would be my first point, The inscriptions prove amply that the Persian government rebuilt the places of worship, as one of their first dictates of policy and honour. And if there had been no such passages as we find in Chronicles, Ezra and Isaiah, we should know from the inscriptions alone that Persian gold, if not Persian workmen, had helped on the labour when the House of Yahveh was built again at Jerusalem upon the Return.

My second point is not so simple. But it is of interest, at least to the moralist. I have said that some of the inscriptions are of a character which "isolates them completely". And what has impressed itself upon my mind occurred to me first on recognising that the *inscriptions of successors must afford a basis from which to estimate the general tone of those of predecessors, and vice versâ*. The character of public documents would not be so likely to change quickly in those days and in those places. And when religious sentiment becomes so very distinctly marked as that in the Persian inscriptions of Darius, it plainly shows that it owes its origin to a similar state of things which preceded it. In fact, the inscriptions of Darius give, as I believe, a fuller idea of the lost ones of Cyrus than the few inscriptions of Cyrus which survive. But most of these inscriptions of Darius are of a character, as I have said, which separates them totally from other documents of their period and nature, save only the Avesta. I refer of course to the strong expression of religious fervour. That is very remarkable; it is even more than remarkable. For occurring as it does in a public document, I maintain that it should not be regarded as the expression of mere personal feeling or conviction. But if it be a witness to more than individual sentiment, in fact to widespread, if not universal sentiment, it becomes evidence of a state of things of which we have had hitherto but little idea. The point is

that the moral earnestness which makes them what they are *was individual only in a secondary sense.*

It was indeed individual in a certain sense, and to a certain degree. Darius was, as I believe, genuinely and honestly a religious man after his fashion; but what he wrote for his sculptors to engrave expressed something more than a mere individual piety. The remarkable expressions were cut upon the rocks chiefly because they expressed the religious sentiment which prevailed in the central portions of the empire; and judging from the terms used, it was of a very deep and pervading character, as much so as the religious conviction of any other people, Israel scarcely excepted. The proof for this is that the expressions were *stereotyped* and *expected*; that is to say, largely so. Two signal parts of them recur in inscriptions 200 odd years apart, and in the same *identical syllables*. I greatly doubt whether Darius, if he had been alone in his religious experience or one of a small minority, would have expressed himself in the manner in which he did. What king of any period would post up his heart's emotions for the gaze of a multitude, unless he felt that he was speaking under his own name for the masses of his realm, as represented by their "elect"?

If his passionately expressed devotion to Auramazda was also the prevailing sentiment, he was *officially* religious, for the most part, when he dictated what he did. And that this was the fact is proved, as I maintain, by the *iterations*. Have we ever noticed in this light that the feeble Xerxes as well as the great Darius heads every leading sentence with an appeal to the same great God: "a great God is Auramazda who made this earth and yon heaven, who made man, and civilisation<sup>1</sup> for him; through the gracious will of Auramazda is this portal built, . . . etc."

Note that the very title to universal rule is derived from the fact that it is bestowed by a universal Creator. "Auramazda as he saw this earth in turmoil gave it over unto me; a great God is Auramazda who made this earth and heaven, etc., who made Darius king."

<sup>1</sup> So I prefer; others "who made 'happiness'" (or the like).

So of each one : Xerxes, Artaxerxes I., Darius II., Artaxerxes Mnemon, on to Artaxerxes Ochus.

Notice that few of these Persians were so inconsiderate as to omit a word of courtesy to lesser deities, and to this I may return<sup>1</sup>.

My point is that the inscriptions express a widely prevailing state of opinion and of feeling, and one which was profound. It possessed at times elements capable of effecting the "evangelical compunction".

But if it may be the fact that it *existed*, it seems to me to reveal potentialities which are great indeed. Fancy a vast Empire like a half of Europe pervaded, say, to two-thirds of its extent with a religious faith such as is revealed in the inscription and expanded in the Avesta; and that for generation after generation during several hundred years. Think of the religious interests of the innumerable persons to whom this faith was more than a state appendage. Think of the many millions of lives saved from crime or sloth by its holy precepts.<sup>2</sup> Think of the many cheered by its hope of heaven or curbed by its terrors.

Such a state of things seems actually to have prevailed. Even where the religions are of a greatly inferior type, professed with cynical levity within the enlightened circles, or accredited as a mass of magic formulæ to be used for the safety of the person, the acquisition of property and the subjugation of opponents, even there with the young and the impressible even a false form of religion will appeal to the better instincts. How much more should we be pleased to be able to believe that such vast multitudes of our fellow creatures had not only *some* form of religion to point their holier aspirations, but one which was lofty both in its elements and in its tone. Yet this is what was the case, if Darius was not only personally devout, but a representative of the religious feeling which was widely current in his land.

<sup>1</sup> It has incisive force to prove that the religion which the King expressed was "universal religion," and not a mere fervour for a ritual.

<sup>2</sup> "O man, leave not the right path, sin not," and the like.

L. H. MILLS.

## **Rabani Mauri de Institutione Clericorum Libri Tres.**

*Textum Recensuit Adnotationibus Criticis et Exegeticis Illustravit Introductionem Atque Indicem Addidit Dr. Aloisius Knäpfler, ss. Theologiae in Universitate Monacensi Professor P. O. Monachii* 1900. *Sumptibus Librariae Lentnerianae (E. Stahl, Jun.).* 8vo, pp. xxix. + 300. Price 5s.

## **Is Christ Infallible and the Bible True?**

*By the Rev. Hugh MacIntosh, M.A., Author of "The Philosophy of the Gospel," "The Two Banners," "The New Prophets," etc. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901. Post 8vo, pp. xxviii. + 680. Price 9s.*

A NEW critical edition of the *Institutio Clericorum* of Rabanus Maurus forms the fifth number of the "Publications of the Munich Seminary for Church History," of which series the editor of the present treatise is the general editor. Rabanus Maurus, born at Mainz in 776, educated at the monastery of Fulda, and afterwards for about a year under the celebrated Alcuin at Tours, having received in due course deacon's and priest's orders, became abbot of his monastery in 822. Before his elevation to the presidency of the institution, Raban occupied the position of teacher or professor. To him the monks of Fulda were wont to go with all manner of questions about ecclesiastical matters, and persons, and duties, which he answered from the best authorities he could find, sometimes orally, sometimes in writing. In order that they might have all this valuable information brought together in a handy book of reference, the monks besought Raban to gather these separate answers together and methodise them in one compact treatise. The result of his compliance with this request is the *Institutio Clericorum* which he presented to

Archbishop Haistulf on his visit to Fulda on 1st November, 819. The work is divided into three books, but the contents of each are rather promiscuous. The first book treats of the one Church and the three orders, of ecclesiastical persons and ecclesiastical dress, of baptism, confirmation, the Eucharist and the Mass according to the Roman ritual. The second book treats of the canonical hours of prayer, of the different kinds of prayers, of confession and penance, of fasting (in great detail) and of the Church festivals, of the Church service of song, of the Church lections or readings from the Old Testament and the New, of the Catholic faith and its opposite, the various heresies. The third book gives directions to priests and celebrants about the reading and the exposition of Holy Scripture, about the profane sciences and the use that Church teachers should make of them, and about the different methods that preachers and pastors should employ in dealing with different classes of people. His canon of Scripture is that of the Vulgate as usually adopted in the Romish Church. "These seventy-two books," he says, "are canonical, and therefore Moses chose seventy elders who should prophesy, and therefore Jesus, Our Lord, commanded seventy-two (?) disciples to preach." He then quotes from Isidore: "Since seventy-two languages are spread over this world, this Holy Spirit fittingly provides that there should be as many books as there are nations, by which peoples and races should be edified in obtaining the grace of faith". The fifty-fourth chapter of the second book gives an interesting account of the authorship of the canonical books and the Greek translations of the Old Testament. Regarding the Epistle to the Hebrews, Raban says that many Latin authors are doubtful as to its having been written by Paul on account of its style, and that some ascribe it to Barnabas, and others to Clement. Some, he says, regard the second and third Epistles of John to have been written by John the Presbyter, whose tomb, according to Jerome, was shown at Ephesus.

As to the character and quality of the work, Dr. Knœpfler describes it as a mere compilation, so much so that it might be called a plagiarism. Raban mentions in his dedication of

the work several older writers used by him as authorities, but gives no hint that he had incorporated their contents bodily in the wholesale fashion in which he has done it. The editor shows how our author proceeded in his use of his sources. He suddenly turns away from one writer whom he has been copying and in the middle of a sentence introduce the words of another writer; then he passes from a later part of the work before him to an earlier part, or from one work of an author to another work of the same writer, often one sentence, sometimes several sentences, occasionally even whole pages are omitted and then brought in again at a subsequent place; long paragraphs are paraphrased with only the alteration of words here and there. Such procedure was not uncommon in Raban's time, and especially in satisfying his students on the points about which they asked information, we can understand that he was more anxious to give them what the best authorities had said than any literary elaboration of his own. The treatise thus produced is useful and reliable, but it is not a scientific work of any independent value.

The editor has done his work in a very scholarly and thorough fashion. He has diligently collated all the extant manuscripts, and has corrected the common text which, as used in the Seminary, he had found to be most seriously and extensively corrupt. His introductory account of Raban's life is extremely interesting; he gives a good account of the contents and character of the work; and he tells all that is required about the extant manuscripts and the various printed editions of the treatise. Four full and accurate indices of Scripture passages, authors, names and subjects add greatly to the value of this edition, which must be recognised by all students as the one best suited to their needs.

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The author of this large volume is master of a popular style and treats his subject in a most comprehensive and thorough fashion. The title may at first sight seem somewhat sensational and better suited to a controversial pamphlet



than to a serious and scientific treatise. The book, however, is by no means an ephemeral production, but a careful and laborious examination of one of the most important questions that a Christian apologist has in these days to face, and the title chosen quite adequately describes the whole of the theme which occupies that treatise of the writer. The position taken up is by no means an extreme one, but it is stated very definitely. It is one of the excellent features of the work that the author knows exactly what he is to insist upon, and does not encumber himself by advancing untenable claims or by surrendering essential positions. He speaks strongly of the inconsistency and folly of those who wish to be regarded as Christian critics and yet take common ground with unbelieving critics by admitting "indefinite erroneousness" on the part of the Biblical record. But he does this only after he has convincingly and in detail shown how unnecessary and therefore indefensible such surrender is. Recently an Edinburgh journalist described as a muddle-headed sort of person one who seemed to think that the so-called higher criticism which regards the Bible as indefinitely erroneous leaves any gospel to preach in the ordinary sense of the term. Mr. MacIntosh shows good cause for entertaining a similar opinion, and expresses it in different, but not less emphatic language. Our author, however, has no wild, indiscriminate aversion to criticism. It is not criticism, but criticism run mad that he objects to. He takes his place modestly, but without misgiving, among the critics. Dr. Robertson Smith and Dr. Westcott are the two great teachers in whose school Mr. MacIntosh has grown up. He had studied under Dr. Robertson Smith at Aberdeen, and throughout his whole book he shows how profound the impression was which that great scholar, critic and theologian made upon him, and what a lasting influence the teaching has had upon his life. Without pinning his faith to all the critical findings of that great Hebraist, Mr. MacIntosh fearlessly proclaims his acceptance of Dr. Robertson Smith's doctrine of Scripture as representing the standpoint from which his work is written. As indicating this position he

quotes two passages from the writings of his Professor. "If I thought that anything in my views impugned the truth or authority of the teaching of our Lord, I should feel myself on dangerous and untenable ground." "People now say that Scripture *contains* God's Word, when they mean that part of the Bible is the Word of God, and another part is the word of man. This is not the doctrine of our Churches, which holds that the substance of *all* Scripture is the Word of God. What is not part of the record of God's Word is no part of Scripture."

The work is divided into seven books: on Christ's Place in Theology, His Infallibility as a Teacher, the Bible Claim (preliminary proof and general proof), Rationalism of the Thesis of Indefinite Erroneousness, and finally a review of objections and *résumé*, giving the cumulative argument. An arrangement of this material under two or three main sections would have prevented a good deal of repetition which under the distribution adopted has been unavoidable. In the Introduction the author gives a most useful summary of the contents of these seven books. He notes how the controversy has changed from discussions about despicable trivialities to a deliberate questioning of the infallibility and divine authority of Christ as a teacher, and the reliability of Scripture as a record of the divine revelation. It is not with trivialities but with this great question that he deals.

In discussing the question of Christ's Infallibility as a teacher, Mr. MacIntosh criticises in succession Dr. John Watson, Dr. A. M. Fairbairn, and the members of the Ritschlian School. Dr. Watson proposes to make the Sermon on the Mount the basis of a new ethical ground on the ground of its simplicity and in view of the readiness with which mankind would agree to accept it. But besides the fact that it is evidently preliminary and preparatory to the rest of Christ's recorded teaching, few passages in the New Testament present so many difficulties, so that agnostics have pronounced it an impracticable programme. A very full and fair statement of the position taken up by Dr. Watson is given in the *Mind of the Master*. But our author's estimate of this writer

is not high. He speaks of him as "a theological free lance"; and of his work as "the light but clever, audacious but unveracious religious fiction". The examination of Dr. Fairbairn's *Place of Christ in Modern Theology* is done with care and with much detail. The book is described as his *magnum opus*, and as a work which brings us to "serious thinking". It is criticised, however, as being "a philosophy of religion rather than a purely scientific statement of the doctrines of the Christian Revelation". Attention should also be called to the pointed and telling criticism of the kenotic theory (pp. 238-266). Here we have the gist of the whole argument.

As to his general treatment of the subject, our author is quite prepared to accept the results of a scientific believing criticism. Infallibility and absolute truth belong not to the original texts as we possess them but to the autograph manuscripts, so that all the minutest researches of textual criticism are welcomed. The use of isolated proof passages is condemned and the principle of the analogy of faith is to be honestly carried out. Although the claim to absolute inaccuracy has never been proved untenable, as the author thinks, he declines to take up this position because it insists on more than actually needs to be proved. What he does claim is the simple truthfulness, trustworthiness and divine authority of Scripture. His book is a thorough, competent, up-to-date vindication of the position which it affirms.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

## Notices.

Professor Henry Churchill King, of Oberlin Theological Seminary, publishes a sensible and useful book on *Reconstruction in Theology*.<sup>1</sup> The author's object is to show that the "changed conditions of the intellectual, moral and spiritual world in which we live," make it necessary to contemplate a new constructive period in theology as imminent. He sketches in a concise and judicious way what these new conditions are, and endeavours to estimate the influence they should have on the statement of Christian doctrine. He writes with the conviction that these results of modern thought are not "revolutionary of anything that is vital to the highest Christianity, but rather tend toward a deeper appreciation of Christ's own point of view," and that "it ought to be possible in America and Great Britain to avoid the great breach between the Church and its membership, such as confronts Germany to-day". There are some good remarks on the value of the great creeds, the relation of theology to natural science, the question of how miracle is to be regarded in the light of the science of the day, the evidence for a larger dominant spiritual order, and the special bearing of the theory of evolution. A chapter is given to the consideration of the influence of the historical and literary criticism of the Bible, in which the gains accruing from these studies are summed up and reasons given for confidence in the final outcome.

The argument turns finally on the deepening sense of the value and sacredness of the person, and the influence of the recognition of Christ as the Supreme Person of history. The volume closes with a discussion of the way in which theology is to be stated in personal terms, and with the

<sup>1</sup> New York : The Macmillan Company, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiii. + 257. Price 6s.

application of that principle to the conception of Christ. "To see that Christ is in His very being," says our author, "a personal revelation of God, is to put our whole thought of His significance and uniqueness in a somewhat different light." He points out that, while the considerations which weigh most with us to-day in the statement of Christ's uniqueness do not exclude metaphysical questions, they "are all in the realm of the personal rather than the metaphysical". When we ask who Christ is and what He means with regard to God and ourselves, "we find ourselves instinctively led to a series of propositions as a basis of our belief in His real divinity all of which concern His character and personal relations". In elaborating this, Professor King is in sympathy and general agreement with Herrmann and the better Ritschlians. His book contains much that is valuable and suggestive.

Among the numerous publications which have dealt with the *Synoptic Gospels*<sup>1</sup> during the last two or three years, President Cary's volume has a place and a value of its own. It belongs to the series of "International Hand-books to the New Testament," edited by Dr. Orello Cone. The book is written with ability, fairness and commendable modesty, although it is by no means free of mistakes. Its errors in statements of matters of fact are only occasional, but they are sometimes surprising and sometimes irritating. Who is meant by the "monk," Theodore Beza, who presented Codex D to the University of Cambridge? The absence of any index of subjects (there is a text index) is a very serious want. There is no display of erudition in the book, but it is scholarly throughout. Much space is given to a synoptical treatment of the contents of the three gospels with comments on the matter. This is done in a somewhat peculiar way, working up together the questions which are usually referred

<sup>1</sup> *The Synoptic Gospels*, together with a chapter on the Text-Criticism of the New Testament. By George Lovell Cary, A.M., L.H.D., President of Meadville Theological School. New York and London: Putnam's Sons, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxxiv. + 375. Price 7s. 6d.

to Introduction or Prolegomena with those which belong to commentary proper. The notes are often very informing, and the statement of the Synoptic Problem itself is an excellent bit of work. The series aims at "freedom from dogmatic prepossessions". This volume applies that freedom to all the incidents in the evangelical histories which touch or imply the miraculous. Much labour and ingenuity are spent in the attempt to find some other explanation of these things than what lies upon the surface of the narrative. It is in this direction that the standpoint of the writer is most pronounced and his efforts least successful. In other respects it contains much that will be helpful to the student, and makes a good repertory of information. In an appendix it deals briefly with a number of special topics: the Messianic Hope, quotations from the Old Testament, the Herod Family, Scribes, Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, the Synagogue, Demoniacal Possession, the Son of Man, etc. With regard to the last, the writer concludes that our Lord did not adopt the term "the Son of Man" as a Messianic title, but intended to announce himself as a prophet, sent to warn the people of the danger which threatened them if they did not turn from their evil ways.

Professor Peabody's *Jesus Christ and the Social Question*<sup>1</sup> is a book that should attract attention. It is one of the best contributions recently made to the study of the great social questions of the day and to their solution in the light of Christ's teaching. Professor Peabody has given much earnest thought to these problems, and he is anxious that the Church should not miss her opportunity or fail in her mission with regard to them. He is acutely alive to the danger of any aloofness on the part of the Christian ministry from such things, and says much that should at once enlighten the Christian teachers of the people on the situation, and save them from getting out of touch with the vast mass of common human

<sup>1</sup> *An Examination of the Teaching of Jesus in its Relation to some of the Problems of Modern Social Life.* By Francis Greenwood Peabody, Plummer Professor of Christian Morals in the Harvard University. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 374. Price 6s.

feeling and aspiration which has its centre in questions of social order, right and well-being. He writes in a discreet and reverent spirit of the home, the distribution of wealth, the organisation of labour, and kindred topics. Beginning with the constitution of the family as the first relationship of human life, he proceeds to the idea of the community with its inequalities of social condition and to the industrial order. He investigates the problems connected with the various states of life in the light of Christ's words, expounding the social principles of His teaching in their application to the family, the rich, the care of the poor, the industrial order, etc. He points out with much force and clearness how far removed from actual fact is the view of Christ and His teaching on these subjects which is given by the ordinary socialist or labour leader. He shows how our Lord looks at all the sore problems of human life from above, acts on the individual with a view to their relief, works on humanity from within, and sets before men a social order or kingdom. There are some doubtful positions in the book, as when it finds, *e.g.*, two different traditions in the gospels on the subject of Christ's teaching on riches. But it is a serious, intelligent, reverent, hopeful, and stimulating study of some of the most urgent questions of our time.

Professor Saintsbury is to be congratulated on the completion of the first part of what may be the chief effort of his active pen. He has peculiar qualifications for such a task as the writing of a *History of Criticism and Literary Taste*,<sup>1</sup> and we are glad to possess the first of three volumes which he proposes to devote to a subject of such interest and importance. The production of this volume must have cost him immense labour. The amount of reading, in many cases far from entertaining in kind, which is represented

<sup>1</sup> *A History of Criticism and Literary Taste in Europe from the Earliest Texts to the Present Day.* By George Saintsbury, M.A. Oxon.; Hon. LL.D. Aberd.; Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in the University of Edinburgh. In three volumes. Vol. I.: Classical and Mediæval Criticism. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons, 1900. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 499. Price 16s. net.

here is enormous. It must have cost Professor Saintsbury many a weary hour. But he has left nothing undone in this line of equipment to make his book worthy of its subject. On every page there is evidence of the extent and thoroughness of his acquaintance with his sources and his authorities. If he had accomplished nothing else than the digests which he has made for us of a multitude of books relating to his immense theme we should owe him much. But he has done much more than that. He has attempted to show us the lines of principle applicable to his subject, the reasons for the preference of one style rather than another, the kind of literature that deserves to hold the mind, and the secrets of the charm it carries with it. In so doing he brings much into view that should instruct appreciation, purify taste, and elevate and enlighten our enjoyment of literature.

In the present volume Professor Saintsbury traverses the wide field of classical and mediæval criticism. The second volume will carry on the story from the Renaissance to the death of eighteenth century Classicism, and the third will be occupied with modern criticism. The part now before us is arranged in three books of which the first deals with Greek Criticism, the second with Latin Criticism, and the third with Mediæval Criticism. Each of these books is broken up into a series of chapters of convenient size and full of detail, which carry the story forward in the natural succession of its stages. Aristotle, Quintilian and Dante have each, as befits their importance, a chapter to himself. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Plutarch, Lucian, Cicero, Horace, Seneca, Varro have also considerable space given them. But the minor figures and the least known writings relevant to the history also receive careful and sufficient notice. The mass of matter to which the reader is thus introduced is very large. Much of it is of general interest and permanent value. Not a little of it will be new or next to new to all but a very few experts, and it is well worth having.

The author defines the criticism which he has in view as "that function of the judgment which busies itself with the goodness or badness, the success or ill-success of literature



from the purely literary point of view". He takes little to do with philosophical ideas—with the more transcendental æsthetic, theories of beauty, of artistic pleasure, and the like. He excludes from his scope also the kind of criticism which, under the name of the higher criticism, has been applied to the classics and to the Scriptures. He limits himself to the criticism or modified rhetoric which is "pretty much the same thing as the reasoned exercise of literary taste—the attempt, by the examination of literature, to find out what it is that makes literature pleasant, and therefore good—the discovery, classification, and as far as possible tracing to their sources, of the qualities of poetry and prose, of style and metre, the classification of literary kinds, the examination and 'proving,' as arms are proved, of literary means and weapons, not neglecting the observation of literary fashions and the like." This is his explanation of what he proposes to do. He takes the *pleasant* and the *good* to be one and the same thing in literature. The pleasure which it yields is the great end of literary art. In writing the history of literary taste with this idea in view, he follows the *a posteriori* method. He does not busy himself with what men *ought* to have admired, or written, or thought, but with what they *have* admired, and written, and thought. He seeks at the same time to understand the *why* of these preferences and admirations, and to instruct us thereby. We have, therefore, vastly more than a mere dictionary and chronology of literary effort and literary success. We get much to enlighten, and interest, and instruct, yet we do not seem to get more in the way of ultimate reason and explanation on the subject of literary taste than the *aurem tuam interroga* of Valerius Probus. Criticism is to judge literature from the "purely literary point of view". That point of view is declared to be one which looks to the form, not the content of literature. The "ultimate and real test of literary excellence" is taken to lie in the "expression, not in the meaning". But we do not learn how the pleasant and the good come to be one in literature, whether literature gives pleasure because it is good or how else, or where the standard of the *pleasant* and therefore of the *good* is to be

found—whether in my sense of the pleasant, or in my neighbour's, or in the corporate sense of the larger number.

There are faults in style which sometimes surprise us in this book, and there are literary judgments here and there which provoke challenge. But these are small matters. The volume is full of good things, and deserves our most cordial thanks. Among the best things in it are the estimates of Aristophanes, Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*, Longinus on the *Sublime*, Lucian's position, Quintilian's *Institutes*, Dante and the *De vulgari eloquio*. We shall look with eager expectation for the continuation of the work and above all for the author's treatment of the history of the criticism of the last century.

Professor George Lansing Raymond, L.H.D., of Princeton University, constructs a system of Comparative Æsthetics in seven volumes. We have before us the volume which reckons second in the series, though it has been published later than others. Its subject is *The Representative Significance of Form*.<sup>1</sup> Other volumes discuss Art in Theory; Poetry as a Representative Art; Painting, Sculpture and Architecture as Representative Arts; the Genesis of Art-Form; Rhythm and Harmony in Poetry and Music; Proportion and Harmony of Line and Color in Painting, Sculpture and Architecture. Professor Raymond's system, therefore, embraces inquiries of wide scope and varied interest. The present volume, which completes the series, touches on many questions of great importance and no little difficulty—questions which carry us into the region of philosophy as well as into that of taste, regarding the nature of truth, the mental and material conditions preceding the recognition of truth, the respects in which religious, scientific and artistic conceptions differ, the sub-conscious and conscious influences found in all intellection, etc. On these, Professor Raymond has views of his own which he sets forth at length and under different points of view. It is not every reader that will be able to rise with him into these high regions. But the book

<sup>1</sup> New York and London: Putnam's Sons, 1900. 8vo, pp. xxv. + 514.

contains many interesting remarks on subjects in which it is easier to follow him—on wit and humour, sarcasm and burlesque, the various forms of the incongruous in the droll, the jocular, the ludicrous, etc. He has also some good criticisms of Emerson and the New England Transcendentalists, Wagner's tendency to emphasise unity by subordinating melody to harmony, the conception at the basis of Wordsworth's *Excursion*, etc. The discussions are relieved by numerous quotations and by apposite instances drawn from notable poets, artists and men of genius.

A volume on *The Incarnation*<sup>1</sup> is contributed by the Rev. H. V. S. Eck, M.A. St. Andrew's, Bethnal Green, to the "Oxford Library of Practical Theology" which is edited by Canon Newbolt and Principal Darwell Stone. The subject is treated in a way to meet the needs of devout, inquiring laymen. In a series of lucidly written chapters, in which the technicalities of theology and the display of learning are avoided, the teaching of the New Testament on our Lord's Godhead and Manhood is set forth, the place held by the doctrine of the Incarnation in the Ante-Nicene period is explained, and its gradual formulation in the great Councils is stated. The relations of the Incarnation to the Atonement, the Holy Eucharist, and common life, are expounded, and there are also some good notes on the genealogies, the heresies of the first three centuries, the *communicatio idiomatum*, and other topics. There are some considerable deficiencies in the book. The question of our Lord's Godhead is considered before that of His Manhood. It would have been much better to reverse the order and come to his Divine nature through the portal of His perfect humanity. No sufficient account is given of the kenotic doctrine, nor does Mr. Eck seem to appreciate the purpose that inspires the best forms of that doctrine. His position is strictly conservative. He follows implicitly Pearson and Hooker and keeps by Athanasius and Leo. His volume has the good qualities of caution and reverence, and while it is entirely orthodox it does not

<sup>1</sup> London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. + 288. Price 5s.

assume a severely exclusive attitude to those who are unable in all points to keep within the old lines. It also recognises the fact that "we may be unable to draw up clearly cut and sharply defined statements about the relation between the Divine Person of our Lord and His human nature which may account in detail for all the conditions of His earthly life". It is in short a good book within its limits, and answers well the object which the series to which it belongs has in view.

Under the title of *The Century Bible*, Messrs. T. C. and E. C. Jack, of Edinburgh, have projected a new series of commentaries on the New Testament books. Three volumes are already to hand: *St. Matthew*,<sup>1</sup> by Professor W. F. Slater, of Didsbury College; *St. Luke*,<sup>2</sup> by Professor Walter F. Adeney, of New College, London; and *St. John*,<sup>3</sup> by the Rev. J. A. M'Clymont, D.D., Aberdeen. The idea of the series is to give an edition of the books of the Bible upon the same plan as is adopted for standard editions of the great classics. Concise introductions are furnished for the several writings. Brief, pointed notes are provided, dealing with the real difficulties or obscurities of the text, but abstaining from all hortatory or homiletical application. The text of the Authorised version is given, arranged in paragraphs and with marginal headings. The Revised version, however, forms the real text of the edition, and it is to it that the annotations are attached. The volumes are of moderate size and handy form. In type and binding it would be difficult to desire anything better. The whole form is most tasteful and attractive—such work, indeed, as only the Oxford University Press can turn out. The contents also very fairly fulfil the reader's expectation and answer the idea of the series. The notes on *St. Matthew* are in some cases disappointing, and fail to satisfy the inquirer. But taking the three volumes as a whole we may safely say of them that they make a good beginning of

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 332. Price 2s. net, cloth; 3s. net, leather.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 404. Price 2s. net, cloth; 3s. net, leather.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 352. Price 2s. net, cloth; 3s. net, leather.

the series. The Introductions are all well done, in giving a remarkably compact and clear statement of the present position of the questions dealt with. The account given by the editor of *St. Luke* of the characteristics of the third Gospel, its historical relations, its authorship, etc., is particularly interesting. The Introduction to *St. John* presents a well-balanced statement of the Johannine problem as it stands now. The whole series is under the competent editorship of Professor Adeney. It promises to be of much use.

The *Methodist Review* for May-June contains some good papers, among which we call attention to one by Bishop Hurst, of Washington, on "The Counter-Reformation," and one by H. G. Simpson, of Los Angeles, on "The Music of the Bible". Mr. C. C. Starbuck, of Andover, writes instructively and entertainingly on "Miscellaneous Protestant Blunders," dealing specially with misconceptions on the Romish ideas of the validity of orders, the operation of grace, Protestant marriages, etc.

In the *Biblical World* for May, President Harper continues his able series of "Constructive Studies in the Priestly Element in the Old Testament," dealing with the history of worship in the later period, *i.e.*, in the period of Judaism, and concluding his sketch of the development of Israel's worship.

We have to notice also a strong *Defence of the King's Protestant Declaration*,<sup>1</sup> by Walter Walsh, dedicated to Colonel Sandys, Chairman of the Imperial Protestant Federation, and already in its fifteenth thousand; *The Spiritual Experience of St. Paul*,<sup>2</sup> a collection of brief devotional papers by Principal J. T. L. Maggs, of the Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal—careful and reverent studies of important passages in the great Apostle's life, of Christ and the speculative inquirer, the devotion of Thomas, etc.—making an admirable addition to the tasteful "Helps

<sup>1</sup> London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 8vo, pp. 58. Price 1s.

<sup>2</sup> London: C. H. Kelly, 1901. Demy 8vo, pp. 227. Price 1s.

Heavenward" Series; the fourth instalment of the new edition of Professor W. Windelband's important *Geschichte der Philosophie*,<sup>1</sup> completing the second section—thoroughly revised, enlarged, and made even more serviceable than before; a tractate by Professor Johannes Kunze on *Die Herrlichkeit Jesu Christi nach den drei ersten Evangelien*<sup>2</sup>—a small publication, but one that will repay careful study; a pamphlet by Professor W. Baldensperger, of Giessen, on a subject on which he has peculiar claims to be heard, *Das spätere Judenthum als Vorstufe des Christenthums*<sup>3</sup>—a clear, compact, and instructive sketch, specially informing on the Messianic and eschatological ideas; an elaborate study by Dr. Karl Holl, of Berlin, under the title of *Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt beim griechischen Mönchthum*,<sup>4</sup> into which he was led by his studies in connection with his *Sacra parallela*, and in which he deals in particular with the little known Symeon, "the new theologian," held to be author of the *Epistola de Confessione* ascribed to John of Damascus—a volume containing the results of extensive research and giving much interesting matter on the life and theology of its subject; a new edition of Professor Bernhard Weiss's valuable commentary on the *Epistles of John*,<sup>5</sup> in Meyer's *Kritisch-Exegetischer Kommentar*—in which the exegetical matter has been carefully worked over anew; a pamphlet by Hans Weichelt, entitled *Der Moderne Mensch und das Christentum*<sup>6</sup>—containing acute criticisms of Nietzsche

<sup>1</sup> Zweite Abtheilung. Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. 8vo, pp. viii. + 513—571. Price M.3.

<sup>2</sup> Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke; London: Williams & Norgate, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. 33. Price M.0.50.

<sup>3</sup> Giessen: Ricker; London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. 8vo, pp. 30. Price 9d. net.

<sup>4</sup> Leipzig: Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. vi. + 332. Price M.10.

<sup>5</sup> *Die drei Briefe des Apostel Johannes*. Von der 5. Auflage neu bearbeitet von Dr. Bernard Weiss. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht; London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. 8vo, pp. 195. Price 3s. 6d.

<sup>6</sup> Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1901. 8vo, pp. 34. Price 9d. net.

and his mission; a third and thoroughly revised edition of the first part of Holtzmann's *Die Synoptiker*<sup>1</sup>—containing the introduction to the synoptical gospels and the exposition of Mark, one of the most valuable sections of the *Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament*; a careful catalogue of *Theological and Semitic Literature for the Year 1900*,<sup>2</sup> prepared by W. Muss-Arnolt, and forming a supplement to the *American Journal of Theology* and the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*—a publication for which the compiler will have the gratitude of many scholars; the second part of "Cornell Studies in Philosophy," in which Mr. Hervey De Witt Griswold gives, under the title of *Bráhmaṇ*,<sup>3</sup> a very good "Study in the History of Indian Philosophy," dealing chiefly with the history of the word Bráhmaṇ, the growth of the monastic conception, the doctrine of the Upanishads, and the theology of Çankarácárya; a very good translation, by the Rev. G. H. Box, M.A., Hebrew master at Merchant Taylors' School, London, of Professor Gustav Dalman's interesting essay on *Christianity and Judaism*.<sup>4</sup>

We notice further a new and abridged edition of *The Life of Edward White Benson, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury*,<sup>5</sup> a worthy and well-written tribute by a son to an eminent father, a fitting memorial of one who had many graces of character and filled a high position in the English Church with distinction and with honour, a book which should have a circulation in this new form within circles into which it could not penetrate in the larger and more costly issue; a carefully constructed and very useful statement and criticism

<sup>1</sup> Erster Band. Dritte, gänzlich umgearbeitete Auflage. Erste Abtheilung. Die Synoptiker bearbeitet von H. J. Holtzmann. Erste Hälfte. Tübingen u. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1901. 8vo, pp. 184. Price of complete volume, M.6.

<sup>2</sup> Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1901. Pp. 108.

<sup>3</sup> New York: The Macmillan Company, 1900. 8vo, pp. 89.

<sup>4</sup> London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 64. Price 1s.

<sup>5</sup> By his son Arthur Christopher Benson of Eton College. London: Macmillan & Co., 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 601. Price 8s. 6d. net.

of *Rothe's Speculative System*<sup>1</sup> by H. J. Holtzmann, giving a remarkably lucid and connected account of the Heidelberg theologian's principles and the main points in his view of the world, his doctrines of Sin, Redemption, Church, State, and the Last Things, and also of his Theory of Morals—a valuable book which will be of great use to those who wish to understand the system of one of the greatest theological geniuses of the nineteenth century; two small volumes on *Palestine in Geography and in History*,<sup>2</sup> by Arthur William Cooke, M.A., which give in very good style, and on the basis of the best authorities, an account of Palestine as a whole, Western Palestine, and Eastern Palestine, illustrated by excellent maps, and presenting the most interesting points regarding the inhabitants, the principal divisions and historical sites, the lake, the plain of Esdraelon, the villages and towns with the historical events connected with them, altogether a readable, useful and attractive hand-book; *The Crossbearer*,<sup>3</sup> a series of extracts from Matthew's Gospel, translated, analysed and explained in a brief commentary by Mr. J. N. Farquhar, M.A., of the London Missionary Society's College, Calcutta, admirably adapted to do what it is meant for, *viz.*, to provide an “intelligible and trustworthy introduction to the study of the life and teaching of Jesus for educated Indians”; a new and cheaper edition of the Rev. C. Callow's *A History of the Origin and Development of the Creeds*<sup>4</sup>—a good and useful book, written with a special view to the needs of students in theology preparing to enter the ministry of the Church of England; a revised edition of Professor Mitchell's *Amos*,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *R. Rothe's Speculatives System.* Dargestellt und beurtheilt von H. J. Holtzmann. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xii. + 269. Price M.5.60.

<sup>2</sup> London: C. H. Kelly, 1901. Small cr. 8vo, pp. vii. + 196 and 254. Price 2s. 6d. each.

<sup>3</sup> Calcutta: Methodist Publishing House, 1900. 8vo, pp. 140.

<sup>4</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. + 236.

<sup>5</sup> *Amos, an Essay in Exegesis.* By H. G. Mitchell, Professor in Boston University. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. iv. + 211. Price \$1.50.



a scholarly and serviceable treatise which deserves the success it has had, and in this carefully revised issue (in which the author changes his view of the dates of Joel and Obadiah, placing them now not before Amos but much later), should secure still larger acceptance; a short treatise by W. Kelly on *The Preaching to the Spirits in Prison*,<sup>1</sup> a vigorous and earnest argument, the point of which is that "there is no ground in the passage for any action of Christ in the intermediate state for saints or sinners, nothing to hold out a hope for those who die in unbelief and their sins"; a profitable and well written volume of sermons by H. A. D. on *The Victory that Overcometh*; <sup>2</sup> *Old and New Certainty of the Gospel*,<sup>3</sup> a *Sketch*, as it is described, by the Rev. Alexander Robinson, formerly of Kilmun, re-affirming in a more conciliatory way the general position advocated in his former book—aimed against what the author calls "Liberalism," and making a fresh endeavour to set the Gospel in "the newer light"; *The Assyrian Monuments illustrating the Sermons of Isaiah*,<sup>4</sup> by Max Kellner, D.D., Professor of the Old Testament Languages in the Episcopal School in Cambridge, Lecturer in Harvard University—a handsome publication, throwing light upon some important passages in Isaiah, carefully executed and embellished with numerous half-tone and line-cut reproductions; *The Ancient Scriptures and the Modern Jew*,<sup>5</sup> by David Baron, a volume written with the most earnest conviction and with a strong faith in the Divine Promises, not particularly critical in its ideas of Old Testament exegesis, but giving much varied and curious information on the condition, divisions, sects and aspirations of modern Jews, on the Zionist Movement, Anglo-Israelism, the Jewish Colonies, etc., unfolding a peculiar theory also of the

<sup>1</sup> London: T. Weston. Cr. 8vo, pp. 139.

<sup>2</sup> London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 133. Price 3s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 165. Price 2s. 6d.

<sup>4</sup> Boston: Damrell & Upham, 1900. Large 8vo, pp. 24. Price 50 cents.

<sup>5</sup> London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. + 342. Price 6s.

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<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Pp. 160. Price 1s. 6d. net.

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## History, Prophecy and the Monuments.

By J. F. McCurdy. Vol. III. London: Macmillans, 1901.  
8vo, pp. xxi + 470. Price 14s. net.

PROFESSOR MCCURDY is to be congratulated on having reached the end of a weighty undertaking. The present volume carries the investigation down to the close of the Exile, a point at which a work on *History, Prophecy and the Monuments* may not unnaturally close or at least pause and draw breath. Of course neither history nor prophecy ceased with the Restoration, but Israel being no more a nation, but a religious community or Church in the bosom of a heathen empire, its history is without the stirring vicissitudes which it experienced when an independent state, and consists more in the mere modifications of a fixed condition of subjection. Nevertheless the external relations of Israel after the Exile continued to exert as great an influence on its thought, and particularly on its *tone* of mind, and, therefore, on the colour of its literature, as they had done during the time of its national existence, though it was not the changes but the dreary monotonousness of its condition as *ecclesia pressa* that reacted on its mind. It would be a great error to imagine that all interest in Israel's history may cease with the fall of the state. To the Christian theologian the centuries succeeding the Restoration may almost be said to be of greater interest than even the ages preceding, for the New Testament does not attach itself to the prophetic principles as enunciated by the prophets themselves, but to these principles as generalised, assimilated into the individual life, and developed to their eschatological issues, by what is called Judaism. There is, therefore, great room for a volume on this period, signalling the merits not the demerits of

"Judaism," and perhaps Dr. McCurdy may yet find leisure to furnish it. He remarks that the time subsequent to the Exile "must be treated from a different point of view". There may be a truth in this, but it is truer far that continuity not disruption was the characteristic even of the Restoration constitution. If there was a break with the past the break was with those elements in the Jehovah religion which, however they had entered into it or become connected with it, were alien to it. The aim of Israel's thought and its effort, and the expression of its aim and effort, whether in the Law, the Prophets or the Psalms, was monotheism and morality. The continuity lay in these, and if, on the one hand, they became more inwardly conceived, and, on the other, were universally extended over all mankind, this development resulted inevitably from the nature of the two things. The "different point of view" will, therefore, have respect mainly to the formal means, such as the Law, adopted to express and conserve these two great principles; but even this formal element hardly marked a break in the continuity, for it was itself but the deposit from the conflicting currents of religious opinion which had run all down the people's history.

The general characteristics of Dr. McCurdy's work have been referred to in previous notices. The present volume certainly does not fall below any of its predecessors; in some things it perhaps excels them, *e.g.*, in the elevation of style which distinguishes such passages as those devoted to the prophets Habakkuk and Deutero-Isaiah and to the defence of Cyrus against such writers as Noeldeke. But, as before, the distinctive feature of the volume is seen in the vein of critical reflectiveness running all through it, signalling principles, noting the emergence of new truths and perspectives and the loftier moral positions taken by prophets and men generally in successive periods, and estimating the significance as a whole of the various epochs that come under survey. There is no doubt a temptation when one is writing a history of the progress of morality or religion to be over-systematic, to find landmarks and new starting-points where they hardly

exist, to forget in short that religious progress is not a highway where distances are marked by milestones and tollbars, but a stream which, though it may change colour and increase in volume, flows on continuously, and in regard to which it is in general only the fact that it has changed or increased that can be noted, not the point at which the change or increase took place. One is tempted to find the germs of new evolutions in what may be mere incidents, such as Nathan's collision with David or Elijah's with Ahab, and to assume that the incident which gave occasion to the utterance of a truth was the first occasion when the truth rose to the consciousness of the prophets or people. But does anybody suppose that the judgments passed on David or Ahab by these prophets were in advance of the general mind of Israel or anything but the reflection of it? Dr. McCurdy seems to form too low an estimate of the moral condition of Israel. At any rate, readers of his chapters on morals, which are some of the most interesting in his book, would be wise not to accept without reflection the landmarks of progress which he sets up, nor the crucial moral significance which he assigns to a number of incidents in the history. Occasionally Dr. McCurdy leaves the darker region of the past and comes out into the open, illustrating his old saws with modern instances. Mr. Cecil Rhodes and the African war figure a good deal in his pages. Rhodes is the modern Jacob, cozening his brother out of his inheritance. Who the unhappy Esau in this allegory is is obscure; can the "profane person" be Mr. Kruger with his Scripture quotations? Probably the bulk of readers will agree that both the author and his work would have gained in dignity by the omission of these contemporary allusions. Dr. McCurdy is rather an unwieldy gladiator, and his rapier wants keenness.

The present volume, books ix. to xi. of the whole work, embraces the period from the accession of Josiah (639) to the close of the Exile (537), without, however, including the Restoration. In book ix. perhaps the most important chapters are chapter iii., "Deuteronomy and Hebrew Literature," and chapter iv., "Religion and Morals". In book x., chapter

v., "Habakkuk and the Chaldeans," is very suggestive, and chapters xiii. and xiv., "The Hebrew Settlement in Babylonia," and "Employments of the Exiles in Babylonia," are both instructive. Toward the close of the period the annals of Nabonidus and the inscriptions of Cyrus furnish some of the most interesting contributions of the Monuments. Perhaps the author goes rather far when he asserts that the language of Deutero-Isaiah was moulded on the Babylonian annals and proclamations with which the prophet was familiar (p. 425 *n.*). He adheres to the view that Cyrus was a serious Zoroastrian, and explains the King's patronage of other religions by supposing that "he saw sufficient good in all the greater religions to justify him in both tolerating and encouraging them". This makes Cyrus rather more of the modern man than he is likely to have been in his times. The statement that Deutero-Isaiah believed that "Cyrus was Jehovah's vicegerent or Messiah" is rather ambiguous; if the author means that the prophet identified Cyrus with the Ruler predicted by earlier prophets, and in later times called specifically the Messiah, few will agree with him; and equally few we should think will accept his statement that the thoughts and language of Deutero-Isaiah were "polished to perfection" (pp. 421, 422).

The history of the period reviewed in this volume is well known, and nothing very new was to be expected. There are incidents in it, however, of which different views are taken, and, to mention only one, it is gratifying to find that Dr. McCurdy repudiates the current notion that Jeremiah (Jer. xi.) undertook an itinerant mission throughout the cities of Judah to commend Deuteronomy (p. 160). Such a proceeding on the prophet's part is altogether improbable. It was not Deuteronomy but the "covenant" that Jeremiah commended, and probably he undertook no itinerant mission at all. Though of course to be reckoned among the Higher Critics and accepting the prevailing conclusions, Dr. McCurdy reveals a certain conservative bent, and he makes many reservations. One or two points may be referred to merely to indicate his tone of mind. He will not allow that Exod.

xxxiv. 17-26 (J) contains a more primary form of the Decalogue than Exod. xx. (inserted by E)—“it is impossible that the larger documents could have been expanded from this smaller one. The smaller (Exod. xxxiv. 17 ff.) is therefore an independent selection from the materials that lay at the basis of the larger” (Exod. xx.-xxiii.). This conclusion does not depend on the opinion of the author that E is an older document than J. The latter, he thinks, belongs to the end of the eighth century. Further, J and E are not individual writers but schools. It has always appeared to us strange that a “school” of writers should use Jehovah for God and another school Elohim. Of course the motives that induced one writer to use Jehovah might induce another. But when schools are spoken of we must fancy, no doubt, that the individual writers of the “school” wrote independently of each other, and that their separate labours were collected together into one document by some redactor or other. Still the theory, which would be plausible enough on the supposition of two individuals, J and E, does create hesitancy when two *sets* of such individuals have to be postulated. But to return. The author argues that the authenticity of Joshua’s appeal to the sun and moon, at least in substance, is proved by the subsequent misunderstanding of it. He himself suggests a new interpretation of “stand still” (p. 44). Of the song of Deborah (Jud. v.) he says, “From the point of view of literary history it is clear that it obviously cannot be the first important production of its kind, much less the first considerable poem generally” (p. 44). Similarly David’s elegy on Saul is “anything but singular of its kind. . . . The poem, with its symmetrical structure and fine sense of proportion, introduces us to an established poetical literature” (p. 45). The “Book of the Covenant” (Ex. xxi.-xxiii.) may possibly be of the time of the Judges (p. 59). Again, “Of one thing we may be certain. The Book of Amos was not the first written composition of its kind” (p. 75). Writings already “canonical” existed in the time of Jeremiah (p. 185 *n.*). Isa. xxxv. may well be of the end of the Exile; and even the hymn of Habakkuk (ch. iii.) may not improbably belong to the prophet



(p. 215). This will make the critics stare and gasp. To these literary judgments, which are but specimens, may be added another which touches religion. The author repeatedly calls attention to the fact that in spite of appearances no individual prophet stood alone, but was upheld by a band of souls like-minded with himself. "Let us learn once for all that the prophet never stood quite alone, and that he was, apart from his special commission, merely a foremost representative of a class or society or school" (p. 105). This idea is repeated in speaking of Hosea (p. 111). On any other supposition the existence of such men as Amos and Hosea becomes inexplicable, and the religion of Israel a phantasm which never had any place in the human mind. On the other hand some of the author's opinions may seem radical rather than conservative. He contends that the Law was in a good measure theoretical, and never meant to be put in practice—"in fact, as will appear in the more obvious case of Deuteronomy, the Old Testament legislation as published, never had statutory validity or a directly practical purpose" (p. 61). That there is truth in this opinion appears from the frequent threat that the soul that disobeyed some ritual prescription "shall be cut off" from his people. No machinery existed for effecting this cutting off. The transgressor is left to the visitation of God. This theoretical development of Law, irrespective of practical possibilities, is seen at its height in the Mishna. On the popular question of the existence of Davidic psalms Dr. McCurdy's opinions are decided. There are no such psalms in the Psalter. David in his religious and social atmosphere could no more have written the psalms we possess than the Homeric singers could have written the Prometheus Bound or the Antigone. He is far, however, from thinking that the psalms are all post-exilic. A stream of religious lyric poetry ran parallel to the stream of religious prophetic oratory. An example of a psalm of pre-exile date is Ps. xx., which the author thinks was probably composed for a sacrificial service held as a "send off" for Josiah on his unfortunate campaign against Necho.

The book is sent out in excellent style. A few errors, the

cause of which the author explains, have been corrected in a slip. Perhaps to the corrections should be added "objective" for subjective, p. 106, l. 25. Some curious uses of words occur, *e.g.* *rendition* in the sense of edition or recension (p. 41, middle); "mystical," applied to the letters used to designate documents, *e.g.* H. (Lev. xvii. ff.), p. 387 note, and elsewhere. Curious, too, is the phrase used of Habakkuk: "This is the problem on which the prophet wreaks his soul" (p. 218).

A. B. DAVIDSON.

## **The Primitive Saints of the See of Rome.**

*By F. W. Puller, of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley. Third Edition, Revised and Enlarged. London : Longmans, 1900. Pp. xxxv. + 568. Price 12s.*

THE first edition of Father Puller's work on the Roman Catholic claims was published in 1893. It is a good sign that such a book has passed into a third edition and has proved itself susceptible of very considerable amplification and enrichment. The volume before us is not exactly a new work, but it is nearly three times the size of the original ; some parts of it have been entirely re-written, a series of five new lectures on the relations between the Church of Rome and the East in the fourth century has been added, and important additional appendices and excursuses shed light on doubtful questions or help to justify the arguments made use of in the text. The book as it now stands forms an important and interesting study of the development of ecclesiastical monarchy in the Church of the West, and an effective exposure of the devices to which the Church of Rome has been obliged to resort in order to establish the "primitive" character of her claims to supremacy.

As the substance of the work is not new, we need say only as to its main purport that Father Puller's object was to make a selection from the writings of formally accounted "saints" in the primitive Church of the first five or six centuries, in refutation of the claim made by the Roman See to primacy of jurisdiction as of divine right and against the theory that communion with the See of Rome is a necessary condition of communion with the Catholic Church. The appeal is made to Christian antiquity—a court the validity of which

is acknowledged by both parties to the controversy. The relevancy and force of Father Puller's arguments was so far felt by English Roman Catholics, that the late Dr. Luke Rivington wrote an elaborate reply in a book entitled "The Primitive Church and the See of St. Peter". It is not too much to say that this reply—which we have re-read before writing this notice—was as halting and inconclusive in its arguments as it was confident in its tone, and the rejoinder made in this volume is so complete as to be crushing.

But the abiding importance of the subject here discussed is quite independent of any passing phases of controversy. Students of Church history will find Father Puller's learned volume a useful book of reference on more subjects than one. The author writes clearly and candidly, with hardly any of that anxiety to make out a case which is too characteristic of ecclesiastical controversialists; he maintains a uniformly courteous and moderate tone towards antagonists and his whole line of argument shows how thoroughly he possesses the historic sense and understands the historic method. Some of the chief topics discussed are—the Paschal controversy in the time of Victor, the well-known passage in Irenæus, iii., 3, the views and position of Cyprian in relation to the Roman See, the attitude of the Councils of Nicæa and Sardica, the "pontificate" of Damasus, the Meletian controversy and the quarrels with Acacius in the fifth century. But a mere enumeration of topics fails to give an idea of the minute care, learning and accuracy with which Father Puller has investigated the details of history which bear upon his immediate object.

The chief criticisms we should feel disposed to make concern the arrangement and what may be called the artistic proportions of the book. Surely in any discussion of this kind priority in every sense should be given to the evidence of the New Testament. Father Puller does not reach this subject till his third lecture, but his exegesis of the vexed passages Matt. xvi. 18 and John xxi. 15-17 is excellent. In an interesting note on p. 99 he draws attention to the fact that the liturgy of St. James contains a

prayer which speaks of the Church "which thou didst found on the rock of the faith" and a collect in the Roman Missal describes those "whom thou hast established on the rock of the apostolic confession"—two striking examples of the prevalence in the early Church of the non-personal interpretation of Christ's words to Peter. But Father Puller does not use texts as missiles, and his handling of Scripture is for the most part sound and free from dogmatic bias. He understands the "rock" as referring to Peter, but points out that it may be rightly said that the Church is built on Christ, or on Peter's evangelising labours long ago, or upon the true faith; but in these cases the expression "build upon" is used in different shades of meaning, which should be clearly distinguished in controversy.

To the famous words *Pasce oves meas*, Father Puller gives the only satisfactory interpretation that no fresh commission was given in them to Peter—to be primate with a rule over apostles—but a renewed commission to care for the sheep and lambs of the Church of God. With the author's view that James was "bishop" of the Church at Jerusalem, which he considers to be largely proved by the "authoritative" (?) word *κρίνω*, we cannot agree. His attempt to prove that "Catholic principles of jurisdiction" are recognised in the phraseology of the Acts of the Apostles, together with the illustration taken from the analogy of "Archbishop Darboy, Pope Pius IX. and Archbishop Manning," implies in our view an anachronism similar to that which the special pleaders of Rome commit when they read later ecclesiastical distinctions and orders and conditions of precedence into the phrases of early writers to whom they were quite unknown.

It would have seemed natural, also, that the greatest stress should have been laid by the author upon the earliest evidence; e.g., the improbability that Peter was ever "bishop" of Rome, the confusion of names amongst those supposed to be his immediate successors, and the epistles of Clement and Ignatius. These points are touched upon but lightly, while disproportionate attention is paid to the very minutest details of the Meletian controversy. But it would not be

fair to press this criticism, and the author has evidently preferred to shed light upon the obscurities of later tangled controversies, rather than to press home well-worn arguments based upon often discussed passages.

We confess that our own interest centres much more in the general principles underlying Father Puller's arguments than in the discussion whether when the Church of Antioch was divided by a schism, this or that party was or was not "in schism," and whether the action of the Church of Rome was or was not ecclesiastically defensible throughout. Father Puller has proved again—one would say beyond the possibility of further controversy, if those possibilities were not well nigh infinite—that a Roman primacy of *jurisdiction* was quite foreign to the ideas of the Church of the first four centuries; that a primacy of honour and influence was accorded very early to the Roman See, but that unjustifiable claims to meddle authoritatively with Churches beyond its jurisdiction were, during the first three centuries, successfully resisted. He has also brought out more clearly than ever that in the time of Damasus a large measure of real jurisdiction over the whole Western Empire was given to the Bishop of Rome, and thereafter it was sought to justify the use of these later powers by reading into earlier incidents and documents a meaning they were never intended to bear. Similarly he has proved that the claim of Rome to make communion with her a necessary condition of membership in the Catholic Church is, according to the evidence of "primitive saints," quite unfounded.

Still, here is the Church of Rome, with its well-known history; how far may a principle of "development" in the Christian Church be justified, and on what principles? That there has been development in doctrine, in worship, in church government, is certain; when and how did it begin to diverge from a normal line? What is a "normal" line, and who is to decide its direction? The Anglo-Catholic cannot deny the existence of development, but he seeks to restrict its legitimate application within five or six centuries. The same historic arguments used against the claims of Rome may be

used, *mutatis mutandis*, against some of the claims of "the historic episcopate". Of course the development in this case was much earlier, much more rapid and universal, but no one who appeals to history studied apart from dogmatic bias can deny that elements entered into the Church tradition in the time of Cyprian which went far to transform the whole character of Christian doctrine and worship, just as elements entered in the time of Damasus which went far to transform its government from an oligarchy to a monarchy that has since become a despotism. Is the one development justifiable and the other not; if so, why? Dr. Bright in his excellent book on *The Roman See in the Early Church* says: "Unprimitive ideas came in and acted as a leaven, giving it a one-sided and unhealthy exuberance, producing a ferment which disturbed the proportion of the credenda. Was a papacy a part of the original Christianity?" One might substitute for the word "papacy" diocesan episcopacy, or sacerdotal power of absolution on the part of the ministry, or the doctrine of purgatory, or the "treasury of merits" in the Church; and the teachers of various communions would immediately differ as to the "unprimitive" character of the ideas or the "one-sidedness" or "unhealthiness" of the development. Who shall decide when such teachers disagree?

To raise these questions is probably beyond the proper scope of such a notice as the present. Father Puller, however, does more than suggest them. In an Appendix (pp. 424-433) which we have found all too short, he discusses development, whether it can be rightly applied to discipline, to theology or to obligatory dogma. Here lies the crux of the whole question. Its importance was shown half a century ago in the treatises on development of Cardinal Newman and his former disciple James Mozley. Canon Gore gives much attention to it in his short but admirable book on *Roman Catholic Claims*. To our thinking this is *the* question which deserves to be argued out at length with full discussion of principles and wealth of illustration, while the details of the Meletian schism might have been dispatched

in an appendix. Father Puller has reversed this mode of treatment, giving his strength to the ecclesiastical minutiae, and touching lightly upon the vital principles—doubtless for good reasons.

He is more than within his rights. It is poor criticism to complain of a book excellent of its kind, because it is not something else and does not compass ends which the author did not contemplate. We are grateful for what is here given us—a learned, able and weighty discussion of important ecclesiastical questions and a complete vindication on the grounds of primitive ecclesiastical teaching and usage of all who resist the unjustifiable claims of the Roman pontiff, the Roman curia, the Roman Church and Roman ecclesiastical arrogance in all its forms.

W. T. DAVISON.



## **The Body of Christ: An Inquiry into the Institution and Doctrine of Holy Communion.**

*By Charles Gore, M.A., D.D., of the Community of the Resurrection, Canon of Westminster. London: John Murray, 1901. Pp. xv. + 330. Price 5s.*

THIS remarkable book, the author tells us in his preface, is in part the result of an attempt to clear up his own thoughts on Eucharistic subjects in view of the "Round Table Conference" summoned by the late Bishop of London. Assuming such things as the belief in Christ expressed in the Nicene Creed, and the substantial accuracy of those passages in the New Testament which bear upon the institution of the Eucharist, he enters upon a thorough-going examination of the meaning and efficacy of the Holy Supper. In the present state of opinion on the subject, when so many Protestants of every type are feeling after a more adequate conception of the Sacraments, as also of the cognate ideas of priesthood and sacrifice, it is certain that Canon Gore's volume will be read with profound interest and expectancy far beyond the bounds of his own communion. Whatever comes from his pen is distinguished in a rare degree by the qualities of depth, candour, and devoutness, nor in these respects does this work fall behind its predecessors.

A preliminary chapter discusses the affinity of the Eucharist with other sacrifices, and elucidates the fundamental idea which is to be found in all sacrifice, but is expressed by the Eucharist most effectively. A good deal of emphasis is naturally laid upon Robertson Smith's conclusion that the basal idea of ancient sacrifice is that "of communion between the god and his worshippers by joint participation in

the living flesh and blood of a sacred victim". But sufficient attention is hardly paid to the fact that in the form which these Semitic ideas assume in the Old Testament the practice of a sacrificial meal cannot be proved to have been universal, and that in the Hebrew ritual the *Tsebach* is nowhere stated to have been accompanied by a meal implying communion with the Deity. Deductions from Smith's results which are so tempting to High Churchmen—to whom the very definition of the Eucharist is "a feast upon a sacrifice"—are too lightly assumed to be the simple outgrowth of Old Testament ideas.

The book's centre of gravity, however, lies in the second chapter, entitled "the Gift and Presence in Holy Communion". On the nature of the gift, which is the most important matter, there has been, as Canon Gore says, comparatively little controversy. Witnesses are called from every age and school to prove that this is the flesh or body and blood of Christ "according to a spiritual and heavenly manner". But no similar unanimity has prevailed regarding the relation of the spiritual gift to the bread and wine; and for many all hope of agreement with Canon Gore disappears when he proceeds to identify the doctrine of an objectively real presence in the Eucharist with the belief that Christ's body and blood is in some way attached to the sacramental elements "before they are eaten and drunken and independently of such eating and drinking"—from which there follows the singularly embarrassing inference that even a bad man who partakes of the consecrated bread and wine receives "a spiritual endowment of his nature". In support of this theory abundant citations may be drawn from the Fathers and the Liturgies; but it appears to us that Canon Gore as little as other writers of the same school deals adequately with the contention that, while the most ancient Fathers, when indulging in the rhetoric of passionate devotion, use language which seems to affirm the Anglican doctrine of a Real Presence, they yet in more restrained and sober passages deliberately express a very different view. Their case is really parallel to that of Scottish Presbyterians,

who, though they consciously repudiate both transubstantiation and consubstantiation, yet sing without scruple and with deep feeling Doddridge's hymn—

Hail, sacred feast, which Jesus makes,  
Rich banquet of His flesh and blood.

“Their true opinions,” as it has been put, “are too well known for them to be misunderstood.”

Canon Gore devotes only a few pages to a criticism of transubstantiation, the reader being referred to his *Dissertations* for a fuller statement of the case. He finds the germ of this heresy in the monophysite tendency operating in the East, which, though checked by Christian instinct with regard to the person of our Lord, was unhappily allowed to prevail “in the secondary region of the sacramental presence”. He uses strong terms about the first form of the doctrine as violently imposed on Berengar, describing it as “gross and horrible,” and exclaiming in tones of grave indignation against the unworthy materialism which has clung to this mediæval theory from the first, and has even been accentuated by the later developments of modern Romish theology. An outsider, however, will feel that Canon Gore's own teaching is separated from that of Rome only by the finest margin. In the one case the substance of each element is changed while its accidents remain; in the other case it becomes something else though it remains what it was before. And Canon Gore's explanations hardly give us the needed help in shading off his position from that which we ordinarily call Romish. He speaks of the “undefinable identification” wrought by consecration between the body and blood of Christ and the bread and wine; more explicitly he tells us that “the body and blood of Christ are made present ‘under the forms of’ bread and wine, or in some real though undefined way identified with them”. But for this stupendous assertion some four pages concerned with Scripture proof are thought sufficient out of a fair-sized volume. Further, the gift bestowed in the Eucharist is affirmed to be the real flesh and blood of the glorified Saviour,

the Son of Man Who has passed through death and is alive for evermore. How, then, can it be denied that the Body given to believers now is very different from that imparted to the Twelve on the night of institution? How escape the dilemma—either Christ was glorified before He suffered, or the rite celebrated in the upper room was not a true communion?

The gift and presence vouchsafed in the Eucharist Canon Gore maintains to be *spiritual*, by which is meant something more than “related to our spirits” (Jeremy Taylor). The term spiritual in this connexion signifies rather that which is “the pure and transparent vehicle of spiritual purpose,” and in this sense it is eminently applicable to the risen body of Christ. The dubious principle is affirmed that Christ’s resurrection body was no longer subservient to the conditions of space, and can therefore be present in the Eucharist in a way which is absolutely subjugated to Christ’s purpose. At this point Canon Gore offers an interesting contribution to what may be called the ontology of the subject. “It is of real importance,” he says, “that we should recognise that faith probably plays the same part in actually constituting the spiritual reality of the sacrament as the reason of man does in constituting the objects of the natural world.” The analogy is perhaps more ingenious than convincing. For the reality or activity of natural objects cannot be said to depend on my *individual* reason, while the *virtus sacramenti* (as distinct from the *res sacramenti*) is certainly dependent on my personal faith, and has always been held to be so. Besides, it is difficult to reconcile the statement made earlier in regard to the grace of baptism (but which *a fortiori* holds good of the Eucharist), that “it must be conceived as given irrespective of the state of mind or condition of faith of the receiver” (p. 74), with the later assertion that for one who is altogether outside the faith of the Church “the spiritual reality cannot be said to exist” (p. 150). Faith must be either an essential or a non-essential element in the case; under no circumstances can it be both.

The third chapter, which treats of the Eucharist as a sacrifice,

raises questions of vast historical and dogmatic importance. How soon did the Church pass from the simpler conception of the Supper as a sacrifice—in the sense that it implies the offering of the gifts by the congregation and is analogous to the sacrifices of prayer, etc.—to the ominous notion that it is sacrificial in the sense of cleansing the conscience and atoning for sin? The mere fact that from the beginning the Eucharist was called a sacrifice proves nothing; the same term is applied, inside the New Testament, to the bodies, thanksgivings, and obedience of believers. Canon Gore, however, holds that the abolition in Christ of any further need for propitiation is not equivalent to the abolition of sacrifice, and that the New Testament is the guide of later opinion in regarding the Church as an essentially priestly body with her own oblations to offer. But his statement passes without a single discoverable mediating link of argument from an examination of the spiritual sacrifices of the New Testament believer to the assertion that the Eucharist is the corporate expression of the sacrificial life of the Church as an organised body (p. 171). It is true that Canon Gore holds that consecration does not effect any renewal of the sacrifice of the Cross, and is even inclined to restrict the application of the word *propitiatory* to the Eucharist as indiscreet. But when he goes on to discuss the connexion between the earthly and the heavenly offering, it is difficult to believe that his argument is always controlled by the reasonable interpretation of Scripture and experience. The Church's sacrifice, we are told, derives its value from its being offered on the heavenly altar of Christ's perpetual self-presentation. And in this connexion Canon Gore, with other High Church theologians, builds what many will think an altogether extravagant superstructure on some expressions used in the Epistle to the Hebrews. That Epistle his party has always regarded as being of special importance for their doctrine of the Eucharist. It teaches, according to Canon Gore, that it is at His entrance into heaven and not upon the Cross that Christ accomplishes His atonement for us; while we Christians belong to, or rather constitute, the

temple or house of God in which Christ offers Himself (this last assertion, singularly enough, being based upon Heb. iii. 6). It is easy to see how from these positions the inference may be drawn that "the earthly Eucharists are to be viewed simply on the background of Christ's heavenly action," and that the oblation of the sacrifice of Christ is not limited to heaven, but is perpetuated on earth in the celebration of the Eucharist. In support of these conclusions appeal is frequently made to Prof. A. B. Davidson's *Commentary on Hebrews*, and it would be interesting to know that eminent scholar's opinion of certain of the inferences drawn from his words. A reference to the passages cited from that commentary in this volume shows that in at least one case Canon Gore makes Prof. Davidson's language bear far more than it was ever meant to carry.

At various points in the course of his argument Canon Gore is obviously desirous of dissociating himself from the sacramental doctrines of the extremers Anglicans. We have already seen how clearly, though not, perhaps, very consistently, he affirms the relativity to faith of the spiritual gift conferred in the Sacrament. While maintaining an objectively real presence, he refuses to conceive that presence as localised. He would grant, apparently, that Christ's discourse in John vi. does not refer directly to the Eucharist, while holding—what is indeed true—that our Lord there expounds the facts and laws, so far as they can be conveyed in human language, which the Eucharist expresses far more effectively. He repudiates the notion that the Church, or individuals in virtue of their belonging to the Church, can through the Eucharist exercise even in part the atoning power for sin which Christ exercised. He protests that it is only by descending to a view of sacrifice which is less than Christian, that we can believe that "non-communicating attendance" implies participation in Eucharistic benefits, and he condemns the worship of the consecrated elements apart from actual communion. He rejects unhesitatingly the theory held by some Anglicans that the Eucharist contains some real presence of the flesh and blood of Christ,

not as they are in His glorified humanity, but as they were when He was dead or dying upon the Cross. He denies the hypostatical union between the Saviour's manhood and the elements. He speaks some plain words about the defects of mediæval authority, and goes so far as to lay down the principle that ecclesiastical authority, as such, can never be regarded as absolute or final "except when it can justify its action or utterance by the appeal behind itself to the word of God". The precise range and import of these concessions to a less magical theory of the Sacrament it would be difficult to estimate. At times it is plain that the writer has doubts as to the effect of his words. Still, while putting forward his views in the most courteous and conciliatory style of controversial argument, at no point does he veil his meaning under the garb of ambiguity or reserve.

Much might be said of the more general considerations suggested by the perusal of this singularly impressive book, of which the limits of space have constrained us to give only a brief *résumé*. For one thing, in such works as this the appeal to Scripture is somehow felt to be secondary. Their arguments carry us into another world of feeling than that of the New Testament. We cannot but remain convinced that had our Lord's words of institution been interpreted by the Apostles as affirming the Real Presence of His body and blood in the Elements, they would have taught that doctrine with the same explicit directness as they use, for instance, in proclaiming the forgiveness of sins through Christ's death. After all, only one of the Apostles describes the Lord's Supper, and he in no more than one Epistle. Again, the appeal to the Fathers seems invariably to result in a great deal of *ex parte* quotation, together with the almost complete neglect of passages unfavourable to the appellant's theory. Despite Canon Gore's remarks on the subject, have Anglicans ever fairly faced the language used by the Fathers about the change produced by consecration in the water of baptism, and learned the caution which it suggests in our interpretation of similar patristic utterances regarding the bread and wine?

There are many, and their number is growing, who will sympathise with Canon Gore in protesting against a merely *symbolic* or *didactic* conception of the Eucharist. They believe that when Christ gives us the symbols of His flesh and blood He gives us Himself. They believe in the Real Presence of Christ *in the sacrament*—which is a transaction between persons—though not in the bread and wine. But they feel that such doctrines as are set forth in this volume—be the spirit of the writer never so devout and sincere and profound—are incongruous with the simplicity of the New Testament, and infected with elements which are less than Christian. That any theory can adequately represent the meaning of the Eucharist, or interpret completely all that it does for the faithful soul, is too much to believe. Its very existence proves that Christ meant by it far more than words could ever have expressed, or than can ever be stated in propositions. His design was “to *give* us in a symbolic act all that His death secures for us”. And we cannot but think that on page 280 of the volume under review there stands a sentence which might with great justice be applied to Canon Gore and the party of which he is rightly regarded as a distinguished ornament—“it is indeed wonderful how Christians can prefer to trust a very fallible logic of sacramental presence rather than the manifested intention of our Lord”.

H. R. MACKINTOSH.



**Dionysius of Halicarnassus' Three Literary Letters:  
Greek Text, edited with Translation, etc.,**

*By W. Rhys Roberts, Litt.D., Professor, etc. Cambridge: University Press, 1901. 8vo, pp. 230. Price 9s.*

AN excellent edition of *The Three Literary Letters of Dionysius of Halicarnassus* is the most recent work of a careful and elegant scholar, Dr. W. Rhys Roberts, who has previously edited *Longinus on the Sublime*. It contains the Greek text, revised by the aid of the important Paris MS., 1741; collated for this purpose by the editor himself; as also an English translation, a facsimile page of that MS., notes, glossary of rhetorical and grammatical terms, bibliography and introductory essay on Dionysius as a literary critic. That writer was also a historian; but posterity has refused to take him seriously in that character. His work on early Roman history was the main product of twenty-two years of his life, during which he was resident at Rome. These years end in B.C. 8.

Of the twenty books to which it extended only about half, and that the earlier half, survive. The converse of this would probably have been far more helpful to the historical student; since the *rationale* of the earlier portion depends upon that comparative method, which, although, as we see in *The Politics*, it fell within the wide range of Aristotle's mind, yet had died out in the Dionysian period. The whole history covered the period which Polybius skips or takes for granted.

The importance of Dionysius as a critic lies in the fact that he flourished at the time when Greek and Roman literature stood consciously face to face. His avowed profession in the capital of the world was that of a teacher of rhetoric. He educated, that is, young men as public speakers. But

the fact that the greatest models of public oratory had now become national classics alike among the Greeks and Romans (Demosthenes, Lysias and Gaius Gracchus are familiar examples) tended to a close alliance of the *rhetor* with the *grammaticus*, or literary man proper. Dionysius crowned these joint pursuits with the ambition and the achievements (at any rate as regards the contemporary public) of a historian. Many rising Roman public men were among his pupils and professional clients; while his history addressed itself to the patriotic pride of the Latin race. He flattered that ascendancy of Rome over the nations, by which he profited.

Our editor quotes a remarkable and characteristic passage from Dionysius, *de Antiq. Orat.*, textually in the note, and translated in the English text. It seems to the present writer that our editor shows something less than his usual felicity in his version of it; and in the following quotation of it from pp. 34, 35, a few changes of phrase, indicated in italics, have accordingly been hazarded:—

"I believe" (says Dionysius) "that this great revolution (*sc.* the reversion to the Attic models) was caused and originated by Rome, the mistress of the world, who drew all eyes upon herself. The principal agents were members of the ruling classes of Rome, distinguished by their high character and by their *seriously earnest*<sup>1</sup> conduct of public affairs, and highly cultivated men of *genuine*<sup>2</sup> critical instincts. Under their administration the *moral*<sup>3</sup> elements in the commonwealth have

<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου occurs several times in Polybius, where Liddell and Scott note it as bearing the above sense. The editor renders it somewhat vaguely "excellent". The random selfishness of party spirit or personal interest, which had marked the governments of the hundred years of civil war, is probably indirectly rebuked.

<sup>2</sup> γενναῖοι, "lofty" (ed.) seems rather too highly pitched for the studied, perhaps affected, moderation of Dionysius.

<sup>3</sup> τὸ φρόνιμον, Dionysius uses language of an intellectual cast in this, and in τὸ ἀνόητον and νοῦν ἔχειν, which follow. But there is little doubt that he meant to stigmatise thus leniently what were really moral delinquencies. The *régime* of Augustus was, by all his admirers, voted highly moral: cf. Hor., *Ep.*, ii., 1, 2, "armis tuteis, moribus ornes," and earlier, among the Julian laws, were some intended to vindicate the ethical elements of society against their utter prostration in the previous struggles: see Mommsen, *History of Rome*, iv., pp. 545-558, English trans., ed. 1868.

grown still further in strength, and *the unthinking* have been constrained to be *reflective*. Accordingly many important historical works are written by men of our day, and many specimens of civil oratory of *superior merit*<sup>1</sup> are produced, together with philosophical treatises of no mean order. . . . And since so vast a revolution has been effected in so short a time, I should not be surprised if that *recent party-spirit fertile in senseless speeches*<sup>2</sup> failed to survive another generation."

The notes below seem to vindicate the above alterations.

It remains to indicate, where possible, the facts to which the above language, mostly vague and general, seems to point. Probably Dionysius, if asked to whom or what he referred, would have put foremost the genius shown by Julius Cæsar in literature and science, as instanced in his work *de Analogia* and his reform of the calendar.

The "specimens of civil oratory" and "philosophical treatises" dwelt upon with encomium suggest Cicero and perhaps reach back to Varro. Nor need we exclude Lucretius, whose grave earnestness as a philosophic expositor is independent of the accident of his metrical medium. It is more difficult to justify the ascription of "many important historical works" to "men of our day" (τοῖς νῦν); which, taken strictly, should mean men living when the words were written; and can hardly be understood so elastically as to include Julius Cæsar or even Sallust. There were men living who pursued research, and there were, if we may coin a word, historiasters. But the men who were given to research wrote no histories, reserving their lucubrations for a learned clique; while the men who affected history eschewed research. They wrote merely for the vulgar many—mere feuilletonists who

<sup>1</sup> *χαρίεστες*, "graceful" (ed.). The word is here doubtless intended in its literary sense, which inclines to the passive aspect, "regarded with *χάρις*, i.e., by critics or commentators, rather than "showing *χάρις* in themselves". So commonly with the Scholiasts, *αἱ χαριέστεραι* mean the copies or editions of superior merit.

<sup>2</sup> *ὁ ζῆλος ἐκείνος τῶν ἀνοήτων λόγων*, where *cf.* on the phrases noticed in n. 3 *sup.* Dionysius speaks here a little more definitely, and presumably refers to the publication of speeches as partisan pamphlets, which was a frequent literary feature of the period of Dionysius being at Rome. *ζῆλος* thus means not merely party-spirit in the abstract, but its practical ebullition in this form.

strung together current anecdotes of eminent persons and sugared them with romance. Possibly by being thus "to the virtues very kind," of Alexander Polyhistor, for example, Dionysius intended indirectly to magnify himself and his own *opus magnum*. Anyhow his eulogy of contemporary historians sounds like a tap on an empty barrel. The "great revolution" in taste, referred to in the first sentence of the above quotation, was a promising fact which remained barren of fulfilment. There was such a tendency in the last half century B.C. But the establishment of the empire disguised in republican forms under Augustus involved a revolution in politics which devoured most of its own children. Thus, of these earlier Atticists, Asinius Pollio appears to have been the only one actually left, unless we reckon Maecenas, as perhaps we may, as a sort of sleeping partner.

The absence of positive reference by Dionysius either to Cicero or any other Latin writer, is well discussed by the editor in his estimate of his author "as a literary critic". The editorial work is consummate throughout. Of course in so much translation one comes across a rendering over which one hesitates with poised pen and notes a query in the margin. Of some such, examples have already been given. A few others may be taken. In the "First Letter to Ammæus" the author is arguing against any indebtedness of Demosthenes to Aristotle, and says (pp. 74-5) that the date of a certain event *ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς γίγνεται φανερὸς ἱστορίας*, "is clear from known facts," being the editor's version. Is it not likely that some definite current historical authority is intended by the term *κοινὴ ἱστορία*? On p. 112 the term *αὐθέκαστος* is rendered "severe," applied by Dionysius to Thucydides. Probably "downright" would more closely represent the epithet, a man who, in our homely phrase, "called a spade a spade". On p. 116 the contrast of beauty in Herodotus and Thucydides is given as *τὸ μὲν Ἡροδότου κάλλος ἱλαρόν ἐστι, φοβερόν δὲ τὸ Θ.*, rendered "the beauty of Herodotus is radiant, that of Thucydides awe-inspiring". For the former one might prefer "genial" without offence. On p. 120 (criticism of Philistus) the phrase *κατὰ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν*

appears by some accident to have no English equivalent in the version on p. 121. But none of these can be reckoned a serious blemish. And wherever it seemed at first sight that a positive slip had been made, on turning to the "Notes" (which form a separate section, pp. 161 f.) we find a redeeming explanation, *e.g.*, on τῶν δέκα φυγαδικῶν τριηρῶν (p. 58) rendered "the flying squadron of ten galleys," the note remarks that "galleys manned by refugees" is what the Greek seems to suggest, adding a reference to Demosthenes (*Philipp.*, i., 25), whom Dionysius purports to be quoting, and whose epithet is ταχειῶν. The notes and glossary follow the "Three Letters" only, whereas the bibliography includes the whole of the known works of Dionysius.

A writer in the *Quarterly Review*, No. 384, pp. 407 f., in order to exalt the merits of Longinus, finds it necessary to depreciate Dionysius, whom he describes as "a pure critic and a critic of the secondary order, little better indeed than a grammarian. . . . A great history, a magnificent oration, . . . were to him mere exercises in rhetoric, the results of the mechanical application of mechanical rules. A critic was one who knew these rules, and who had to decide whether they had been followed." Dr. Rhys Roberts has put in the power of any classical reader to refute this unjust and depreciatory estimate.

HENRY HAYMAN, D.D.

## **The International Critical Commentary on Proverbs.**

*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Proverbs.*  
By Crawford H. Toy, Professor of Hebrew in Harvard  
University. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1899. 8vo, pp.  
xxxvi. + 554. Price 12s.

THE long delay in the appearance of this review is entirely due to the reviewer. Delay, however, has enabled him by the use of Professor Toy's commentary, in teaching and private study, to appreciate the sound and thorough work on which the volume is sustained, and its high value alike to teachers and students of the Old Testament.

The qualities required in a commentator on Proverbs are many and various. First of all, the text of the book is frequently uncertain; it needs a thorough revision, and in places it urgently tempts to adventurous emendation. A large number of modern efforts in this department have to be estimated, not to say checked; and there is not much ancient evidence to go upon. Again, the historical problems are many, and there are no definite historical allusions—as in other books of the Old Testament—by which to solve them. The critic is thrown back upon his knowledge both of the history of the language, and of the history of the social life and thought of the people. It is a question of general expertness in the language and religion of Israel, and a commentator wanting in this would be speedily found out. Again, the popular and human spirit of the book, as well as the late date of the bulk of it, demand comparisons of its teaching with the common wisdom and philosophic tendencies of other nations. Justice must be done to the native possibilities of Israel's own wisdom; vigilance has to be exercised

for the appearance of symptoms of foreign influence. And besides, in the general appreciation of the spiritual attitude and force of the book, independence as well as courage of judgment are required, in order to avoid not merely that indiscriminating applause of its value which has characterised a school of exegetes at one extreme, but the infection of those prejudices against its ethical standpoint which have recently too much prevailed among us.

Of all these qualities the commentary bears ample proof. It is on the whole an original and sound work; and must form the basis of future teaching on the subject in our language. The questions discussed are such that difference of opinion on most of them will always be inevitable, but Professor Toy's statement of his conclusions is moderate enough, and his grounds for them are sufficiently strong to compel respect and serious consideration.

In his criticism of the text Professor Toy shows an example—much needed in these days—of moderation. There are no wild conjectures, no exhibitions of critical athletics where the state of the text renders reasonable emendations impossible. Only sometimes Professor Toy seems to me to yield unduly to the fashion of making a regard for rhythmical symmetry the cardinal rule in reconstructions of the text. Most oriental art avoids absolute symmetry; upon so elastic an art as that of Hebrew rhythm—especially since we are so ignorant of the laws which governed it—it is hazardous to trust this rule at any time, but positively fatal to enforce it when it is opposed by the main ideas of the context. That Professor Toy appreciates the danger is shown not only in his general remarks on rhythm on page 9, but in his rejection of Oort's emendation of Prov. ii. 8, by which a mechanical parallelism is secured at the expense of the general sense of the passage. Yet on iii. 12, he adopts a reading because it is "more appropriate" than that of the received text, although the latter has all the textual evidence in its favour. He admits that Hebrew writers may have taken license in varying metres (pp. 117, 123, *cf.* 120), yet from xxvii. 14, he throws out the emphatic and picturesque *early in the morning*

on the ground that "it mars the rhythmical symmetry". For the same reason lines are omitted, it seems to me unduly, in i. 22, 23, 27. One thing is to be admired in Professor Toy's treatment of the rhythms; he has discarded the very misleading terms, "dimeter, trimeter, tetrameter," etc., and introduced "binary, ternary, and quaternary". In face of the easy zeal for investing the order of verses in the interests of a rigidly logical sequence, his re-arrangements are few. From the variety of arrangements proposed by different authorities for several passages, one sees that what they call a question of logic is for the most part a question of taste; and feels that the less logical order of the received text may, after all, really represent the taste of the writer to whom logic was never a primary consideration. Where modern authorities differ so much in their opinion of what logical sequence is, the received order may easily have been the original.

Professor Toy's translations are so careful and so generally good that I hesitate to call attention to a few which seem to me inadequate. On page 29, *indifference* is too weak a rendering of משובת: in the latter there is surely positive *aversion*: it can hardly be synonymous with שלות in the parallel clause. Etymologically and by practical use by Hosea and Jeremiah the element of wilful apostasy seems clearly proved. Nor can *kindness* ever be an adequate rendering of חסד, of which, in its religious applications, fidelity to an engagement, or at least a relation, appears always to be a content. Therefore, חסד is not, as Professor Toy says, complementary but parallel to אמת, with which it is so often used. On the keywords of the book in ch. i. 2 ff., השכל is more than *wise* conduct: it is a pregnant term, containing the sense of conduct which profits or succeeds, and is better rendered by prudent. צדק is more than *justice* and is not properly "a forensic term"; the Revised Version *righteousness* is distinctly better. The title to xi. 29, *stinginess*, is far from covering Professor Toy's own exegesis of the verse.

Equally few, in my opinion, are the objections to Professor Toy's expositions. To that of the Old Testament use of the



word *fear*, p. 10, might be added a reference to Psalm xix. 9, *the fear of the Lord is clean*: a consciousness of the distinction of Israel's reverence for God from the superstitions of the heathen under which so many unclean things found refuge. Ch. xiv. 4—

*"Where there are no oxen the crib is clean :*

*But abundance of produce comes by the strength of the ox"*—is one of two or three proverbs, in which it seems to me Professor Toy has been turned from the natural sense by unjustifiable linguistic scruples. I do not think the sense *physically clean* is precluded by the evidence he quotes, and the general meaning thereby obtained for the passage is natural and worth emphasis; you may get a cleanness and absence of trouble by dispensing with certain things in life, yet progress and wealth are impossible without these and the worry they bring. Beside this, the meaning which Professor Toy derives from the Proverb—and only through an unsupported change in the text—is flat and unprofitable. In the exposition of v. 3-6 Professor Toy asserts that "*in the Old Testament . . . it is only men that are had in mind, the moral independence of women not being distinctly recognised*". That is surely far too strong a statement. It is supported by this other; that "*the only addresses to women as such in Old Testament are Isa. iii. 16-iv. 1, and Amos iv. 1-3*". But there are also Isa. xxxii. 9 ff., Prov. xi. 16 (where women's influence is not confined to the family) 22, xii. 4, xxi. 9, 19, xxvii. 15, and above all the picture of the virtuous<sup>1</sup> woman in xxxi. 10 ff., where, as Professor Toy himself admits "*woman is regarded by the author as an independent individual, not merely as an appendage to her husband*". One might also quote the treatment by historical writers in the Old Testament of individual women. And is not Wisdom itself pictured by the sages as a woman? In connection with this subject I may introduce an interesting analogy of what Dr. Toy has justly pointed out: viz., that the sinful woman depicted in the Proverbs is a wife, and that unmarried sinners of that kind are not mentioned by the writer. Among the

<sup>1</sup> In the braver and more general use of that term.

Christians of Lebanon it is to-day exactly the same form of immorality which prevails. There are no unmarried women unchaste: any immorality is that of wives, either widows or those whose husbands like the woman of Proverbs have left home for a time on business.

Professor Toy's depreciation of the Proverbs' regard for the moral independence of women is not the only depreciation of the teaching of the book which is found in one part of his commentary and qualified or corrected in another part. On p. 27 (on i. 24-31) he says that "the discordant note in the announcement of retribution is Wisdom's mockery of the wretched sufferer," and implies that the writer does not feel sympathy for the sinner, or adequately provide chances for him. But on p. 28 this latter statement is corrected: "If it be asked, What room is left here for repentance? the answer of the sage is that the offenders have had ample opportunity to amend their ways and have refused to change". But Dr. Toy might have added that throughout the whole of the Prologue Wisdom is represented as coming down to man's level to seek the sinner, and that the voice of her appeals is full of yearning and urgency. Wisdom is represented as not only nor mainly declaratory or judicial, but as full of anxiety to serve the simple and to turn the sinner from his ways, while her mockery of the impenitent which Professor Toy calls a discordant note is but that irony exhibited by life and providence towards the wilfully apostate, which every moralist with his eyes open has admitted and emphasised. To me these touches are proofs of the strength of the Book.

As for the whole temper and attitude of the teaching of Proverbs, I feel that hardly sufficient justice has been done by Professor Toy to its idealism and its passionate urgency. Dr. Toy has indeed admitted more than once the presence of ideal elements—that the morality enjoined is not (as a recent writer in the *Spectator* maintained) merely prudential, but that the "sages believed in the value of right in itself" and that "an ideal element is introduced by the identification of wisdom as the will of God, which is held to be the absolute right, and by the personification of wisdom as God's first

creation and intimate friend. In certain passages (as for example ii. 10) they appear to reach the ultimate moral conception, namely the ethical union of man with God conceived of as the moral ideal. These considerations must modify our judgment of what seems to be a baldly prudential scheme of ethical life" (pp. 54, 55). This is true, but it does not seem emphasised in due proportion. Instead of "modifying our judgment" of the prudential appearance of the teaching of Proverbs, the ideal elements in the book should reverse such a judgment, and the warm, sometimes passionate, presentation of them should stir our hearts to admiration of the idealism of the teaching of the sages as its most vital nerve and beautiful feature. I know that the question is partly one of taste and temperament; but for myself I feel, that the way in which Wisdom, the first born of God, is represented as descending to the level of men, seeking them and urgently pleading with them, the fashion in which she is pictured as a woman full of beauty and tenderness, and the call to affection and enthusiasm in the pursuit of virtue—*say that wisdom is thy sister and gain the friendship of understanding*—that these are the real essence and spirit of the book, and render its teaching much more evangelical than anywhere appears in this commentary. But as I have said, Dr. Toy does not overlook such elements, and the sole defect, if defect it be, in his treatment of them is one of proportion.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

### **Beweis für das Dasein Gottes.**

*Von Dr. Paul Schwarzkopff, Professor zu Wernigerode. Halle und Bremen : C. E. Müller ; London : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. vii. + 118. Price 2s.*

### **Modern Natural Theology, with the Testimony of Christian Evidences.**

*By Frederick James Gant, F.R.C.S., etc. London : Elliot Stock. Crown 8vo, pp. xii. + 151. Price 2s. 6d.*

DR. PAUL SCHWARZKOPFF, Professor of Theology at Göttingen, published a few years ago an interesting study of *The Prophecies of Jesus Christ*, and dated his preface from Wernigerode. The book was noticed in this Review (by Prof. Dods) in 1896, and again briefly in 1897 on the appearance of the English translation. A promised continuation or expansion of the study into a work four times as large, covering the whole subject of "the Revelation of God in Jesus Christ," has not yet, so far as we know, been published. Now the reader meets again the name of Dr. Paul Schwarzkopff, and again the name Wernigerode. But, judging from various indications, one conjectures—it is only a conjecture—that the author of the short book now before us may be the father of the Göttingen theologian.

The author confesses that he is defending what for the moment is an unpopular cause, when he calls attention to intellectual proofs for the being of God. Perhaps we may say that he is not very deeply committed to intellectual lines of argument. Of the four proofs he names, he finds the last—what he calls the "Christological Proof," *i.e.*, the revelation of the love of God in Christ—much the most valuable, both

in its contents and in its evidential strength. Still, he thinks that he has found an antecedent argument, and that it may be serviceable in dispelling prejudices which hinder "cultivated doubters"—one recalls Schleiermacher—from attending to religion. He further refers in his preface to two other recent writers—Profs. Bollinger and Didio—who have been occupied with Theistic proofs. He claims them as comrades, and expresses a good deal of sympathy with their work.

The first and main part of Dr. Schwarzkopff's argument is a cosmological proof, more akin to Lotze's thought than to that of any other prominent writer. Dr. Schwarzkopff is anxious to legitimate himself in view of Kant's "irrefutable discovery, that we men can attain to knowledge only within the limits of our experience". He thinks he escapes from the full ban of Agnosticism—which Kant imposes at least on the speculative intellect—by arguing in the first place not for a transcendent but for an immanent God, as implied in the world of our experience, and then, secondly, urging that we have reason to regard this immanent Being as also transcendent, since every cause is transcendent to its effects. But Kant has to be met on another point. Has our argument any basis? Do we know reality ("things-in-themselves") at all? (Kant would certainly call this the same question over again.) It is argued (after Lotze?) that in the immediate consciousness of the *Self* which we possess in feeling we know reality, and know it as acting, and as acting in time, but also know it as subject to compulsion from without in the domain of knowledge. Therefore the soul, and causation, and time, and an external world, are all realities, given or involved in immediate experience. Kant, it is held, was wrong in denying what these statements assert, but he may have been right in regarding *Space* as subjective. Something must exist besides ourselves, but it need not exist beside us in space save for our own mode of perception. Apart from that, God is already proved as the Great First Cause, while He is also (Lotze) the principle of communication between the various real substances or monads which—on the analogy of human consciousness—

compose the real world, filled with an inner life of their own, if in most cases less intense than man's.

This is a purely empiricist Theism. It is untouched by idealism. The ontological argument is dismissed with scorn; God is not a "Gedankending". The author's Theism is untouched even by intuitionism (unless in morals); and that is more unusual. Is it not an unsophisticated type of empiricism which finds necessary connexion as well as sequence in causality? And is the author not somewhat arbitrary in deciding what to accept from Kant and what to reject? Perhaps we might show him to be self-contradictory. Still it is probable that every thinker must accept much from Kant, but must also—in the interests of religion, and for other reasons—correct him in much. The line is hard to draw; and Dr. Schwarzkopff's drawing of it provokes thought if also dissent.

There follows a "teleological" proof in "confirmation" of results reached. This deals largely with the difficulties caused by pain and death, but does not touch the problem of moral evil. Next comes a "moral" proof, and lastly the "Christological". The author himself seems to feel that he has less that is novel to say on these latter points. He adds an appendix on Immortality, and one repelling the arguments for the "subjectivity" of time and causality stated by a recent Kantian, Deussen, who (apparently) is of those who take the categories to be "brain functions" (p. 118). We may be pardoned for adding that the somewhat ostentatiously elegant Roman type used is trying to the eyes.

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Mr. Gant is a surgeon of distinction, who has published repeatedly both on professional topics and on questions of religion and theology, discussing these latter from the point of view of a Christian and High Churchman. His present tract, like Dr. Schwarzkopff's, includes, along with Theistic arguments, an appeal to Christian revelation. But, unlike the German writer, Mr. Gant firmly maintains the old doctrine, that these are two distinct subjects, and that

Natural Theology is conclusive in itself, apart from any confirmation in the person and teaching of Christ. The most striking thing in the book is its teleological statement. The author's knowledge enables him to show by forcible instances how extraordinary are the adaptations found in every living organism. At the same time he thoroughly accepts Darwin's views, and occasionally quotes Spencer (on points of evolution). He therefore takes the position that evolutionary process does not subvert Theism, but even confirms *the old form* of the Design argument. It is also of interest to notice that this Christian and orthodox man of science frankly disclaims the attempt to show that Genesis i. is scientifically exact. Unfortunately, the discussion of the Christian evidences is too fragmentary to be of service. One feels this especially when objections are given in greater detail than the replies to them. The author's own delight in the doctrine of the God-Man robs historical difficulties of all weight for him. But others may not be able to set them aside so lightly. At any rate, if they are to get no direct answer, why state them?

ROBERT MACKINTOSH.

## **Das Evangelium der Wahrheit. Neue Lösung der Johanneischen Frage.**

*Von J. Kreyenbühl, Doctor d. Philosophie. Bd. I. Berlin :  
C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn; London: Williams & Norgate,  
1900. 8vo. Pp. 752. Price M.20.*

THIS ponderous volume is a remarkable instance of mis-directed energy and ingenuity. The author, who is a specialist in philosophy, feels that he must make some apology to his brother philosophers for turning his attention to a question of theological criticism. It is evidently a condescension of no small degree on his part. But he can easily justify his procedure. The Fourth Gospel is, after all, "one of the most important documents of the true, philosophic spirit" (p. 31). Of course the philosophical world cannot be expected to trouble itself about questions of New Testament Introduction. Whether the Fourth Gospel was written by the Apostle John, whether it is historically a trustworthy writing—these are problems of little value for the philosopher (p. 21). His concern is to take part in "the liberation of Christianity from the historical forms of the Church, and the introduction of a Christianity thus purified and emancipated as the highest power for transforming the process of culture into a process of redemption" (p. 22).

Baur is singled out for special praise as having attempted to interpret the Fourth Gospel from the philosophical standpoint. He understood far more clearly than modern theologians (of whom Harnack is evidently regarded as a typical representative) the essential meaning of the Christian Gnosis or philosophy of religion. For this Christian Gnosis is the transformation of the world process into a process of re-



demption. Baur recognised and proved the unity and continuity of all the phenomena in this department from the Fourth Gospel down to Schleiermacher and Hegel. But Baur did not go far enough. He only reached the point of showing that the author of this Gospel had subordinated the history to his favourite conception of the Logos as the absolute principle of life which was unfolded in the life of Jesus and His Messianic activity. He left unsolved the problem as to the author, the relation of the Gospel to Gnosticism, and so its position in the history of the Christian Church (pp. 26, 28). Baur's successors in the critical school have not carried the question any nearer solution. It remained for our author, as a philosopher by profession, to grapple with the problem, and he does so with the utmost self-confidence. He promises that his philosophical treatment will rend the veil which ecclesiastical manipulation has hung over the question. It will rescue this Gospel from the jurisdiction of the New Testament Canon and "give it its true place in that great development of Christian Gnosticism which has for its complete purpose the making of that absolute religion of redemption which has arisen in Christianity to be the principle and foundation of a new scientific view of the world and a new and scientific shaping of life" (p. 30). But the investigation is to be itself a contribution to the true philosophy. The author's sole interest is the promotion of what he calls "positive personalism" (*Personalismus*). One thing is needful for our distracted generation, "entrance into one's self, clearness regarding one's self and the dominion of a will which thrusts back into their menial position those slaves to the regulations (*Ordnungen*) of culture who have become masters" (p. 53).

Kreyenbühl comes to close quarters with the problem by examining the evidence of Irenæus, Papias and Polycarp for the Fourth Gospel. His treatment of Harnack's weighty arguments for the value of the testimony of Papias is thin and superficial. His method of estimating quotations from the Gospel betrays ignorance of the habits of thought which prevailed in the Early Church. A notable instance of this is

his discussion of the reference to John xiv. 2, found in Irenæus, v., 36, 1 (pp. 61-62). We have the first foreshadowing of his own theory in a sentence in which he charges Holtzmann with a complete misapprehension of the situation in placing Gnostic testimonies to the Fourth Gospel merely on the same level as those of the ecclesiastical tradition. This is "one of the most cardinal errors of which scientific investigation has been guilty in the Johannine question" (p. 83).

After this warning and a preliminary discussion of the assertion of Eusebius that Basilides had written twenty-four books εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, books which our author believes to have been a commentary on "John," we are not so surprised to learn that this gospel "came to light for the first time in those heretical circles" to which Basilides belonged (p. 90). Nay, more. The reason why Irenæus takes such pains to claim apostolic authorship for this writing is that he may rob the Gnostics of a very formidable weapon which they had the right to call their own. It is none other than that εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀληθείας which, as Irenæus informs us, the Valentinians had composed (p. 120). But here a difficulty confronts the theory, What is to be made of the Johannine *Epistles*? It would certainly require some audacity to assert that they are Gnostic in their fundamental character. Therefore the conclusion drawn by Kreyenbühl from some very far-fetched reasoning is that the Gospel and First Epistle take wholly opposite standpoints, that in fact the writer of the Epistle controverts the evangelist in the most direct fashion. A criticism which reaches this particular result is capable of anything. Hence we are not surprised to find that Kreyenbühl, after a lengthy discussion of Christian Gnosticism in immediate connexion with Simon of Gitta whom he regards as its founder, discovers in one Menander of Antioch, a disciple of Simon's, the long-lost author of the Fourth Gospel (p. 368). *Ex uno disce omnia.*

H. A. A. KENNEDY.

**Die Bergpredigt (Matt. v.-vii., Luke vi. 20-49), quellenkritisch und begriffsgeschichtlich untersucht.**

Von D. C. F. Georg Heinrici. Leipzig: Verlag der Dürr'schen Buchhandlung, 1900; London: Williams & Norgate. Price 1s. 9d. net.

THIS is No. II. of the author's *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Erklärung des Neuen Testaments*. It is a book of eighty-one broad pages and makes stiff reading, but it amply illustrates the qualities of the author as a careful and constructive student of the New Testament, in particular of the Synoptic Gospels. His main purpose in the *Bergpredigt* is to test what may, for brevity, be called the *literary* (as distinguished from the *oral*) theory of the origin of the Gospels. The test is applied within the limited, yet, for the purpose, sufficient area of the Sermon Logia (Matt. chaps. v.-vii., and Luke vi. 20-49) and the result is that the theory of literary dependence, whether of the one evangelist upon the other or of both upon a common source, falls short of the facts. The general negative moral is: *Ex uno disce omnes*. Mark comes into the discussion only incidentally in so far as he offers parallels of the Sermon Logia, and those who are impressed with the author's argument as regards the relations of Matthew and Luke will probably suspend their judgment on the total bearing of his criticism until they see it applied with equal exhaustiveness to the relations of Matthew and Mark. Within its range the *Bergpredigt* is a sequel to the author's *Entstehung des Neuen Testaments* (1899) and starts from the general position that a consideration of propagandism of the Primitive Church throws a direct light upon the origin and characteristics of our Gospels. There is of course nothing new in saying

that the Gospels both grew out of and in turn supplied the material for the early preaching. They were not primarily a means of information but a means of faith (Rom. x. 17). But the great difficulty of the literary problem and the dissonance of the "results" make it perhaps specially desirable just at present to make a clean sweep of the literary theories and lay again the foundation of the essential and religious unity of all the Gospels (John included). The elements of this foundation may be stated as follows: (1) The need of the world to know what Jesus did and said. (2) The preaching of those who were eyewitnesses and servants of the Word: (3) The memorable style of speech used by Jesus—Gnomes, Apophthegms, Parables, Parallelisms, Antitheses. (4) The desire of the preachers to be accurate and at the same time meet the needs of the hearers. (5) The freedom in the treatment of the material due both to the latter desire and to the individuality of the preacher or his reporter. (6) The confirmation of 4 and 5 in the well-known testimony of Papias in Eusebius (*H. E.*, iii. 39, 15) regarding Peter and Mark, and Matthew's collection of Logia. Heinrici would maintain that, even apart from the testimony of Papias we have in Luke i. 1-4, an accurate description of the soil in which alone products like our Gospels (especially the Synoptics) could grow. Each evangelist is a collector of the deeds and sayings of Jesus. He may know and use documents (Luke), but the particular theory of literary dependence that seems illustrated by one paragraph in a Gospel is confuted by the next. Substantially identical sayings or groups of sayings, found in different connections in two Gospels, would naturally be accounted for by the theory of a common literary source *plus* the individuality and separate purpose of each evangelist. But the theory of the common document, however natural, is not necessary and it does not cover the facts. Take any practically identical group in the Sermon, as in Matthew and Luke, notice in both reports the characteristic compactness and rhythm of the sentences. You could not say from the passages themselves which is nearer the original. But

suppose it is Matthew. Luke then had Matthew or Matthew's source before him. But if so whence the wholly unnecessary alterations of mere words, why a jolt in the rhythm through some interpolated sentence, where no jolt was in the original, or why, to give but one instance, if Luke knew Matt. v. 32, does he take this *Logion* out of its good connection in Matthew and give it a place (Luke xvi. 18) where it seems irrelevant, and why does he omit the saving clause *παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας*. Or, reverse the supposition and you find that precisely the same kind of question meets you with reference to Matthew's procedure in relation to his original in Luke.

Heinrici has no *a priori* objection to theories of literary dependence but he says justly that, if such theories are inductive, the induction must be exhaustive of the facts. The general result of the *Bergpredigt* is to show that while there are some parts which *might* be explained by a theory of literary dependence, there are none that *must* and many that *cannot*. In saying so much we do not of course deny the likelihood that the authors of all our extant Gospels had access to documents, and made use of them. All Heinrici maintains is that no theory of mere transcription or judicious compilation does justice either to the individual stamp of each Gospel, or even to those facts of similarity between the Gospels to which such theories are supposed to be peculiarly relevant.

It is on the point relating to the *similarities* that Heinrici lays the main stress, and in connection with it he develops what may perhaps be considered the principal contribution of the *Bergpredigt* to a solution of the Synoptic problem. This contribution may be said to lie in the care with which, acting on the hints contained in the sayings of Papias, he traces in the evangelic records the signs of a desire to show the applicability of the Logia of Jesus to the needs of the Primitive Churches—in particular of the primitive missionaries and teachers.<sup>1</sup> In place of the theory of the dependence

<sup>1</sup> Note in both versions of the "Sermon" the frequent and obvious references to missionary experiences (Matt. v. 11 ff., vi. 9 ff., vii. 6, 15 ff.,

of one evangelist upon another or of both (*re* Matthew and Luke) upon a common literary source Heinrici is disposed to put the theory of a separate growth and setting of well-remembered sayings and groups of sayings in separate communities. Thus it lies near our hand to suppose that the Gentile Luke has a special eye to the circumstances of the Hellenistic Churches, while Matthew is at home among the Hebrew Christians of Palestine. Not that this theory meets all the facts. There is the author's desire to be accurate and full once he is launched on the enterprise of a record, there is his access to still living eye and ear witnesses to whom he may at any moment put the question: *Do you remember any saying or "command" of the Lord upon this point?* (1 Cor. vii. 6, ix, 14, *cf.* Luke x. 7, Matt. x. 10), and there is his own individuality. All that is claimed for the theory is that it accounts for the facts, to which the theory of literary dependence has been supposed (Heinrici thinks erroneously) to be peculiarly relevant, and for others which that theory leaves unexplained. Literary dependence might explain the close correspondence of the Synoptists *per se*. It might on this point be a rival on equal terms with the theory of a fluid tradition, in many streams, of many easily remembered

Luke vi. 27 ff., 39 ff.). Consider also in both versions the uncertain historical framework. Was the "sermon" addressed to the multitude or to the disciples only or mainly? According to the Evv. it was addressed to both. Matt. v. 1 b, vii. 28, Luke vi. 19, *cf.* ver. 20. This indefiniteness tallies well with the supposition of a two-fold desire on the part of the Evv., on the one hand to give a specimen of the teaching of the Master revealing the notes of vividness and authoritativeness that impressed even the multitude, and on the other to show the hints it contained for missionaries and teachers. But if in our desire to conceive a definite historical situation (the delivery of an actual sermon consisting of the Logia gathered in Matt. v. to vii.), we insist on rubbing in the vague outlining of the Evv. it must be owned that the picture of Jesus at one moment speaking loudly to the multitude and the next lowering His voice so as to address an inner circle of "disciples" lacks naturalness and probability. The truth surely is that the Evv. have no interest in depicting a historic situation. What they mean to exhibit is what Jesus had to say to intending disciples and to teachers.

sayings and groups. But then the close correspondences go along with trivial often meaningless and merely verbal differences, and it is just this fact of *trivial divergence* on which more than on anything else the theory of literary dependence stumbles and falls to pieces. Suppose, *e.g.*, Luke read in his source: "Be ye *perfect*, as your Father which is in heaven is perfect" (Matt. v. 48), why should he alter this to "Be ye *merciful*" (Luke vi. 36), surely *he* could have no objection to the Pauline word τέλειος. Or, contrariwise, suppose the Hebrew Matthew read in his source: "Be ye *merciful*," why, with Psalm xxxvii. 26 (*cf.* Matt. v. 42) in mind should he alter this to the vaguer "Be ye *perfect*?"

Or, take an example from a group of sayings. What could be more perfect in literary form or more characteristic of Jesus than the eight Beatitudes in Matthew v. 3-10. If Luke read them in his source, what *literary* motive could he have had for changing them into four blessings and four woes? Would even this evangelist's undoubted emphasis of the teaching on the dangers of wealth (chaps. xii., xvi.), induce him to take such a liberty with his original? Or could a Pauline evangelist who gives us the phrase "rich toward God," have any dogmatic objection to its counterpart "poor in SPIRIT?"

On the other hand, nothing could be more characteristic of Jesus than the four blessings and four woes of Luke vi. 20-22, 24-26. If Matthew read them in his source, is it for a moment conceivable that he would alter them into eight blessings? It is hardly possible to do justice to the *Bergpredigt* in a review. In the abstract the theory of a fluid tradition in different streams or tributaries is no more new than the theory of a primitive document. The merit of Heinrici's work is its grasp of detail, and the confinement of the discussion within the Logia of the Sermon makes it easier than it would have been in a work of wider range to focus the main points. This latter circumstance is likely to make the book peculiarly useful to students. They may be sure that the characteristics which Heinrici's exhaustive analysis reveals within the area of the Sermon Logia will be discoverable elsewhere in the Synoptic Gospels.

It will be in the first instance, for masters like Professors H. J. Holtzmann and P. W. Schmiedel, to say whether or not the arguments of Heinrici have undermined or unsettled the "literary" theories. With a complete written analysis before me of the arguments and examples of the *Bergpredigt*—which it would be unfair to reproduce here even were there space for it—I may be allowed to say that Heinrici has made *primâ facie* a very strong case for supposing that the authors of our Gospels had to do primarily and, throughout, mainly with oral tradition verified and supplemented by still living eye and ear witnesses, and that their indebtedness to documents may be, on the whole, very slight and indirect. Even the temporary prevalence of such a view might have a useful effect in relieving students of the Gospels from the absorbing irksomeness of the task of sifting literary details and allowing them to lift their faces to the blue of heaven, and the breath unbroken of the divine word and spirit. Modern "ministers of the Word" know more probably of the value of documents in the service of their calling than the first evangelists could have done, yet times come when the manuscript of his sermon seems to the preacher something between him and the face alike of God and man, and, in a venture of faith, he throws it aside for a season. For a season let critics also be prophets. Let them leave documents. Let them see Jesus. Let them hear and preach the living Word of the living God.

LEWIS A. MUIRHEAD.



### **1. A History of the Church of Christ.**

*By Herbert Kelly, Director of the Society of the Sacred Mission.  
London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1901. 8vo, pp. xi. + 329. Price 3s. 6d. net.*

### **2. Savonarola. (The World's Epoch-Makers' Series.)**

*By Rev. George M'Hardy, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901. 8vo, pp. x. + 273. Price 3s.*

### **3. Francis and Dominic. (The World's Epoch-Makers' Series.)**

*By Prof. J. Herkless, D.D., St. Andrews University. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 237. Price 3s.*

1. THIS is professedly a history of the Church of Christ: in reality it is an apology for the theory of Apostolic Succession. The facts are seemingly selected to buttress this theory; loose statements of the Fathers are strained; while many important facts, which one naturally looks for in a history of this kind, are either omitted altogether, or passed by with a bare mention. Mr. Kelly is severe even on the late Bishop Lightfoot. His Essay on the Christian Ministry cannot it seems have "the apparently justifiable deductions which Presbyterian and critical writers have placed upon it". In short, "at the meaning of the essay it is, in fact, impossible to guess". Such bold statements are calculated to whet the curiosity of the late Bishop's readers as to what Mr. Kelly's own theories are.

Mr. Kelly holds that presbyter and bishop in the New Testament are terms applied to the same persons. "Presbyter was the Judaic or Palestinian word; and bishop the Gentile: and that St. Luke followed the former use; St. Paul mainly the latter". But why Luke, who was probably

a Macedonian, should be so fond of Judaic terms is not made clear. At any rate Mr. Kelly holds that the New Testament bishop, the equivalent of the presbyter, soon became extinct. Clement of Rome (*circa* 96) was the last to use the words in this old sense. Then the monarchical bishop comes on the scene, and the origin and fount of his authority, it is vaguely said, must be sought "rather in ecclesiastical than scriptural history". Great stress is laid on the Ignatian letters; but not a hint is given that scholars like Ramsay, Sanday, and Allen hold that Ignatius was endeavouring to force a distinct innovation upon the Church. Ignatius never professes to give scriptural authority for his view. On the contrary he vehemently asserts it is a *special* revelation of the Spirit to himself; and his impassioned reiteration suggests that he was aware that his new idea would be reluctantly accepted. No proof whatever can be produced that bishops were *ex officio* supreme in his day. Though Mr. Kelly says "it seems hardly worth while to discuss seriously St. Jerome's remark (Ep. 146) that a bishop was originally the same as a presbyter except for the power of ordaining," he will find few modern scholars agree with his cavalier statement.

The author's views on the New Testament "prophet" also differ from most. He is inclined to hold that the prophet "had a ruling power over local Churches". Authorities like Professor Gwatkin and McGiffert deny this. The former says that the prophet's office "was purely spiritual, and there is nowhere any hint that he took a share in the administration of the Churches" (Hasting's, *Bible Dictionary*, i., 440).

Other points deserve notice. If some consider it antiquated now to say that Saul adopted his name Paul from Sergius Paulus the proconsul (p. 40), they will be bound to confess as original the notion that since the Ethiopian eunuch omitted to be confirmed, he would doubtless take an opportunity of doing so at his next annual visit (p. 34). It was not among the Gentiles (p. 48), but among the Jews that Paul had grown up (Acts xxvi. 4). It was Caligula, Domitian and Diocletian who loved to be called *Dominus*

*et Deus*, and not Aurelian, Diocletian and Constantine. The date of Praxeas' visit to Rome was nearer A.D. 190, than A.D. 180. That Irenæus' journey to Rome was for episcopal consecration (p. 173) is said by Lipsius to be "an unproved assertion of some Roman Catholic authors" (*D. C. B.*, iii., 255). Nothing in the passage of Eusebius quoted says so. On p. 174 we read, "Irenæus' great work, the *Contra Hæreses*, published between 182 and 185, of the greater part of which only Rufinus' Latin translation survives," etc. There are two serious blunders here. The *Contra Hæreses* in Latin has come down to us *entire*, and not merely "the greater part of it". This version, full of barbarisms, was evidently the work of some of the Celtic Clergy of Lyons, and was quoted by Tertullian against the Valentinians before 207 A.D. Rufinus was born about 150 years after that, and wrote, as everybody knows, in a clear and vigorous style; and though Jerome says he used to drive away with the threat of a cudgelling "those who barked against him" it is not fair to lay the barbarous Latin of the *Contra Hæreses* to his charge.

The following words are wrongly spelled: p. 46, Licaonia for Lycaonia; p. 62, Cananœans for Cananæans; p. 63, blocade for blockade; p. 84, Colossœ is wrong for Colossæ; p. 175, devisible should be divisible. On page 41 there is a misprint. The Jewish lesson for that date is not Isaiah i. 27, but Isaiah i. 1-22.

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2. Dr. M'Hardy's *Savonarola* relates most interestingly the story of the wonderful life and the tragic death of the notable Florentine preacher. The writer follows, but not slavishly, the lines of Villari, and where he has diverged from these, we are not sure it is always to advantage. For instance, no reasonable ground exists for accepting Poliziano's coloured account of what happened at Lorenzo's deathbed. Poliziano, who was Lorenzo's favourite friend, would naturally modify or be silent on what told against the Magnificent. But Cinozzi, and Pico, and the *Biografia Latina* agree in relating that Savonarola said, that before

confessing Lorenzo he had three things to say to him. These were: (1) that he should have a living faith in God's mercy; (2) that he should restore the money he had embezzled from the Monte della Fancuille; (3) that he should give Florence back her liberties. When Lorenzo turned his face to the wall, Savonarola left without either confessing or absolving him. There is no reason for rejecting this, and it is significant that admirers of the Medici, like Ranke and Von Reumont modified their opinions about not crediting this account. Apart from this matter of opinion, the volume deserves a cordial welcome.

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3. Dr. Herkless has given us a very valuable contribution in his *Francis and Dominic*. After Sabatier's charming volume little remains to be said about Francis: and the materials for Dominic's life are somewhat scanty. Accordingly we have here a summary of the Lives of Francis and Dominic; and then follows a succinct account of the Mendicant Orders founded by these two extraordinary men. Contrary to the usual idea, Dominic was a humane and humble man, with none of Francis' daring originality. His mind perceived the needs of the time; he readily adopted the ideas of other men; and he had a genius for organisation. Dominic had nothing to do with the Inquisition. That was not set afoot till after his death. But when his Order became the chief agents of the Inquisition, their fanatical chroniclers were anxious to invoke their Founder also as an Inquisitor. So far as we know, however, neither Dominic nor Francis relied on anything save reasoning and persuasion, and would have been certain to condemn the cruel practices of their followers.

Dr. Herkless shows vividly how the Franciscans and Dominicans came to the front by their enthusiasm and zeal; how rapid was their spread, and how great their early popularity; and how they corrupted themselves and finally fell through worldliness and departure from their founders' ideals. The volume is enriched by valuable sketches of

leading members of the two Orders. Alexander of Hales, Bonaventura, Raymond Lully, and Duns Scotus represent the Franciscans; while Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas represent the Dominicans. Perhaps the most interesting of all is Roger Bacon, the enthusiastic student of science at a time when superstition was too rampant even to tolerate experiments or discoveries. Bacon, in a letter to the Pope, pathetically relates his difficulties: "How often I was looked upon as a dishonest beggar, how often repulsed, how often put off with empty hopes, and what confusion I suffered within myself, I cannot express to you. Even my friends did not believe me, as I could not explain the matter to them. Reduced to the last extremities, I compelled my poor friends to contribute all they had, and to sell many things, and to pawn the rest, and I promised them I would send to you all the details of the expenses, and would faithfully procure full payment at your hands. And yet, owing to their poverty, I frequently abandoned the work, frequently I gave it up in despair and forbore to proceed." One wonders if these burning words gave Balzac the seed idea for his renowned *La Recherche de l'Absolu*. Both these volumes of "The World's Epoch-Makers" reach a high standard of excellence in matter and method alike.

JOSEPH TRAILL.

### **Der Christliche Gottesbegriff.**

*Beitrag zur speculativen Theologie von R. Rocholl D. Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht ; London : Williams & Norgate, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 371. Price 10s.*

### **System der Christlichen Hoffnung.**

*Von Lic. Dr. Gottlieb Mayer, Pfarrer in Jüterbog. Leipzig : A. Deichert'sche Verlagebuchhandlung Nachf. (Georg Böhme), 1900. 8vo, pp. vi. + 230. Price 3s.*

THE treatise *Der Christliche Gottesbegriff*, as the writer explains in a most interesting and instructive preface, is not a Dogmatic, nor is it an attempt to evolve a theology out of the believing consciousness. The author limits himself strictly to the investigation of the idea of God. He wishes to show what wrong methods have been used to reach this idea, and what wrong notions have been formed as to the task that is here presented. The great hindrances in the way of attaining to a true conception of God have been Thomism and Pantheism. He blames severely the recent Thomist revival in the Roman Church for retarding the progress of theological science in this department. The most approved Romish theological text-books of the day attribute the errors of Lammenais, Bautain, Gioberti, Hermes and Günther to their depreciating of scholasticism, especially that of Thomas. So Gutberlet, for example, represents God as physically as well as metaphysically simple, absolutely unchangeable, *actus purissimus*. But even within that Church voices are making themselves heard in condemnation of the scholasticism which has received the Papal *imprimatur*. Quite recently Schanz has shown how Kuhn demanded in the interest of science that the domination of Aristotle must be overthrown. Rocholl also holds with von Hartmann that

during the nineteenth century Pantheism has been the secret religion of Germany. It was introduced into dogmatic by Schleiermacher, and with it a false spiritualism before which everything concrete as reality disappeared.

In the Introduction (pp. 1-47) Rocholl takes a look round to see how the land lies. He divides it into three sections. (1) A historical survey under which he reviews philosophical errors in Heraclitus, the Platonists, Aristotle, Descartes, and from Spinoza to Schelling, von Hartmann and Pantheism; and theological aberrations in Origen, the Alexandrine Gnostics, the Areopagite, Thomas, and from Schleiermacher to Pfeleiderer. (2) A logical investigation in which he treats of representation and idea, discussing immediate knowledge and feeling, Kant and Wundt, and the cognitive organ and category, dealing with double consciousness, etc., Fortlage, Fichte, Paulsen. (3) The laying of the theoretical foundation, life as mystery, as movement, as formation. Here we have some curious and rather theosophical speculations about numbers. In the mystery of life the number three plays an important part. In the general development we have thesis, antithesis, synthesis; and in the personal life the three moments, physical, intellectual, ethical.

The body of the work is divided into two parts: (1) The Immanent Relations (pp. 51-189), and (2) The Transient Relations (pp. 190-323). The first section of the first part (pp. 54-108) deals with the divine life and development. After an extremely interesting and informing sketch and criticism of the scholastic treatment of the doctrine of the divine nature and attributes, in which he passes in review Anselm, Abelard, Thomas, Quenstedt, Martensen, Dorner, Philippi, Frank, Rocholl proceeds to discuss the natural and the personal life, laying great stress upon the fact that man's body is an integral part of his being and that his body as well as his spirit bears the divine image. In this chapter and in the one following on consciousness and personality there are many suggestive discussions of the most vital questions in anthropology and psychology, and much admirable and incisive criticisms of current theories. The chapter

on the divine life as unity is particularly rich in its examination of the personality and attributes of God. The doctrine of the trinity is treated in two chapters, historically and critically.

We must pass over the second section which treats of the divine life and its manifestation, discussing the inner and outer glory of God, of the seven forms of the *Doxa*, in the style of Delitzsch, and of the land of glory. In this there is much which seems rather mystical and indefinite.

The third section deals with the divine life and revelation. We have here a fruitful examination of the true idea of the life of the creature and the real meaning of creatureship. Rocholl criticises and rejects the monistic theory on the ground that it involves a confusion between a formal unity and a real one. The unity postulated is unreal, a mere abstraction of thought. It is empty, so that out of it nothing can come. Our author traces the history of pantheistic encroachment into the domain of theology from Neo-Platonism through Spinozism down to Schelling and Hegel. Even such well-meaning and evangelical theologians as Liebner, Dorner and Güder have failed to rise above pantheistic presuppositions, and so they mix up God with His creation. As for Biedermann and Lipsius, they make creation so essentially a self-unfolding process of the absolute substance that the world is but the externalisation of God, and is therefore eternal as He is. In opposition to this Rocholl affirms the inner fulness of God, and maintains that only as we hold by the idea of the divine self-sufficiency shall we escape from the notion that God must of necessity create a world. That there is a need in God craving for that satisfaction which He gets only when He has called a world into being, is the root error of pantheism. As the writer says in a later part of his work: "We understand the world only if we recognise it as the result of God's absolute need of nothing, without which God could not be really free simple love". It is very often said that God as love *must* create a world of intelligent beings. If this were necessary in order to satisfy a want in His own nature, would He be God and would His nature be love?

To most readers undoubtedly the most interesting part of



the whole book will be the second main division, which treats of God's transient relations. We have here really the Christian doctrine of God and the world—a *Weltanschauung* of a comprehensive character in a thoroughly compact and systematic form. Our author makes a threefold distribution. As Origen looked upon the universe of created things as forming three concentric circles, the circle of the Father, the natural creation, the circle of the Son, the rational creation, the circle of the Spirit, the ethical new creation, the domain of the Church, and as Thomas sees in the Father pre-eminently Might, in the Son Intelligence, in the Spirit Goodness; so also Rocholl falls back on a trinitarian distribution connecting it with the moments in life, the physical, intellectual and ethical.

The very chapter headings of the section on the work of the Father—The Idea of the World, the World of Darkness, the World of Chaos, the Material World, the Creation of Man, the Meaning and Destiny of Man, the Fall of Man—show how comprehensive the treatment of the subject is. And though all these subjects are dealt with in less than fifty pages no essential point is overlooked and many exceedingly interesting and fruitful questions are raised.

In the second section on the work of the Son, the author restricts himself to his proper subject, the *Gottesbegriff*, so that he does not give an account of redemption as he would have done had he been writing a Dogmatic. He speaks of educative influences in national life, of the Gentiles, of the Jews, of the Logos, of the Greek mysteries and heathen sacrifices, of the Wisdom doctrine and the Jewish worship, of the Son of man, incarnation, kenosis. The pages in which Rocholl sets forth his ideas about the union of the two natures in Christ's person are specially deserving of study. At one place he speaks as if the Son incarnate concealed the fulness of divine life and power which he possessed. In the end, however, though repudiating decidedly the kenosis theory, as a retrograde movement, he refuses to theorise, and much prefers to stand still in reverent silence before the mystery.

There is much in the third section on the work of the

Spirit about the origin, development, sifting and consummation of the Church, over which we might be inclined to linger. But we can only in passing call attention to its importance.

In a historical appendix (pp. 326-362) we have an outline of the *Gottesbegriff* of the doctors of antiquity, of the Middle Ages, and of modern times, a well-conceived and well-proportioned sketch, beginning with Gregory Nazianzen and ending with the younger Fichte and his school.

The standpoint of the writer is that of an orthodox Lutheran who holds by the Formula of Concord. He is thoroughly familiar with the theological and philosophical systems of earlier and later times, and quotes from books and articles which appeared as late as 1900. It is a book that will well reward careful study. The style, too, it may be added is unusually bright and attractive.

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In his *System of Christian Hope*, Dr. Gottlieb Mayer has given us a very readable and interesting treatise. He starts his prolegomena with the proposition that the subject deserves separate and special treatment because Christianity is the religion of hope, seeing that no other religion has any well-defined hope of the future, while this is an essential characteristic of the Christian religion. At the best non-Christian religions may afford ground for occasional vague surmises as to a possible hereafter of bliss, but it is certainly true that in none is there present what can strictly be styled a hope, in the sense of a confident expectation that admits of no doubt. Particular periods in the history of the Church stand out prominently as periods in which the Christian hope was realised in a specially vivid manner and degree. The Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Ages and the times of persecution down to Constantine, and again the Reformation Age, stand out as periods of that sort; whereas the long thousand years of the Middle Ages and the Post-Reformation centuries have been characterised by spiritual coldness and corresponding feebleness in the expression given to the Christian hope. Not in Pietism nor

among the sects, but in the hymns and sacred songs of the Church did this hope maintain a lively and life-inspiring form. A thoroughly exhaustive review of the treatment given to the doctrine of hope in exegetical literature, New Testament theology, dogmatics, ethics and monographical writings, shows that there is room and call for a systematic treatise on this subject. After showing its relation to the other theological disciplines, Mayer proceeds to the distribution of his theme. The system of the Christian hope is treated under seven divisions: (1) Its Nature; (2) Its Origin and Development in the Subject; (3) Its Contents; (4) Its Foundations; (5) Its Practical Significance; (6) The Christian Hope as Virtue; (7) The Fulfilment of the Christian Hope. This distribution seems a very natural and suitable one, and brings out conveniently and in good proportion all the points which, it would seem, should be included. The third, fourth and fifth chapters are particularly good, and contain much that is at once instructive and edifying. Under the third chapter we have, the future of the individual personality, of the natural world, of the kingdom of God. Under the fourth, the objective, subjective, and objectivo-subjective foundations. And under the fifth, we have the hope's significance as evidence of faith, as motive and power unto holiness, as motive and power to the fulfilling of our calling, as motive of the Christian view of nature and the world, as motive and power for working together for the kingdom of God, and as comfort in suffering and death.

The book is a thoroughly sound and useful piece of work, showing, on the part of the author, capable scholarship and a genuinely religious spirit.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

## **Das Leben Jesu bei Paulus.**

*Von Richard Drescher. Giessen; J. Ricker. Pp. 65. Price 2s. net.*

## **Die Bildersprache Jesu in ihrer Bedeutung für die Esforschung Seines inneren Lebens.**

*Von Heinrich Weinel, Privatdozenten der Theologie in Bonn. Giessen: J. Ricker. Pp. 49. Price 1s. 6d. net.*

THE task which the author sets before him is one in which he has had many predecessors. It has been discharged for English readers by Dr. Knowling in a manner that leaves nothing to be desired in his *Witness of the Epistles*, and with a thoroughness to which the present brochure lays no claim. Still, within brief compass, Drescher sets before us the copious materials bearing upon the life of Jesus contained in the Pauline Epistles, limiting himself, however, to Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans, and Philippians, the authenticity of which he considers to be incontestable. Without passing a decisive verdict on the inquiry whether Paul actually saw Christ in the flesh, he takes him for a contemporary, and therefore regards him as a standard witness for the life of Jesus. He treats Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians and Romans—Baur's four undisputed Epistles—together, and Philippians by itself.

He groups his materials under these heads: (1) The Beginnings of the Life of Jesus; (2) The Life of Jesus in the Narrower Sense; (3) The Sufferings and Death of Christ; (4) The Resurrection, Exaltation and Second Coming of Christ. He discusses the subject with great fairness and candour, and when he admits so much as regards Paul's testimony to Christ's pre-existence, supernatural character, resurrection and exaltation, and presence with His Church,

one wonders that he does not ascribe to him a belief in His supernatural birth and His essential divinity.

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Weinel's brochure is an interesting and suggestive study of the figurative language of Jesus as disclosing to us His mental growth during the unrecorded years of His earthly life, and giving us glimpses into the spiritual development of the Son of Man during His public ministry. "The deposit of those years," he says of the years passed over in the Gospel narrative, "reveals itself in the figures He employs." From these figures he shows how we can build up the external world with which Jesus was familiar—the homely life of the quiet country village, the house with the single chamber where the family gather in the evening by the light of the lamp which lights up the whole house, the mansion of the rich farmer who has many servants and hires labourers for the day besides, at whose gate the poor beggar lies while within there is gladness and revelry. The imagery so natural to Jesus is altogether different from that reflected in the teachings of St. Paul—the town-bred Rabbi, the artisan whose life has been lived in Greek and Grecian cities. From this point of view the figurative language of Jesus is a powerful evidence for the genuineness of the Gospel records as a whole. As the invention of a later time when Christianity had become the religion of the lower orders in the cities of Greece, and when Palestinian Christianity had approximated closely to the Pharisaic type of Judaism, the imagery and the parables employed by Jesus would be simply an impossibility. So, too, the inner and spiritual world of Jesus disclosed by these figures is set forth by our author. Jesus has no break with the past to look back upon as had St. Paul. There is no doubt a tone of severity to be heard at times in His teaching, but more often the flowers have told Him of the Father who clothes them, and the mustard seed and the birds of the air of the Kingdom of God. There is nothing of the ascetic or the recluse about Jesus. The imagery and the parables employed by Jesus in His teaching, however,

help to mark the stages of His spiritual development, and bring home to Himself the great realities of His mission. The field on which the sower goes forth to sow with its various kinds of soil is a revelation of God to Jesus of the fortunes of His Gospel in the world. The parable of the seed growing of itself is calculated to comfort a teacher like Jesus who cannot Himself tarry to tend the seed but must leave it to the fructifying influences upon which it is cast. In this little treatise there are acute criticisms of Jülicher and his work on the parables, and in the notes valuable suggestions and criticisms of current literature on the same subject.

THOMAS NICOL.

## The Historical New Testament.

*Being the Literature of the New Testament arranged in the order of its literary growth and according to the date of the documents. A new Translation. Edited with Prolegomena, Historical Tables, Critical Notes, and an Appendix. By James Moffatt, B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901. 8vo, pp. xxvii. + 726. Price 16s.*

### SECOND NOTICE.

MR. MOFFATT'S object, as he expresses it briefly in his Preface, is to "arrange that selection of early Christian literature which is known as the 'New Testament' in the order of its literary growth, and at the same time to indicate the chief grounds upon which such an order may be determined or disputed". This he describes as "apart from the translation, the main feature of originality" in his pages. He attaches importance, indeed, to the translation, and speaks of it also as in some sense distinctive of his volume. But it is the constructive idea that he throws into the foreground, and with justice. It is not necessary, therefore, to say much about the translation. It occupies a large part of the book, however, and it would be wrong to leave it unnoticed.

It must be confessed that this part of his work is done with much care. Mr. Moffatt has taken great pains with it. He has given all due attention to the question of text. He has studied to be true to grammar, idiom, context, and all that goes to faithfulness of interpretation and sufficiency of phrase. He has achieved some successes in his renderings. He has also done something to familiarise the English reader with the "rhythmical and rhetorical features" which he recognises in the style of the New Testament writings. But on the whole the outcome does not appear to be great enough

to compensate for the labour expended and the amount of space occupied. There are indeed felicities in translation here and there. We might refer specially to such chapters as 1 Cor. xv. in illustration of this. There are some things which are made plainer by Mr. Moffatt's rendering than they are either in the Authorised Version or the Revised, and passages might be cited in which certain faults of the latter Version are avoided. But renderings of such quality are more than counter-balanced by others of a different kind. There are not a few which suffer from another form of literalism or overdone preciseness. Mr. Moffatt, indeed, has no wish to stand for purism, or to run into the mistakes of a pedantic reproduction of terms. "An absolutely literal version," he tells us, "is often the most inaccurate." But his efforts in striving after independence in his renderings lead him astray at times, and there are occasions on which he offends somewhat in taste.

Few, we should think, would be prepared to defend "good gracious, Lord!" as a representation of Peter's protest in Matthew xvi. 22, that could claim to be superior in propriety or even in fidelity to that of the Authorised Version and the Revised. Nor can we say that the same Apostle's words at the Transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 4) are better reproduced in Mr. Moffatt's "It is *fine* for us to be here" than in the "It is *good* for us to be here" of the Authorised Version and the Revised Version. Nor again does one readily adjust himself to having the term "Church" displaced by "Community," "on this rock I will build my Community" (Matt. xvi. 18); "imitators of the Communities of God" (1 Thess. ii. 14), etc. And what profit is there in substituting "all who are Christ's at His *arrival*" for "they that are Christ's at His *coming*" (1 Cor. xv. 23)? Or in changing the familiar "blessed" in the Beatitudes into "happy"—"Happy the *poor* in spirit;" "Happy the mourners;" "Happy the gentle?" etc. Or in asking us to read in the solemn declaration in Matt. xi. 27, "No one *understands* the Son . . . nor does any one *understand* the Father" for "no one *knoweth* the Son?" etc. Or even in giving us "Reign" for "Kingdom"



in the great terms "Kingdom of heaven," "Kingdom of God?" etc. That is awkward in such sentences as "You shall not enter the reign of heaven" (Matt. xviii. 3), and at best it cannot be uniformly carried out. In Matt. viii. 11, 12, *e.g.*, we get "the heavenly *realm*," "the sons of the *realm*". Or again, is there much need for substituting "not an iota, not one upstroke of a letter" for the familiar "one jot or one tittle?" (Matt. v. 18), or for favouring us with such transliterations as *Kapharnahum* for Capernaum? No doubt it may be claimed for these and other renderings that they reproduce the original with a stricter fidelity. But is anything gained by such literalisms? On the whole it is to be regretted that an arrangement could not be made for the use of the Revised Version, or that some other plan was not adopted. The preparation of this translation has no doubt been a profitable though a laborious task to the author himself. It has given him a new insight into many passages. But it brings no great gain to the reader.

But we may pass from this to other aspects of this learned book. Of these, as we are given to understand, the most distinctive in the author's own view is that which is expressed in the title "*The Historical New Testament*". In a previous number of this review we said something in abatement of the claim to any extraordinary originality or anything very much out of the way in this. The idea in which Mr. Moffatt himself sees the "main feature of originality" in his work, is itself, however, a very sensible one. It may be said of it, indeed, that it is probably the best to apply to such studies, although, as we have said, Mr. Moffatt exaggerates its claim to superior value, and imagines it to yield greater results than it does. He has laid us under obligation, however, by the exposition which he gives of his leading idea or principle—that of giving the New Testament literature in the chronological order of its parts, in its historical setting, and in the order of its growth. He does this at length and with much ability in the valuable *Prolegomena*, extending over some seventy-five pages. This part of his work is sometimes rather difficult to follow. But

it repays close consideration. It contains much suggestive matter. It opens up lines of inquiry which bring us to the heart of things. It directs attention to questions of great importance which cannot be ignored. It gives a very good statement of the reasons for seeking to arrange the New Testament writings in their historical order and to give a genetic account of them. These reasons Mr. Moffatt finds partly in "the general nature and requirements of historical study," partly in the "special nature of the New Testament Canon"; and on these he makes some fruitful remarks. The thing of chief interest, however, in the *Prolegomena* is the discussion of the relations in which the narrative of an event stands to the event itself, the personality, environment and mental standpoint of the narrator to the things he reports. There is an "interval" between the date of the subject of which any historical narrative treats, and the date of the composition of that narrative. There is also a difference in view point between the person or persons whose careers are related, and that of the person or persons who construct the relation. Mr. Moffatt goes carefully and courageously into the difficult questions suggested by these things—how they affect our knowledge of the subject of a narrative; to what extent allowance has to be made for the "personal equation" or the "contemporary equation"; what is really meant by a "contemporary" document; in what measure the actualities of the things reported are modified by the colouring which they necessarily take from the reporter's mind and pen; whether it is possible for those of a later time, however short the interval, to get through any historical narrative direct to the persons and the events dealt with, and see them as they really were.

Mr. Moffatt says much on these questions which has to be kept in view. His tendency is to exaggerate their bearing on the New Testament books. He recognises that the case of the Epistles is in some important respects different from that of the Gospels. He sees very clearly that the credibility of the Gospels and the possibility of getting by their means a true and reliable view, a really objective view, of

the Christ of history, are the great matters at issue. He speaks well of what the Gospels are, of their origin and their function; of the difference between them and pure chronicles; of the selective and interpretative elements that appear in them; of their didactic aim and the personal vein that is in them; of the religious interest which expresses itself frankly in them; of the practical motive which their authors set before them; and of the witness which they bear to the present as well as the past. He describes very well what they are—not “relentless automatic photographs,” but “pictures” or rather “portraits”. And he admits that they are “objective records which represent with substantial accuracy the life and teaching of Jesus”. He holds that they are that “first and especially,” although they are also “something more”.

Further he contends that if the “inevitable interval” that separates record from event has certain drawbacks, it has also certain compensating advantages. There is a sense in which it is a profit, not a defect. Lapse of time gives things in proper perspective. It is only “after such an interval of experience and reflection that the meaning and bearings of the life in question come out in their true and sure significance”. He goes so far, indeed, as to claim that the Gospels in reality “do more for us, written between 65 and 105, than they would have done if composed before 35”. On the other hand he thinks that the distance at which the narrative stands from the events makes the development of “less desirable qualities” possible. The didactic aim of the Gospels, while not necessarily involving “any deliberate looseness in reporting facts of history,” seems to have fostered methods of adapting or creating narrative. Metaphor may be turned into fact; parable into “the clothing of external reality”. Mr. Moffatt, indeed, refers to the cursing of the fig-tree as “a good example” of the way in which “misunderstandings of language are the origin of certain narratives”. He speaks, too, of the “exaggeration of what were originally quite natural occurrences;” of the possible “creation of certain scenes” by the action of

“the factor of contemporary and personal reference;” of “the naïve and actual attribution” to our Lord Himself “of ideas which were ultimately due to His spirit”. Even the Synoptic Gospels are not simple records of fact but the products of “processes of reflection,” representing “the dominant interests and activities of faith”.

The disadvantages, therefore, which are inevitably involved in the fact that there is a certain distance between narrative and event, as they are interpreted by Mr. Moffatt, are serious. We are left in considerable uncertainty as to how much of the evangelical narrative can be trusted as simple, objective fact; as to whether the Jesus even of the Synoptists is in deed and reality the Jesus of history, the Jesus who was seen and known in Galilee and Judea before the Gospels were written, or only the Jesus of the reflections of the men who made the primitive Church. We are left equally in doubt whether the words of life and hope which are enshrined in these records are indeed the words spoken by Him, or only words “naïvely attributed” to Him by those who understood His spirit. This we say is serious indeed. The situation thus created is full of doubt. What we want is not a Christ created by the Church, but the Christ who created the Church. And we feel that Mr. Moffatt leaves much out of account, and does not sufficiently distinguish where distinction is vital. It is not one picture that we have of Christ, and that a comparatively late one. We have four “portraits,” as Mr. Moffatt calls them, which check, and confirm, and complement each other, and in three of these Gospels we have a common stream of narrative which brings us far closer to the original life with all its works and words than Mr. Moffatt appears to recognise. And neither in the three Synoptical Gospels themselves, nor in this common narrative which is in them and points behind them, do we discover the high-wrought, complex, reflective, laboured compositions which they seem to be in Mr. Moffatt's pages. When we come down from these heights, and divest ourselves for the time of these fine notions of what the construction of the Gospels is, and read them through simply as we have them, most of these

uncertainties fall away from us. We see how simply and sincerely they tell their story. We feel that they are first and foremost unstudied, objective narratives, that they bring us face to face with the Person as He was, with the works which He did, with the words which He spake. "Paul understood the secret of Jesus," says Mr. Moffatt, "more thoroughly than many who had trodden the roads of Galilee in His company, and listened to His arguments and teaching in the synagogues; and the writers of the Christian biography were not necessarily placed at any serious disadvantage for their task and mission by the fact that their vision was one not of sight but of insight, not of memory but of sympathy." One does not need to be told that "Paul knew the secret of Jesus" better than many who saw more of Him in the flesh than Paul did. But that is beside the question. What we want first and foremost is solid fact. In matters of historical narrative there must be "sight" before there can be "insight," there must be credible fact before there can be interpretation, and before there can be the discovery of the "secret" of a life. "Sympathy" is good. It is an important element in the equipment of the historian. But the first question is not whether he has composed an appreciative and sympathetic history, but whether he has made sure of his facts and put us in a position to see them as they actually were.

Mr. Moffatt makes too much of this "interval" between the composition of the Gospels and the occurrence of the events which they report. He makes too much, also, of the subjective element in them, the personal colouring, the contemporary equation. Subjective considerations weigh heavily with him in his own opinions. They are the determining things in many of the conclusions to which he comes. This is seen in his judgments on some of the books. It is seen most clearly of all in his judgments on particular passages. We shall give instances of this immediately. But the present point is that Mr. Moffatt greatly exaggerates the "interval" in question. If the work of our best and trustiest English scholars in recent times has been of any value, it is in show-

ing that in the Gospels we are not so remote from the events as Mr. Moffatt supposes, and that the distance between the two does not carry with it the consequences which he attaches to it. This may be said also of much of the recent German work. The results of textual criticism have to be taken into account here as well as those of sober historical inquiry. In the state of the text we have a witness that speaks along with others to the very early date and the generally consentient character of the narratives. But Mr. Moffatt's method of viewing and using this idea of "interval," if applied to other literatures, would land us in invincible uncertainty. It would make it impossible for us to trust Wellington's *Despatches*, or to have any assurance that we know that great soldier himself and the events of his career as he and they really were.

We have said that Mr. Moffatt's criticism is to a large extent subjective. His bias is in the direction of placing the books as late as possible. He dates the genuine Epistles of Paul about 50 to 62; Mark before 75; Matthew, and Luke, and Hebrews from 75 to 90; 1 Peter somewhere in the seventh decade; Acts and the Apocalypse as we now have it from 90 to 105. In the Pastoral Epistles he recognises certain notes to Timothy and Titus, which belong to the period of the Apostle's genuine letters. But the Pastorals as a whole he refers to the first quarter of the second century, John's Gospel to between 95 and 115, the Johannine Epistles to much the same period as the Pastorals. He puts James and Jude a little later still, and 2 Peter after A.D. 150. And the way in which he puts his case indicates not unfrequently how his judgments are influenced by ideas of what is probable or improbable, of what is congruous or incongruous in supposed circumstances. But it is in the Appendix that this comes out most unmistakably. The Appendix "on the hypothesis of interpolation, compilation, and pseudonymity, in relation to the New Testament literature" is an able and interesting performance. In it, as in the Critical Notes, there is much valuable matter, an immense wealth of carefully digested reading, much searching criticism. There is a great deal in

it that is profitable and well-founded. But withal it abounds in statements and conclusions which have little or nothing behind them but subjective considerations, reasons drawn from the supposed fitness or unfitness of things. Mr. Moffatt starts in many cases with the idea that this or that could not have happened, this word and that could not have been spoken, at the time or in the circumstances in question. He concludes accordingly that the things were not done, that the words were not spoken at the time and in the form reported, but were "attributed" to the early period by the reflection and experience of a later stage. Instances of this meet us somewhat frequently.

It is true that Mr. Moffatt regards the "criticism of language, ideas and style," however important, to be but subordinate. There are occasions on which he works out a very strong case against the more theorising order of critics. And we see him at his best in this line of things when he has to deal with passages involving textual difficulties, or furnishing ground in the condition of the text for raising questions of place or originality. We may refer to the careful treatment of such sections as the close of the Epistle to the Romans, Luke xx. 15-20, xxii. 43, 44, John v. 3, 4, and certain passages in the Apocalypse, etc. But on the other hand, there are not a few cases in which, with little or no basis, either in the state of the text or in historical testimony, judgment is given against passages for reasons that are mainly or wholly subjective. 1 Thess. ii. 16b, e.g., is taken on the whole to be "an interpolation or editorial comment, like Ro. xi. 9, 10, written after A.D. 70". 1 Cor. xv. 56 "may easily be a marginal gloss". Mr. Moffatt seems to agree with Schmiedel, Drummond and others who set aside these well-known words about the "sting of death" and the "strength of the law". On what ground? Because they are "inappropriate here," *sin* and *law* having no special bearing on the mental situation of the Corinthians, and this particular view of the function of the law being supposed to be not earlier than 2 Corinthians and Romans.

So with regard to 2 Cor. vi. 14-vii. 1, Mr. Moffatt admits that

there is no MS. evidence for regarding the paragraph as of late date, and he might have added that there is no historical testimony to that effect. He seems to agree, nevertheless, with those who think it an "interjected piece which reads awkwardly"; and he says that "apart from a timid desire to adhere to the textual *status quo*, there is no reason for disputing so obvious an instance of interpolation". In Mark ix. 38, 40, we have "perhaps one of the few interpolations inserted (from Luke ix. 49-50?) by another hand," or possibly a "misplacement," as Keim thinks, by the writer of the Gospel. In the Sermon on the Mount, too, there is reason for suspecting at least Matt. v. 18, 19 as an interpolation. "The saying," remarks Mr. Moffatt, "seems to have belonged to the Logia, but in its present form represents a Jewish-Christian current of tradition in the early church. Jesus is correctly represented as repudiating iconoclasm. But would he have extended the ægis of his authority to the ceremonial details of the law without qualification?"

The great declaration on the *ἐκκλησία* in Matt. xvi. 18 is similarly dealt with. The question here is, as Mr. Moffatt puts it, "whether, with His belief in His own speedy return and the evident limits by which His outlook was beset, Jesus could have laid down the details of an ecclesiastical structure (Matt. xvi. 18, xviii. 15 f.) which presupposed a settled and expanding future; in a word, whether Jesus the religious idealist, the prophet, the martyr, was also the religious organiser". So also with the close of Matthew's Gospel. Mr. Moffatt speaks of it as "very tempting to regard, not merely 18b, but the whole commission, verses 18-20, or even 16-20, as a later addition . . . composed out of the developing 'catholicism' and christology of the church, and inserted as a conclusion to the Gospel". He confesses that there are drawbacks to this. He mentions "the absence of a textual basis and the abrupt state of what would be the original Matthew". He summarises, however, the arguments that are supposed to tell against the originality of the passage—the "conception of Jesus as the source of authoritative rules and regulations," the idea of His spiritual presence (which, it



is thought, can scarcely be primitive), and more particularly the note of the universal mission, the incipient Trinitarianism, and the use of the baptismal formula. He seems to be in sympathy with these arguments, and speaks of the passage as forming in a certain event "a secondary tradition, due not to Jesus but to the later spirit of the Church". In numerous passages in Acts, the theory of glosses or interpolations is favoured (*e.g.*, iv. 4, xvi. 5, xxi. 9, 30, xxii. 30-xxiii. 10, xxv. 3b), for reasons that are chiefly or entirely subjective. And the same style of criticism appears on a larger scale in other sections of the book. In the statement on the Pastoral Epistles, *e.g.*, which is a very able one, and by no means neglects or subordinates evidence of a more objective kind, we have something of this. The position is taken, with regard to passages like 1 Tim. vi. 10, 20, 21, that to assign them to Paul before A.D. 67 would be "not merely to violently contradict the apostle's self-revelation in the other epistles, but to throw the whole development of early Christian ideas and institutions into gratuitous and inextricable confusion".

We have said enough, however, on this side of the book. Men's notions of the order in which "early Christian ideas and institutions" ought to have developed, of the thoughts that a man like Paul may have had or may not have had at one time or another, of the way in which his conceptions of Christian doctrine should have formed and grown, are very uncertain guides to conclusions as to the claims and dates of books or parts of books. It is little less than absurd to limit Paul and the other New Testament writers as some schools of critics are so fond of doing, and to assert that the great Apostle might have certain views of "law" and of "sin" at the date of 2 Cor. or Romans, but could not have had them so early as 1 Thess. How small is the interval after all that separates the latter writing from the former!

But the fundamental mistake is in thinking of schemes of thought in Paul's mind and making these the test of this and that in his letters, instead of looking at the occasion which called forth the letters and the particular things that Paul was called to take in hand and express himself upon when

he wrote to his Churches or his friends. Mr. Moffatt, who is capable of doing excellent service, will do it better if he makes less of these subjective methods and more of the objective evidence, textual and historical. What one misses in his able book is the evidence of any sufficient study of the historical testimonies. A patient, critical examination, carried out in Lightfoot's way, of all that early literature, Christian and non-Christian, orthodox and heretical, has to say about the books, is the foundation of all. These other considerations, which vary so much with critic and critic, have their place. The temptation is to give them more than their place and allow them to rule.

A word should be said of the Historical Tables with which the book is enriched. They are meant to show how the New Testament writings are connected both with one another and with the "main currents of contemporary thought and history". The first brings into our view the events in Roman and Judean history, and in Jewish, Greek and Latin literature, during the period B.C. 180—A.D. 30. The second carries this on to A.D. 100, and the third to A.D. 190. Then we get an outline of the Asmonean and Herodian dynasties, a historian's map of early Christian literature, a genealogy of the New Testament literature, a diagram of early Christian literature, a table exhibiting the sources of the New Testament literature, the most important ancient catalogues of the books, tables of Versions, MSS., Councils, etc. These have been prepared with great care, and place before us a vast mass of useful matter in bird's eye view. The most interesting, probably, is the one which deals with the sources of the New Testament. But there is much that is of value in them all. Mr. Moffatt deserves our cordial thanks for providing these adjuncts. They have cost him much labour.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

## Notices.

To the Bishop of Durham we are indebted for a new volume with the title of *Lessons from Work*.<sup>1</sup> It has the pathetic interest of a book which was meant to be dedicated to the writer's wife, and is dedicated to her memory. It has now the still more pathetic interest of a work that has been followed, alas! too soon, by the death of the venerable and honoured writer himself. It consists of a series of twenty-one papers, with some appendices. These papers give the opinions which Dr. Westcott had formed on questions which came under his consideration in the fulfilment of his work. They are of very different kinds, some dealing with questions specially concerning the Bishop's own Church, others with questions of interest to the Church generally; some with matters of Christian doctrine, Biblical Criticism and the like, others with questions of Temperance, Organisation of Industry, International Concord, Expenditure, and the like. All alike are considered in the light of the truth of the Incarnation, which always had the first place in Dr. Westcott's teaching, and was held by him to be the central fact of all history, "illuminating the problems which meet us alike in our daily work and in our boldest speculations". We are glad to hear him again on Biblical Revision, and to have his most mature judgments on the Revised Version of the New Testament. He says much that carries weight with it on the intellectual preparation of candidates for the ministry, on the study of the Bible, on the Christian attitude to war, etc. The paper on this last subject is particularly just and well considered. While admitting that war is inconsistent with the ideal of Christianity, he refuses to join with those who pronounce it

<sup>1</sup> By Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., D.C.L. London: Macmillan & Co., 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. + 451. Price 6s.

absolutely unjustifiable. He holds that "if we once recognise the universal conditions of life—personal, social, national, as they are—the conclusion appears to be inevitable that we must face the possibility of a just war". Further, he says that we have to remember that each nation "has some ministry committed to it: that its end is not aggrandisement, but service; that war is immeasurably better than the betrayal of its trust, the neglect of its duty towards those who rightly look to it for help and protection; that the use which is made of the opportunities brought by the close of a successful war is in some sense a measure of its righteousness". These papers, short as they are, give much food for thought. We are glad that they have been collected and published in their present form.

The Rev. Leighton Pullan, Lecturer on Theology, Oxford, adds to his previous publications a volume on *The Books of the New Testament*.<sup>1</sup> It is "intended to meet the widely prevalent need of an introduction to the New Testament which is neither a mere handbook nor an elaborate treatise for specialists". It stands by the old positions, but it shows considerable acquaintance with recent critical studies, and strives to put the arguments proper to such a textbook in a popular and easily intelligible form. It is not a better book than some others with a somewhat similar object in view that might be named, *e.g.*, Professor Adeney's. But it is done with care and good sense, and puts things in a clear and compact form. It presents a good general view of New Testament Introduction. It will have a special value for those belonging to the Anglican Church. It gives first a short statement of the way in which the New Testament, as we have it, came to be formed. This is followed by a chapter on the Gospels generally, in which the reader will get a concise and useful summary of the main points in discussion. Then each writing is treated separately in turn. In a series of appendices we have a table of the points of agreement arrived at by the more prominent Rationalist

<sup>1</sup> London: Rivingtons, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 295. Price 4s. 6d. net.

critics of the writings of St. John during the last sixty years, a brief account of Papias and John the Presbyter, the Muratorian Fragment, a list of early witnesses to the New Testament writings, and a table of books recommended. This last table is by no means complete. It gives only books by English scholars and English translations of foreign works. Even so limited it has considerable deficiencies. On Textual Criticism, *e.g.*, the only books named are Lake's small shilling textbook and Nestle's volume; under Introduction, only Godet and Salmon are mentioned. In Mark, Luke and John the only commentaries noticed are those by Swete, Plummer, Godet and Westcott. Under Hebrews we miss Professor A. B. Davidson's volume and others. On most questions Mr. Pullan's position is strictly conservative. Mark's Gospel is referred to A.D. 62, Matthew's to 69, Luke's to 70-75, John's to 80-90. The Pastoral Epistles are placed at A.D. 63-64; Hebrews at 66; 1 Peter at 64, and 2 Peter at 65. The earliest book is held to be the Epistle of James, dated at A.D. 50; the latest is the Book of Revelation, put at 96. That the "Galatians" are the people of South Galatia is held to be "almost certainly correct". The leading arguments for and against the particular conclusions adopted in the book are usually stated with commendable fairness, so that the reader can judge for himself.

The second edition of Jülicher's important contribution to the interpretation of the *Parables of our Lord*<sup>1</sup> brings the work thoroughly up to date. The book is one of great value and the author is to be congratulated on the success which it has already won. The first part had the honour of passing into a second edition in three years. We hope to see a new edition of the second part called for speedily. Professor Jülicher's discussions of the historical credibility of the parables, their nature, purpose and value, are of marked ability, thorough, cautious and informing. One misses some

<sup>1</sup> Die Gleichnisreden Jesu. Von. D. Adolf Jülicher, Professor der Theologie in Marburg. Erster Teil. Die Gleichnisreden Jesu im Allgemeinen. Zweite neu bearbeitete Auflage. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 328. Price M.7.20.

things, *e.g.*, an adequate consideration of the questions raised regarding their classification. But there is an excellent sketch of the history of their interpretation. This is done at length and is of great interest. The list of English writers who are passed in review, though by no means complete, is considerable, and shows real insight into their several qualities and points of view. The advance made by Dr. A. B. Bruce's work on Trench's is fully recognised. Among the best things in the historical section of the volume are the estimates of the services of Bucer, Calvin, Maldonatus, Van Koetsveld and B. Weiss to the proper understanding of the parables. Professor Jülicher's book is one for the student to have always at hand. The detailed exegesis of several parables with which the second part<sup>1</sup> is occupied, leaves little unnoticed that is of any value. It is the most important addition that has been made to this branch of Biblical study for many years. It follows in the track of the best interpreters, and aims at giving a strictly scientific exposition of all the parabolic sections of the Synoptical Gospels. Professor Jülicher's exegetical method and principles have not been received, it is true, with universal approbation. They have been assailed by Professor W. Bousset and others, but they seem in the main sensible and just. His interpretations are not such as we can accept in every case at once. They are at times sufficiently open to question. But they have always much to teach us. They break away from the fanciful, though often pleasing and edifying, style of interpretation which was long in the ascendant, especially in England. They burst the bonds of Patristic authority and do much to bring us back to a view of the parables which is content to look at them in the light of their historical circumstances, their immediate occasion, and their application to the position of those to whom they were originally addressed.

A subject to which too little attention has been given has been dealt with in a suggestive way by Dr. Edward Carus

<sup>1</sup> Zweiter Teil. Auslegung der Gleichnisreden der drei ersten Evangelien. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. viii. + 643. Price M.12.80.

Selwyn, Headmaster of Uppingham School, in his volume on *The Christian Prophets and the Prophetic Apocalypse*.<sup>1</sup> With some reason the author speaks of his subject as one that relates to "the most important body of teachers and the most characteristic kind of teaching which have ever escaped notice, in their specific features, by theologians ancient and modern". It is strange that this important field of study should have been so persistently overlooked, and that the prophets of the New Testament should have been so little regarded when so much has been done for our appreciation of their predecessors of the Old Testament. Dr. Selwyn does something to remove the reproach. He sets these prophets forth as an order (1 Cor. xii. 31, xiv. 40), as men possessed of one of "the greater gifts," as more than preachers only on the one hand and more than chiliasts on the other, as the "nucleus round which gathered the first elements of Christianity". In working out his argument he gives first a short historical outline of Christian prophecy from the forms in which it appears in the New Testament writings on to its decay in Tertullian's time. He devotes next a special chapter to the chronology and circumstances of Montanism, and then proceeds to deal at considerable length with the Apocalypse of John—its nature, its relations to other Jewish writings and to the Fourth Gospel, its leading ideas, the seer-elder, etc. His object is to show the continuity of the prophetic gift from Jewish to Christian times, how wide was the difference between the evangelist and the prophet, elder or seer, how the prophetic order became enfeebled in the first half of the second century, and how in the Churches a conflict naturally arose between Prophecy and Order, which had its chief theatre in Asia Minor. There is a great deal in this book that is fresh and interesting and provocative of thought. There are at the same time a good many doubtful positions, particularly as regards the Johannine writings. The book fails in not distinguishing adequately between Prophecy and Apocalyptic. It describes the Fourth Gospel as "designed

<sup>1</sup> London: Macmillan & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. + 277. Price 6s. net.

to represent a non-prophetic aspect of the original facts of the Saviour's life," and as a book which "quietly fulfils and corrects" both the Apocalypse and the Synoptic Gospels. In its interpretation of the obscurities of the Book of Revelation, also, it comes now and again to conclusions which are somewhat rapidly reached and far from convincing. It has the great merit, however, of being interesting and suggestive all through.

Dr. Swete has made all students of Holy Scripture his debtors by the preparation of his *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*.<sup>1</sup> It is in the best sense a *Student's* book, full of matter admirably arranged, giving succinct, reliable, scholarly statements on the essential questions, and furnishing at the same time all necessary references to literature and authorities. The book is got up also in excellent style and is printed with remarkable accuracy. It is not indeed wholly free from misprints, but it is nearly so. It is appropriately dedicated to Dr. Eberhard Nestle, to whom Professor Swete gratefully acknowledges himself to be indebted for much generous and valuable help. It represents a vast amount of patient toil. The field over which it takes us is enormous. We owe the learned author our best thanks for the way in which he has met a want long felt by students.

The book is divided into three parts. The first deals with the history of the Greek Old Testament and its transmission. This occupies 194 pages and gives the main points in the story of the Alexandrian version itself, the later Greek versions, the Hexapla, the Hexaplar and other recensions of the Septuagint, the ancient versions based on the Septuagint, the manuscripts and the printed text of the Septuagint. At each point the more fundamental authorities are given in their terms. In concise form the evidence is presented which points to the conclusion that the version arose out of the

<sup>1</sup> By Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., Hon. Litt.D., Dublin, Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Regius Professor of Divinity. With Appendix containing the Letter of Aristæus. Edited by H. St. John Thackeray, M.A. Cambridge: University Press, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. + 592. Price 7s. 6d. net.



needs of the Alexandrian Jews. It is held to be "not improbable that the king encouraged the work of translation with the view of promoting the use of the Greek language by the settlers as well as for the purpose of gratifying his own curiosity". As one should expect, the subject of the language of the LXX is carefully and judiciously treated. "The Greek of the Alexandrian Pentateuch," says Professor Swete, "is Egyptian, and, as far as we can judge, not such as Palestinian translators would have written." The vocabulary and style of the LXX are "such as to discredit the attribution of the Greek Pentateuch to a company consisting exclusively or chiefly of Palestinian Jews. The LXX as a whole, or at any rate the earlier part of the collection, is a monument of Alexandrian Greek as it was spoken by the Jewish colony in the Delta under the rule of the Ptolemies." Due account is taken of the "new criterion" of Egyptian Greek offered by recent discoveries in Egypt; of the results yielded by the papyri and their application to the Septuagint; of the contributions made to this part of the subject by Professor Mahaffy, Dr. Deissmann, etc. On the question of the date or dates of the work of translation, Professor Swete expresses himself with his usual caution and moderation. He is of opinion that the testimony of the first century A.D. "does not absolutely require us to believe that all the books of the Hebrew Canon had been translated and were circulated in a Greek version during the Apostolic Age". He thinks at the same time that it is not improbable that such was the case. His final conclusion is that "as a whole the work of translation was doubtless carried out at Alexandria, where it was begun; and the Greek Bible of the Hellenistic Jews and the Catholic Church may rightly be styled the Alexandrian Greek version of the Old Testament". The later Greek versions, the Hexaplar and other recensions of the Septuagint, and the ancient versions based on it are all handled with like care. There is a most useful history, descriptive and critical, of the various manuscripts. A great amount of information is packed into this section of the book. The same is the case with the scholarly chapter devoted to the history of the printed texts.

The second part deals with the titles, grouping, number, and order of the books, the text-divisions, the books of the Hebrew Canon, the books not included in it, etc. The third part discusses questions of more general interest—the literary use of the LXX by non-Christian Hellenists, the quotations from the LXX in the New Testament and in early Christian literature, the Greek versions as aids to Bible Study, the influence of the LXX on Christian literature, the textual condition of the LXX and the problems arising out of it. There are many points of interest in the chapters which deal with these matters. Attention is very properly directed to the importance of the “innumerable references of a less formal character than direct quotations” in any estimate which is attempted of the influence of the LXX upon the New Testament. That influence is judged to be so profound and pervading that it is not too much to say that “in its literary form and expression the New Testament would have been a widely different book had it been written by authors who knew the Old Testament only in the original, or who knew it in a Greek version other than that of the LXX”. Professor Swete gives a very fair statement on the subject of the Letter of Aristeas. This is supplemented by a special Appendix, which gives the Greek text of the document, the variant readings, and a pretty full account of the manuscripts, the various steps in the preparation for a critical edition, etc. This is by the hand of Mr. St. John Thackeray. We owe to him in this way a very good edition of the Letter, which is in some respects less elaborate than Wendland’s, but has the advantage of being based on collations made by himself.

There is much work to be done yet in relation to the Septuagint. We require a better estimate of the extent to which, in quoting and in translating, men allowed themselves liberty in adapting the books they had in hand to their own circumstances and objects. There is a vast deal to be done still in the matter of the text, and we look forward, therefore, with expectation to obtaining by and by the larger edition of the Cambridge Septuagint. And with

a view to this and other needs there is the pressing want of better editions of the Patristic writings. Meantime we owe much to Dr. Swete. His book will be a help and an encouragement to students. We express anew our sense of the trustworthy character of this Introduction, and the sound judgment distinguishing the opinions expressed in it.

In the August issue of the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* the Rev. Herbert B. Workman continues his interesting series of "Studies in the English Reformation," his subject being the later Lollards, Oldcastle, Tailor, Wyche and others. We get also the fourth instalment of the Rev. James S. H. Royce's graphic sketch of "Australasian Methodism".

The July issue of *The Journal of Theological Studies* opens with a paper of considerable historical interest on "The English Coronation Orders," which appears very opportunely at present. The second paper is by the Rev. Herbert Kelly. It deals with the relation of miracles to Christian doctrine. It attempts a restatement of the question. Its argument proceeds on the basis of the primary distinction between two great types of religions—that which rests on "inference from material or human nature, and consists of a statement or arrangement of such ideals as may be abstracted therefrom for purposes of nature," and that "which seriously claims to be a revelation of that which transcends nature, and could not be inferred or derived from it". It holds that the Bible presents a "continuous history of revelation having four marked stages". These it describes as revelations respectively of reality, transcendency of being, knowable nature, and God Himself. Each of these, it is held, is necessarily miraculous, as it transcends natural human inference. The Christian miracles stand, therefore, in contrast with "magical" miracles. Professor Massie gives an acute criticism of Professor Ramsay's contention that in 1 Cor. vii. St. Paul is pleading the rights of celibacy in view of a proposal by the Corinthian officials of a Church rule urging marriage. Dr. James Drummond continues his able inquiry into the use and meaning of the title "Son of Man" in the Synoptic Gospels. He criticises the opinions of Neander, Dalman,

Baur, Holsten, Bartlet, Carpenter and others. He finds none of them quite satisfactory, and proposes a tentative solution of his own. He calls special attention to Christ's repeated references to Himself in the third person—a fact to which he thinks sufficient attention has not been given. He regards the phrase as having all the appearance of being used “in two distinct senses which are nowhere reconciled”. He concludes that our Lord did not use the title “Son of Man” in a very strict or limited sense, but may have given it a “somewhat varying application according to circumstances”. In short, his view is that, starting with Daniel, our Lord may have taken the phrase as a typical expression, standing for the true representatives of Israel, the ideal people of God; that this view could readily connect itself with the servant of God in Isaiah liii.; that He may have regarded Himself then as the head of this ideal class; and, further, that He may not have “identified Himself as Messiah with him who was to come as the conquering Son of Man, but may have understood the prophet's vision as a poetical description of the spiritual conquest of the world's brute forces by a divinely commissioned humanity, personified as the Son of Man”. This is interesting, but not very probable, least of all in this last supposition. It cannot be said of this article, able as it is, that it gives us a better or more reasonable explanation than some of those that have been longer before us. There are smaller contributions and articles which add to the value of this number of the *Journal*, such as Mr. Frere's account of the newly found York Gradual, which fills a gap in our knowledge of the mediæval service-books of the English Church.

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In July number, page 372, line 17, for " Liberalism " read " Literalism ".

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knowledge on the subject, and, after a brief description of recent explorations, the chronology and history of the old kingdoms of the Tigris and Euphrates are discussed in detail. Professor Rogers possesses a first-hand acquaintance with the inscriptions; he has also read and weighed carefully all that has been written about them by Assyriologists, so far as it bears upon history, and he has spent several years in examining and comparing the theories of the latter. Above all, he is cautious in accepting evidence, and is blessed with a large share of common-sense which is as necessary in science as in the affairs of daily life.

It is, of course, inevitable that in questions of history, where the evidence is often scanty and our conclusions depend on a more or less amount of probability, different scholars will not always adopt the same views. Here and there I am unable to agree with Professor Rogers's results; more frequently I find myself in agreement with him in opposition to the theories of the younger Assyriologists of Germany. Thus he is certainly right in holding that the Azariah of the cuneiform inscriptions is the Uzziah of the Old Testament, and not the king of some unknown tribe in northern Syria, and I fully assent to his verdict that though "Winckler's suggestions concerning Musri are exceedingly fruitful," the German scholar has ridden his hobby of an Arabian Musri to death. On the other hand he accepts Hilprecht's derivation of the name of Shinar from that of the town of Nin-Giršu or Lagas, which is impossible, if for no other reason than that the Assyrian form of the word, Inguriša, shows that it was pronounced In-Giršu in Sumerian and not In-Šungir, as Hilprecht's theory would demand.

Professor Rogers's book is printed on good paper in good clear type. I have noticed very few misprints in it. "Kudur-Marbuk," however (i., p. 381) should be Kudur-Mabuk, and in the second volume the words "of Gog" have dropped out before "with Gyges" in the footnote on page 258, while the latter part of the second footnote on page 283 has been misplaced; it ought to come at the foot of page 285.

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It is nine years since the first volume of Professor Hommel's *Aufsätze* appeared, and the two which have now been issued will be welcomed by Semitic scholars. They exhibit that combination of learning and brilliant suggestion which we are accustomed to expect from the author, and are full of new facts and daring hypotheses. He is one of the few German workers in the Semitic field who are stimulating, even where we most differ from his conclusions, and his profound knowledge of the Assyrian and South Arabian inscriptions gives him an advantage over the majority of his fellow students in the same department of research.

A considerable part of the two volumes Professor Hommel has just published is occupied with the astronomy of ancient Chaldæa. He has done wisely in reprinting his valuable papers on the subject which have been so long buried in the pages of *Ausland*, where they were inaccessible to most readers. They contain, after all, the best account of Babylonian astronomy that has hitherto been written, and they have been brought up to date by the addition of notes and appendices. The greater number of the fixed stars mentioned in the cuneiform tablets may now be considered as identified, and the question of the origin of the zodiac to be settled once for all. Its Babylonian origin cannot again be seriously called in doubt.

A short article on the Babylonian conception of the universe will serve to correct certain false impressions for which Jensen's *Kosmologie* is responsible. Professor Hommel has done well in adding a map to his text, for the Babylonian map of the world was by no means simple, in spite of its primitive character. It was, in fact, an attempt to combine in what we should call a scientific form two mythological conceptions which were really incompatible with each other, in one of which the earth was represented as a mountain, on the summit of which the heavenly vault rested, while the other made it an island floating on the surface of an encircling sea.

The second volume is mainly devoted to the Minæan inscriptions of Southern Arabia, and is full of information

which will be to most readers at once new and interesting. As Professor Hommel points out, they show that the early religion of the Semites, instead of being a worship of stocks and stones, as Wellhausen and Robertson Smith have contended, was really what the writers of a century ago called Sabaism, in which the sun and moon and "host of heaven" held the foremost place. So far, indeed, from being introduced into Canaan in the age of the later Jewish Kings, "Sabaism" was the oldest cult of the civilised Semite whether he belonged to the Babylonian or to the West Semitic and Arabian branch of the family. But whereas in Babylonia, where Sumerian influence remained powerful to the last, the Sun-god was the supreme Baal, among the Western Semites it was the Moon-god who stood at the head of the Pantheon, the Sun-god becoming a goddess who was the mere shadow of a male god. In Hadhramaut the Moon-god retained his Babylonian name of Sin, which was carried westward as far as Mount Sinai; elsewhere the name was replaced by a title like 'Ammi or Wadd or Haubas. By the side of the Moon-god stood another god, the transformed Babylonian goddess Istar, the evening star, as well as a messenger or "angel" interpreter, who was entitled Anbây, the Babylonian Nabium or Nebo "the prophet," in Qatabân, and Haul, "the Phoenix," in Hadhramaut. Like Istar, the Angel-god, who mediated between the supreme deity and his worshippers, was derived from Babylonia, along with the doctrine of the Triad. Shams, the Sun-goddess, was the wife or daughter of Sin.

The fact that in Canaan the supreme Baal was the Sun, and not the Moon, was due to the deep and long-continued influence of Babylonian culture in those early days when Syria was a Babylonian province and the language, law, and literature of Babylonia were carried to the West. The cult of the Moon-god, on the other hand, was essentially West Semitic. "Ur of the Chaldees," on the Arabian side of the Euphrates, was dedicated to him, as well as Harran in Mesopotamia, and Professor Hommel throws out the suggestion that Yahveh of Israel might once have been synonymous with the Baal of Ur. At all events, some

years ago I pointed out the name of Yahum-il, the Joel of the Old Testament, in a cuneiform document of the Abrahamic age, along with such other specifically Hebrew names as Jacob-el (Ya'qub-ilu) and Joseph-el (Yasup-ilu), and since then Professor Hommel has discovered several more similarly compounded with the name of Yahu and of the same early date. Perhaps he is right in thinking that the monotheistic tone of a hymn to the Moon-god, which was once included in the ritual of the temple of Ur, points to a monotheistic tendency on the part of the worshippers of the god.

In Arabia the Babylonian goddess of the evening star became a god Atthar. It was the same also in Moab. In Canaan, however, Babylonian influences were too powerful, and Istar accordingly was provided with the Semitic feminine suffix and became the Ashtoreth of Scripture. One of the results of this was that the old Canaanitish goddess Ashêrah fell into the background, her attributes being usurped by the newcomer. Ashêrah appears as Asratum and Asirtum in the cuneiform texts which make her a goddess of the "Amorites" of the West. An interesting inscription from Sippara, in which Khammurabi or Ammu-rapi, the Amraphel of Genesis, is entitled "King of the land of the Amorites," *i.e.*, Syria and Palestine, is dedicated by a Canaanite to the goddess Ashêrah, and a bilingual hymn makes her the wife of Amurrû "the Amorite god". Amurrû was identified with the Babylonian Hadad, and is called Ramânu or Rimmon on a seal.

Professor Hommel has now succeeded in detecting the name of Ashêrah in the Minæan inscriptions of southern Arabia where it appears under the form of Athirat. Athirat is the wife of the Moon-god Wadd, in whom Hommel sees the Hadad of Assyria. He further suggests that the name is originally nothing more than the feminine of Assur, which is written Asir in the cuneiform texts of Cappadocia. He even finds traces of Asir or Asher in the Old Testament, as for example in Deut. xxxiii. 29, when he would translate: "[Yahveh] is the shield of thy help, and Asher the sword of thy glory". There are, however, difficulties in the way of this

ingenious combination. In Assyria itself *asirtu* "sanctuary" is always kept distinct from Assur or Asur with the vowel *u*; indeed the character of the vowel in the second syllable of *asirtu* was so strongly marked as to influence that in the first, so that not unfrequently we find *esrêti* from *esirtu* in the texts. The Sumerian and ideographic equivalents of *asirtu*, moreover, are never interchanged with those of Assur, who, I believe, derived his name from that of the old Assyrian capital. That the Assyrian *asirtu*, however, which is sometimes spelt *asratu*, is the Ashêrah of the West Semites admits of no question, and explains how it is that the latter is at once the name of a goddess and a sacred place. The ideographs by which *asirtu* or *esrêtu* was represented and which had the pronunciation of *usug* in Sumerian, are stated to denote on the one hand the god Bel and on the other the Beth-els or "houses of the gods". Perhaps, therefore, the primitive Asirtu was a consecrated stone in which the goddess of the plain was believed to reside.

I have left myself but little space in which to discuss the first article in the third volume of the *Aufsätze*. It is concerned with the four rivers of Paradise which Professor Hommel finds in Arabia, along with the Mizraim and Asshur of a good many passages of Scripture. He has, in fact, adopted Winckler's resuscitation of the old theory of Dr. Beke which identified Mizraim with Midian instead of Egypt, while Asshur becomes the Asshurim of Gen. xxv. 3, and is made synonymous with Edom, and the Jareb of Hosea is transformed into the 'Arabs. That Professor Hommel's arguments are ingenious and full of learning goes without saying, but I doubt whether he will gain many converts to his views or indeed whether, after mature consideration, he will himself continue to hold them. It is possible that Muzur "the border-land" signifies northern Arabia in some of the passages in the Assyrian texts in which it occurs, and that Mizraim may have been corrupted from Mazor in a few verses of the Old Testament, but the wholesale *boulversement* of ancient geography which the new theories necessitate is not likely to win acceptance. It is riding a hobby a little

too hard to transfer the Mizraim against which Isaiah prophesies (chapter xix.) from one side of the Red Sea to the other, and to alter the readings of the Hebrew text where they do not suit the new hypothesis. I am quite as willing as Professor Hommel to believe that the prophecies of Balaam belong to the Mosaic age, but I do not see that this obliges us to accept the geographical novelties he proposes in support of his views. After all, the last words of the prophecy—"And ships (shall come) from the coast of Chittim, and shall afflict Asshur and shall afflict Eber, and he also shall perish for ever"—admit of a historical interpretation even if we retain the Masoretic reading and the translation of the Authorised Version. In the Tel el-Amarna correspondence, the King of Jerusalem tells his suzerain the Pharaoh that "when there was a ship upon the sea, the arm of the Mighty King conquered Naharaim and the Babylonians," and those who will may see in the Khabiri of the same letters the Eber of Balaam. As for the ships of Chittim, they are no longer difficult to find. Dr. A. J. Evans's discoveries in Crete have shown that the maritime empire of Minos was a reality, and that in the Mosaic age the Philistines of the Greek seas harried the shores of Palestine and occupied the cities of the coast.

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Dr. Scheil's work is the first-fruits of M. de Morgan's recent excavations at Susa. The first volume, describing the excavations themselves and the topography of the site, has not yet appeared, but M. de Morgan has conferred a boon on scholars by allowing the second volume to be published as soon as it was ready for the press. From some points of view it is the most important of all the volumes which it is intended to issue. It contains the inscriptions in Semitic Babylonian which have been discovered among the ruins of the old capital of Elam, and comes upon us as a surprise. Hitherto it had been believed that Susa was from the outset what it was from the Abrahamic age onward—the seat of a non-Semitic power, ruled by kings who spoke an agglutinative

language, the last stage of which is found in the third transcripts of the Achæmenian inscriptions. Now it turns out that this was far from being the case. In the remote days of Sargon of Akkad (B.C. 3800) and for many centuries afterwards, Elam was a Babylonian province, and Susa or Shushan was governed by viceroys under the reigning Semitic dynasty of Babylonia like any other Babylonian town. The real capital of the non-Semitic population was Anzan to the north-west, and it was not until after the time of Khammurabi, or Amraphel, the contemporary of Abraham, that the kings of Anzan obtained permanent possession of Susa and established a non-Semitic kingdom in Elam. Before that date Elam was what it is described as being in the tenth chapter of Genesis, a son of Shem and a brother of Asshur and Aram. The new discoveries are a most unexpected verification of the accuracy of the Biblical statement.

The first excavators at Susa were two Englishmen, Colonel Williams and Mr. Loftus, exactly half a century ago. But want of funds prevented them from doing much more than showing what archæological treasures lay buried under its triple mound. Then came M. Dieulafoy, who devoted himself to a thorough exploration of the sumptuous palace of Darius and Artaxerxes Mnemon, the enamelled tiles of which, with their friezes of lions and archers, now form one of the chief ornaments of the Museum of the Louvre. It was left for M. de Morgan systematically to excavate the ancient city and lay bare the walls and monuments that had been destroyed by Assur-bani-pal when the old capital of Elam finally fell before the Assyrian arms.

The earliest and one of the most interesting of these is the obelisk of an early Babylonian monarch, a predecessor probably of Sargon of Akkad, of whom we previously knew no more than the name. The obelisk is covered with many hundred lines of writing and records the purchase by the king of various estates in Northern Babylonia. It throws a good deal of light on the economical history of Babylonia in the remote period to which it belongs. The prices in silver shekels are given of various objects, including copper knives,



donkeys and slaves, and different trades and professions are named, such as those of the carpenter, blacksmith, merchant and sailor. We hear of serfs attached to the estates bought by the king, but it is carefully stipulated that wages should be paid to them for their labour. The numerous names too deserve study; among them is that of Ishmael which indicates that Western Semites were already settled in the land.

Another equally interesting monument is a stela of Naram-Sin, the son and successor of Sargon of Akkad. It celebrates his overthrow of a league formed against him by the Kurdish princes, and represents the conqueror climbing the rugged mountains of the north-east and trampling his foes under his feet.

The other monuments consist for the most part of bricks and boundary-stones the latter of which contain the title-deeds of the landed properties on which they were originally set up as well as a description of their boundaries. The bricks come from the temples which were built or restored by the viceroys and governors whose names they bear. Some of the boundary-stones are as late as the age of the Kassite dynasty of Babylonia, and prove that the Kassite invasion engulfed Elam as well as Babylonia. Nor must we forget a block of black granite with an inscription of Khammurabi, or a curious tablet which states how King Bitilyas (B.C. 1300) had given some corn-land to a political "refugee" from Eastern Cappadocia, a currier by trade, in return for a leather cuirass that he had made. Assyria was in alliance at the time with Khali-rabbat or Cappadocia, and Agab-takha the refugee, accordingly, did not feel himself safe until he had reached the easternmost extremity of Babylonia.

The volume has been brought out with all the sumptuousness of type and paper that distinguishes such publications in France, and the photographs of the original texts are clear and excellent. The name of Dr. Scheil is a sufficient guarantee of the care and scholarship with which they have been edited.

A. H. SAYCE.

## The Counter-Reformation in Europe.

By Rev. Arthur Robert Pennington, M.A., Canon Non-Residentiary of Lincoln; and Rector of Utterby, Lincolnshire.  
London: Elliot Stock. Pp. xx. + 280.

THOUGH not to be compared in mastery of material or breadth of view with Gothein's *Ignatius von Loyola und die Gegenreformation* or even with the late Professor Maurenbrecher's unfinished *Geschichte der Katholischen Reformation*, Canon Pennington has prepared a useful handbook on a field which has been too much neglected by Anglo-Saxon writers. The Protestant Reformation has had abundant exposition in English; but its Roman counterpart has never received the attention that it deserves from English-speaking historians. Besides a general sense of the importance of this relatively undeveloped theme, two motives appear to have led Canon Pennington to undertake his task. One of these is a desire to correct the errors of Lord Macaulay's essay on Ranke's *History of the Popes*, and the other a wish to supplement the narrative of the lamented Bishop Creighton by telling the story of the revival of Romanism till 1648. It is no injustice to Canon Pennington's work to say that he has not given such a treatment of the theme as would have come from the pen of the late Bishop of London; but so far, certainly, as the other object held in view is concerned, its end is fully attained. Canon Pennington gives good reasons for his contention that, great as were the services of the Society of Jesus to the Counter-Reformation, their importance was exaggerated by Macaulay, while that brilliant writer failed to give due weight to the patient work of Philip II., and neglected the potent influence of the Council of Trent in restoring its lost strength to the Roman communion. In his emphasis on other influences than those of the Jesuits in

furthering the Counter-Reformation, at least during its earlier stages, and in his insistence on the prime importance of the failure of the Spanish Armada not merely in determining the religious story of England but that of continental Europe, Canon Pennington has done well.

The author's clear appreciation of the significance to the Roman cause of the Council of Trent gives special value to the chapter in which he describes its work; but he is at his best in sketching the Counter-Reformation in England and in exhibiting the varied activities of that champion of Rome and enemy of Elizabeth, Cardinal William Allen, and of the priests and Jesuits who aided in the effort to win England to the Roman obedience. Allen's endeavours to overthrow English Protestantism through the agency of his "seminary priests," his adoption of political intrigue in addition to spiritual weapons, and his zeal in stimulating the purpose of Philip II. to conquer England by the Armada are interestingly pictured.

Canon Pennington's sympathies are evidently strongly Protestant. Though he is not insensible to the courage and zeal of the leaders of the Counter-Reformation and especially of its English martyrs, he evidently finds it hard to view them with impartial eyes. He has not a little of Protestant denunciation of Rome and her works. Such an attitude of mind is readily understood. The contests of the Reformation age are not yet so fought out that it is possible to look back upon their course without strong preference for one party or the other in the struggle. But, from the point of view of a historian, this intense Protestant note is the cause of the chief defect of the book under review. That defect is a lack of sympathetic appreciation of the spiritual force and significance of the Roman revival. Its evils are evident, and Canon Pennington has pointed out many of them. He appreciates the courage and self-denial of its leaders. But its zeal and confidence and persistence, however obnoxious in their manifestations to us of Protestant faith, had their springs deep down in a real revival of piety. That the Counter-Reformation was at bottom.

It is to be regretted that the proof-reading of the volume has not been closer. Several instances occur where the hasty reader is liable to be misled because differing forms of the same name is given. For example the same person is spoken of as "John Peter Caraffa" on p. 43, and as "Jean Pierre" simply on p. 45. "Princess Jean" of p. 91, is "Donna Juana" on p. 92. The battle of Jarnac is misprinted "Sarnac" (p. 158). The author differs from the prevailing opinion in ascribing the *Beneficio di Gesu Cristo crocifisso* to Paleario; and the fourth general of the Jesuits, Mercurian, was a Belgian, not an Italian. But these are minor matters, and the volume is one to be welcomed as a popular introduction which may stimulate further study of the important movement of which it treats.

WILLISTON WALKER.

## **The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart.**

*By John Amos Komensky (Comenius). Edited and translated by Count Lützow. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. 347. Price 6s.*

## **The Time of Transition, or the Hope of Humanity.**

*By Frederick Arthur Hyndman, B.A. (Oxon.). London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxiv. + 422. Price 6s.*

*The Labyrinth of the World* is a decidedly interesting book. It is an allegory of social, political and religious life, written by Comenius, a bishop of the persecuted Moravian Church, and published in 1631. It became a favourite book with the Bohemians, feeding both their piety and their political discontent. At the beginning of last century, in 1820, it was placed on the list of prohibited books, as politically dangerous, but now it is freely printed and widely read. Comenius was a wise and kindly satirist. We are asked to call him a Pessimist, because he saw the common ills of life so plainly. He was not a Pessimist but he was a Calvinist, with a perception of the true dignity and high possibilities of man's nature. He saw how many were the tribulations through which men pass, and that from most of them they could escape by the exercise of virtue and of common-sense. His Pilgrim was a "caviller," but only against things that we all lament. Who is there that has not felt that a selfish worldly life is *vanitas vanitatum*?

His *Labyrinth of the World* is a round city with walls. The southern half has three main streets from east to west, and the northern half has three similar streets. In each there is found a separate group of men: married men,

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tradesmen and scholars in the southern half; clergymen, magistrates and knights in the northern. The Pilgrim is guided through the city by Impudence and Falsehood. Each class of the population he describes, with many subdivisions, showing the hardships, the sins and the follies of each. There is no plot in the book, but the short sketches are so well arranged that they can be found without an Index. The book was added to in each new edition; he might say, like Bunyan, "For having now my method by the end, Still as I pulled, it came". We cannot date the various sections, except at times by their reference to events in his life. One can understand why a timid censor put it down as a dangerous book. Comenius does not spare any class of men. He shows the injustice of nobles and rulers, the pretensions of lawyers and doctors, the indolence of clergymen, the defects of the Roman Church and the mistakes of the Protestant, the degradation of the lower classes and the vices of the rich. It might well seem an evil book to men who consider any attack upon the *status quo* to be a personal menace. Some of the descriptions are specially good, *e.g.*, the storm at sea, the mock trial of Simplicity in which are quoted words of Luther that stir the heart like the sound of a trumpet, the terrible picture of a battle, the powerful but restrained account of the end of the wicked when the spectacles are torn off and we see the truth. The last chapters, entitled "the Paradise of the Heart," show the charm of the Christian life, whatever our circumstances may be. The picture of a true minister of the Gospel is especially good. The vigour and interest of the book are maintained throughout.

The translation by Count Lützow is in vigorous and faultless English. The introduction contains a life of Comenius and gives all that is necessary for an understanding of the allegory.

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*The Time of Transition* is a curious book, crude, discursive, not uninteresting, but very few will be able to read it with patience. The title gives no idea of the contents. It deals

with the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. The Holy Family consists of God the Almighty Father, the Holy Ghost the Almighty Mother, and Jesus Christ their only Son. There is no glaring irreverence, but one is forever reminded of the triads of the Indian Pantheon. The Roman adoration of the Virgin came in because the character of God was misunderstood. Mr. Hyndman thinks it still necessary to find the attributes of patience, tenderness and nurture in the Holy Ghost, the divine Mother. Robertson of Brighton in his famous sermons showed that we have all that devotion and Christian life require in the gracious attributes of God as revealed in the gospel. The author refers to many problems in a discursive way that is at times entertaining, at times annoying, *e.g.*, the creation and the fall of man, the tempter not a serpent but a monkey, the lost Ten Tribes, women's rights, prison reform, England's destiny, the fate of the Jews, the mission problem at home and abroad. He writes as a devoted member of the Church of England, and tells us how her prayers and formularies must be modified to fit in with his theories! His doctrine of the Holy Ghost is defended by page after page of quotation from Old and New Testament, and from the Apocrypha. The two books are published by Messrs. Swan Sonnenschein & Co., they are well printed on good paper and well bound.

CHARLES F. FLEMING.

**The Adversaries of the Sceptic ; or, the Specious Present :  
a new inquiry into human knowledge.**

*By Alfred Hodder, Ph.D. London : Sonnenschein, 1901. 8vo,  
pp. 339. Price 6s.*

**The Evolution of Consciousness.**

*By Leonard Hall, M.A. London : Williams & Norgate,  
1901. 8vo, pp. 152. Price 3s. net.*

MR. HODDER'S book is a brilliant one in many respects, and much of its doctrine is timely and wholesome ; but the author will never make himself properly understood or gain the influence his gifts deserve till he improves his methods of exposition. Imagine Mr. George Meredith in one of his most tortuously sarcastic and elliptical moods recording a very abstract metaphysical dialogue in the third person with but faint indications where assertion ends and reply begins, leaving us to guess his sympathies in the dialogue by covert hints, and you get some idea of the difficulty of tracking Mr. Hodder (who is the "Sceptic") in his mazy dialectical wrestlings with "Adversaries" who make too much of the "Specious Present," or too little. Compared with the exasperating, and, one must add, gratuitous difficulty of the style in the metaphysical sections, it hardly seems worth while complaining of other impediments, such as the absence of a table of contents and of division of the argument into paragraphs ; not to mention the swarm of queer misprints, which in one passage at least leave the author's meaning quite conjectural. However, we must cease to grumble at Mr. Hodder for the way he has flung his book into the world, and try to estimate the value of the philosophical view which he represents.

"Specious Present" is a term which was put into general currency by Professor William James, who borrowed it from



Mr. E. R. Clay. It implies that the present time in which we live is not an instantaneous moment but possesses a certain duration. In Professor James's words, "The practically cognized present is no knife-edge, but a saddle-back, with a certain breadth of its own on which we sit perched, and from which we look in two directions into time". The Specious Present is to be opposed to the Atomic Present which is mainly a fiction of the mathematicians. A Philosophy of the Specious Present is one which insists that on the Specious Present our whole world-construction is based, and that intellectual truth and moral value have their source and criterion here.

It is very certain that such an interpretation of experience, even if it does not carry us very far along the road of truth, is capable of good service at the present time. It may be used effectively against the advocates of the *à priori* who still talk, though in tones of diminished authority, of "conditions of knowledge antecedent to all experience" or of "principles to which experience as such is bound to conform". The answer to such high dictatorial claims is that apart from experience we know nothing; that experience comes to us primarily in the here and now; and that such as it is we must accept it. There are, no doubt, fundamental elements in experience which we may by analysis discover therein, and these elements may be due to the experiencing subject as much as to the experienced object. But to reach this result by a modest analysis of experience is very different from dictating to experience conditions to which it must conform.

Another direction in which the judicious sceptic may do good work is in pruning some of the luxuriance of "faith-philosophy". Of old it was a reproach to philosophers that they believed nothing. Now, armed with the latest dialectical appliances they are prepared to conquer worlds of belief with a celerity which fairly takes away one's breath. An eminent thinker, whose name occurs freely in Mr. Hodder's pages, would seem to assure us that from the most trivial truth, such as "There goes Jones," he can deduce the existence of a deity and most of his essential attributes; while if there

happens to be no truth on hand the absurdest falsity will do equally well. "The cow jumped over the moon" is, apparently, enough to prove the reality of a Universal Consciousness which includes both subject and object in an all-inclusive synthesis, and is the source and repository of eternal truth. Surely this hyper-constructive spirit needs a good douse of cold water; not at all to quench its zeal, but to bring it back to a sense of reality.

But the best work of the Sceptic of the Specious Present is to be done not in multiplying scepticism but in reducing it. His destructive efforts are merely preliminary. He clears away the mass of *à priori* dogmatism and scholastic cobwebs in order that something substantial may be built upon the site. But he has also to contend with those truly destructive sceptics who want to prove that no site exists at all. Mr. F. H. Bradley in the interests of an Absolute, which is to be infinitely more real and perfect than any experience we possess, would have us think that there is no such thing as a Specious Present; or, if there is, that we could never know it. Everyone is familiar with the kind of arguments which are used in this connection; such as, that the present can only be known by contrast with the past and the future; that the present is so overlaid with relational elements belonging to what is not present that the present element is indistinguishable from the rest; that by the time we know the present, the present is already past, so that as present it can never be known at all. The answer to these arguments is to show that they presuppose the existence of that very present which they profess to be reasoning away. For every one must admit that we have no direct contact with the non-present. We only know the past because we (or men we know of) were once in contact with it as present and we *now* remember or are told about it; and we only know the future in so far as we *now* imaginatively construct it to ourselves as going to be present. Without the present as our standing-ground the whole series disappears. Mr. Bradley's statement is like saying that a man only knows his own house by contrast with those of other men's. We cannot know the present *fully* except in contrast with past

and future. But between "only" and "fully" there is the widest difference.

All this sound doctrine and much more (mixed with not a little that is unsound) will be found by those few students who have the patience to make an analysis in Mr. Hodder's first part, entitled "Metaphysics of the Specious Present". The second part, the "Ethics of the Specious Present" is much easier to understand, but is, unfortunately, of much less value. It is not logically connected with the first part, nor are its divisions logically connected with each other. Mr. Hodder first attacks the question of the Moral Criterion, and by an examination of the social moral standard and of the personal moral ideal, easily proves that they, neither of them, furnish an absolute criterion by which the individual may guide his wavering steps in the paths of conduct. This is all very true, as everybody knows who has studied ethnology and the moral practice of his friends. But it does not follow, as Mr. Hodder seems to think it does, that the true moral theory is a kind of hedonism, and that "the unit of ethics is, within the limits of a single moment, the least appreciable welcomeness," a return to the *μονόχρονος ἡδονή* of the Cyrenaics. Mr. Hodder, in his zeal for the pre-eminence of the Specious Present, forgets that the self is based on it but by no means contained in it. A man's life is a big system of which the Specious Present is an infinitesimal part. A man's moral welfare lies, not in the felt perfection of each successive moment, but in the general conformity of the scheme of his life to his moral ideal. This part of Mr. Hodder's book is only saved from insignificance by the fact that, though it is neither new nor true, it has evidently been thought out in an independent spirit by its author. It is in this part too that he most definitely parts company from the convictions of the plain man. The impression given by the first part is that Mr. Hodder is at bottom a common-sense philosopher with a weakness for mystification and intricate dialectical display. His second part convinces us that there is a deep vein of paradox in him after all.

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We cannot say that Mr. Leonard Hall's little work on the Evolution of Consciousness makes much advance in the investigation of that most interesting and difficult subject. How difficult it is Mr. Hall seems hardly to realise ; at least he has certainly not availed himself of recent work which would have helped him considerably. In his introductory chapter he states a theory which he has elaborated in another book entitled *Man the Microcosm*, to the effect that the human body is built up of simple unicellular organisms called monads, and that "the phenomena of the human mind as well as those of the body, result from the social evolution of the community of monads, whereby the consciousness of the monads of the nervous system is combined and co-ordinated (integrated) into the complex consciousness of man". Mr. Hall announces that he will prove this theory. He does not do so, however ; he merely states it. But this is less important because the succeeding chapters seem to bear but little relation to the theory. In the body of the work the argument proceeds upon the lines of the crudest materialism. Though Mr. Hall does not mention Mr. Herbert Spencer's *Principles of Psychology*, it is evident that for him that great work forms the alpha and omega of mental science.

HENRY STURT.

## Die Anfänge unserer Religion.

*Von Lic. Paul Wernle, a. o. Professor an der Universität Basel.  
Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1901. Pp. xii.  
+ 410. Price 7s.*

THE object of the author in this book, as the Preface explains, is "to present to his readers a clear conception of the nature of the Gospel and the great changes it underwent till the time of Catholicism". He contends that from the very beginning Christianity has suffered grievous things at the hands of theologians. And he regards it as the duty of every one who would serve Christ as a theologian to renew His endeavour to free religion from the misconceptions of theology (p. vi.).

The reform which Wernle advocates is radical enough, and brings us back to the great religious ideas of Jesus' teaching. By these all subsequent developments are tested. And his conclusion is that while the additional elements that come from Paul and John and other writers of the New Testament were helpful towards the preservation and propagation of Christ's Gospel, they all bear the stamp of the age and of the spirit of the age when the writers lived, and are to be viewed as the temporary and provisional clothing of the original faith.

The book, like everything else that has come from the pen of the accomplished author, is brightly written and sparkles with gems of thought. It is the result of independent investigation and of a wide acquaintance with the subject. There are no notes or references to authorities, and the unwary reader, carried on by the fascinating style and impressed by the air of certainty, is tempted to imagine that he is treading throughout on ground that is firm and undisputed. This however is not the case. What we have here

is a theory of religious development, plausible and attractive, but demanding further proof than is furnished before it can be accepted as true. The interest lies in the fact that it is a view of the subject that is much in favour at the present moment with a large section of the advanced scholarship of the New Testament. This circumstance, as well as the remarkable ability of the book, warrants our giving a brief account of the contents, a task by no means easy in the view of the amount of matter which is packed into it.

After an introductory chapter on "The Presuppositions," in which the author treats of the modes of religious thought, both in Judaism and in contemporary heathen life, that were influential in determining the form of the Christian faith, we come to the discussion of the subject proper, which consists of two main divisions, "The Origin of the Christian Religion," and the "Formation of the Church" embracing its *constitution* and *theology*, and the *piety of the sub-apostolic period*.

In the former of the two divisions we have these topics discussed—Jesus, the Primitive Church, Paul, the Apocalypse. The chapters on Jesus and Paul are of great interest, and are most stimulating reading. He commences in this pungent style, "Christianity owes its origin to the appearance of a layman, Jesus of Nazareth, with a self-consciousness greater than that of a prophet, who so attached men to Himself that, undeterred by His shameful death, they were able to live for Him and to die. Jesus impressed on the world new values and cast into it new thoughts. But His Person alone gave to these values and thoughts the victorious power by which they transformed the world. Men make history and imprint their personal character on great spiritual movements. If our century were thorough enough to learn, people would cease the senseless talk about the religion of Jesus which every Christian should acquire for himself. As if His redeeming power, His self-consciousness, His kingly humility could dwell in our little souls; apart from the fact that nobody takes His manner of life as an example. There never can come a time for Christianity when a Christian can have for Christians the significance Jesus has" (p. 23).

In a series of chapters entitled the Calling, the Promise, the Requirement, Jesus the Redeemer, the author deals in a very striking way with the significance of Jesus. The secret of the origin of Christianity lies, he says, in the superhuman consciousness of Jesus with which His manner of life so wonderfully agrees. He applied to Himself the Messianic idea because it was the form for that which was best and finest in the religious thought of His people. But He stripped it of its Jewish content, and even then it was inadequate to express the full meaning of His personality. One element of error indeed which the Jewish idea contained, the promise of the Second Coming, clung to His self-consciousness. This was the solitary instance in which He paid toll to the beliefs of His age. The author explains the titles given to Jesus, the *Messiah*, the *Son of God*, the *Son of Man*. But what He was among men, he says, what His calling of God for all time was, are not in the least set forth in such titles. "It belongs to true reverence to stand still before Jesus, not before His titles, but before Himself" (p. 34). His religion, the author maintains, has suffered greatly from the weight attached to these titles which are, after all, only the forms of His self-consciousness and represent it very imperfectly. They became the basis of a Christology which concealed rather than expressed the real superiority of the new religion over the old. It was a misfortune that Jesus came to be apprehended in the Jewish Church "under Jewish categories of thought—a poor substitute for what was to be learnt from the deeds of Jesus Himself, and the fresh inner life of His Person" (p. 89).

Wernle holds with recent writers that Christ's preaching of the Kingdom is eschatological. It is the preaching of the End, of the near judgment of the world, and the setting up of the Kingdom of God. But it was the merit of Jesus that He eliminated the Jewish element and prepared the way for the transformation of the eschatological conception into the religious hope of the future.

In the chapter on the "Requirement" we have a fine sketch of the moral teaching of Jesus: a sentence or two on one

point: "Never in His demands does He leave the circle of active life as it lies spread before us in the light of Eternity. He does not demand a life lived with God alone besides the life of labour at one's calling and intercourse with our neighbour. Everything with God and in obedience to God, nothing with God alone. The proof of this is that even the Kingdom of God to which the soul is to raise itself in longing is no mystical Heaven, but something concrete and social. The watchword, God and the Soul, the Soul and its God, may suit Augustine, but it does not suit Jesus" (pp. 50-1).

In his chapter on "Jesus the Redeemer" the author remarks that while in the Gospels we hear nothing of the high-sounding words which theology employs in describing Jesus' redemptive work on the soul, those who were with Jesus are seen, as the result of His influence upon them, to be raised to a wonderfully happy life. They experienced His redemption. It was a deliverance from sin, from the Church and the theological ideas of the time, from the legal piety of the current religion, all effected by the power of Jesus to bring God near to men and to implant in them His own feelings about God, and His child-like piety. The new life in Him was transferred to them, and through them it was communicated to receptive souls. "It was the calling of His whole existence to bring God near to His contemporaries and not to them alone,—so to rivet them in the presence of Eternity—to God that they could not again lose Him. So well did He succeed in this that the thought never occurred to His first disciples that He placed Himself alongside of God or displaced God from the centre. They worshipped God alone, and handed down Jesus' own saying that even He was not to be called good. And that was the final evidence of their redemption. Jesus, however, by His humility and sincerity, His entire subjection to God, has, more than by all else, shown that He deserves the name of Redeemer in the fullest sense" (p. 69).

The chapters on Paul are amongst the most instructive in the book and abound in suggestion. Wernle has made a most careful study of the great apostle and is most apprecia-



tive in his estimate of the essential features of his work. According to him, the novelty of Paul's view of Christianity consists in the emphasis he laid on the death and Resurrection of Christ and in his idea of the *Son of God from heaven*, the latter being the mythical element in the Pauline Christology. In presenting Christianity he employed a different method from his Master: but it was essentially the same Gospel that he preached. He was true to the significance of it as redemption. "In his loyalty to the ideas of sonship and the freedom of the spirit, Paul was simply the disciple of Jesus, and indeed the deepest and most powerful of all His disciples" (p. 134). "His greatest innovation was his presentation of Jesus to the Greeks in the form of a dramatic myth. They had once more a history of the gods, and that of the most recent date. This charmed the world. The simple word of Jesus of Nazareth could never have done as much, for the plain reason that the world then was not ripe for the impression of the purely personal. What was great in Jesus, His redemptive power, must be clothed in a dogmatic dress: it lives and works effectually in that, even with Paul. In spite of all, it was a piece of good fortune that Jesus was preached to the world by Paul. Along with the *thought* about Him *He Himself* came" (p. 154). Wernle finds in Paul's writings seed-thoughts which exhibit his limitation and which afterwards blossomed forth in doctrines inconsistent with the essential principles of Christianity. Among these are the importance the apostle attached to the Church as an institution and to its sacramental rites, his magnifying of dogma and the intellectual side of truth, and the apologetic use he made of the Old Testament. Nevertheless he was faithful to the "Christian ideal of religion, including the two great ideas of sonship to God and the freedom of the Spirit. He also placed love, the practical fruits of religion, above enthusiasm and above theology, and thereby he found the Eternal in the temporal. Looking at His work as a whole, one stands still in amazement at the greatness of this thinker" (p. 208).

The author brings his review of Paul to a close with a fine

discriminating analysis and estimate of the type of piety the apostle represented, contrasted with that of Jesus. A brief quotation will bring out his point of view. "The significance of Paul for the history of religion was that he placed the proper life of religion in the region of feeling. . . . The two sets of contrasted feelings, sin and grace, strength and weakness, have been once for all and for all time experienced and expressed by him. Religion has thereby undergone an infinite deepening and inwardness. Not in outward consequences and effects does it consist, but in the soul's intercourse with God. . . . It is different with Jesus. His inner life seldom comes to expression, no special value is attached by Him to the life of feeling. It is all practical piety. The entire action of Jesus indeed is inspired by feeling, by His childlike assurance of the love of God and by His lofty earnestness in the view of the great Future. But these feelings are not a province by themselves out of which the way to action is then to be sought: they are always, consciously or unconsciously, the present accompaniment of every action. . . . Both forms of piety have their place if they are genuinely experienced. In consequence of the dominancy of theology, Paul's has come to be regarded as the normal one. But as a rule the moral life is rather at a discount when the life of feeling is made so prominent as it is by him. It is our task to-day to place in the foreground Jesus' type of piety as the message to our age" (pp. 217-19).

The entire future history of the Gospel has been determined by the form Paul gave to it. After him there was no original theology in the Church (p. 369). The author of the fourth Gospel only worked on Paul's ideas, developed them further and applied them to the reconstruction of the evangelical narrative. Wernle has a poor opinion of John. He is the "narrowest and most fanatical theologian of the New Testament" (p. 281). Nevertheless, he admits the extraordinary significance of the fourth Gospel and its value for the understanding of the formation of the theology of the Church that followed the period of Paul.

In accounting for that theology and the change upon the

original Gospel it effected, Wernle discusses at length three leading sources of influence. (1) The influence of *Judaism*. The controversy between Judaism and Christianity turned mainly on the Messiahship of Jesus. The Gospels—especially Matthew and Luke, and fourth Gospel and Book of Acts inform us as to the questions that were debated and to the kind of arguments employed by Christians. The evangelical narrative was to a certain extent modified and shaped in the interest of Christology. The Johannine Gospel was a notable endeavour to exhibit the presence of the Messianic idea all through the earthly life of Jesus. In the conflict with Judaism the Church conquered but at a cost. In the process Christianity absorbed many Jewish elements to its own hurt. The Jewish idea of the Church was taken over with the old exclusiveness and narrowness and trust in dogma. Christianity came to be treated as a new law. Catholicism is, in one aspect, the Judaizing of Christianity.

A second factor was *Hellenism*. From the influence of the heathen religions came the deification of Jesus. Greek philosophy furnished the speculative basis for the idea that readily commended itself to the heathen mind that Jesus was a God, of superior might to the gods of their old worship. John's Gospel and the Epistle to the Hebrews bear witness to the influence of Greek thought on the Christian ideas, the former furnished a picture of Christ in keeping with the higher Christology that prevailed, which was really a transformation of the original. But the change that took place affected the whole range of Christian ideas as well as Christology, issuing, on the one hand, in the sacramental and ritualistic apprehension of religion and, on the other, in the treatment of Christianity as a philosophy. "Both agree in the complete indifference to the moral and personal character of the Gospel of Jesus" (p. 236). By the year 100, along with the old piety that existed still in full force, there had been formed the full germ of that Hellenising of Christianity which ultimately led to its complete transformation.

The third factor was *Gnosticism*. This movement, which possessed points of contact with Christianity, especially as

taught by Paul, really came from outside sources. It was a real danger inasmuch as it opposed to the faith a chaos of opinions derived from the heathen religion and that threatened, in the freedom of teaching that prevailed, to gain a footing within the Churches, and to destroy the faith. The danger was averted by the leaders of the Church, but, as we see from the pastoral epistles which are directed against this movement, the weapons used were tradition and Church authority. And, as the result of the conflict, an importance was attached to pure doctrine that led to the identification of Christianity and orthodoxy. The religion of Christ underwent the greatest change of all. Originally the true marks of Christianity were the ardour of its hope, the strictness of the new life, inspiration for Jesus. Now, dogma took the place of the practical and the personal. The old view of Christianity was supplanted by the scholastic dogmatic view. Catholic Christianity arose as the reaction of the Church against the inroad of the chaos of heathen religions. It rallied all that was sound in the old Christianity to the conflict. It succeeded, and deserved to succeed, and was the direct continuation of primitive Christianity. But it introduced one bad innovation, the exaltation of orthodoxy and ecclesiasticism, into leading marks of Christianity in contrast to the freedom of teaching from Church authority that characterised the Gnostics.

How it fared with the piety of the Church while Christianity, as a scheme of thought, was undergoing these modifications, and how far the real power of the Gospel on the lives of men was affected by them, is set forth in the most instructive chapter with which the book concludes.

It need scarcely be added, that throughout Wernle's work the truth is assumed of the conclusions of the higher criticism regarding the origin of the books of the New Testament, especially of the Gospels. The latter are appealed to in this construction of sub-apostolic history, not only for evidence of what Jesus said and did, but also for evidence of what men, in the course of the controversies that followed, believed about Him and represented Him as saying and

doing. The importance of the book is due to the circumstance that it makes quite plain the revolution that must take place in our view of the Christian faith, if we are justified in making this use of the Gospels. It is a brilliant piece of work, and is bound to make a deep impression; and it will do good service to the interests of truth if it lead to fresh investigation of the history and significance of these records of evangelical fact.

Other issues are raised by this book, above all, this serious one, how far what has been regarded as distinctively Pauline *doctrine* is an interpretation of Christianity by ideas that are purely Jewish in their origin, and which consequently may be discarded without injury to the essence of revelation. This is too large a question to be entered upon. But on the answer given to it must depend our ultimate judgment of the value of this book as a contribution to Christian thought.

DAVID SOMERVILLE.

## Essays on Islam.

By the Rev. E. Sell, B.D., M.R.A.S. London: Simpkin,  
Marshall & Co. 8vo, pp. 267.

By his previous publications on *The Faith of Islam*, and *The Historical Development of the Quran*, Mr. Sell has shown that he has something more than a superficial knowledge of Muhammadanism. The papers now collected from the *Madras Christian College Magazine* and published in a revised form will be appreciated by those who seek to understand that great religion. With little literary grace these essays put us in possession of information which is not otherwise easily accessible. Eight in number, they give some account of the Mystics and religious orders of Islam; the Recensions of the Quran, Islam in China, the Kalif Hakim and the Druses. But most readers will be especially attracted by the paper on the Bab and his followers. The great religious revolution inaugurated by Mirza Ali Muhammad, commonly called the Bab, had its roots far back in the Shiah doctrine. The chief article of the Shiah creed is the belief in the Imamate—a succession of Divine manifestations. The Imam is not always himself present on earth, but is represented by some intermediary or holy man who acts as the channel of grace between the Imam and his people. In 1844 Mirza Ali Muhammad, being then about twenty-four years of age, assumed the title of the Bab and proclaimed to the inhabitants of Kerbela that he was the Gate through which men might attain to the knowledge of the twelfth Imam. This appeal found response not only in those who were attracted by his personality, but in those who desired reform in Persia and in those who were mystics or believed in the Imamate. The frightful persecution in which the Bab himself and hundreds of his followers suffered death, seemed only to lend

fresh vitality to the cause; and in Beha, his successor, the young sect found a strong and sincere leader. Under his guidance the Babis were directed to a much higher morality than was practised by the average Muhammadan. Christ was acknowledged as a true prophet, or even as the Incarnate Son, and with many Beha was considered to be a re-incarnation of Christ. Accordingly they show great friendliness to the Christian missionaries, some of the Babis saying "We are Christians," others saying "We are almost Christians". It is obvious that such a religious development presents points of great interest to the student of religion, and to those who wish to pursue the inquiry Mr. Sell's book will be eminently helpful.

MARCUS DODS.

## **Der abendländische Text der Apostelgeschichte und die Wir-Quelle.**

*Von A. Pott. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1900. 8vo, pp. iv. + 88.  
Price M.3.*

## **Der Heilige Paulus von Apostelübereinkommen (Gal. ii. 1-10) bis zum Apostelkonzil (Apg. xv.).**

*Von Professor Dr. V. Weber, Würzburg. Freiburg: Herder,  
1901. Pp. 46.*

THIS is an interesting and ingenious contribution to the textual criticism of the New Testament. Fresh light upon the "Western" text is always welcome. If it also illuminates, as this study professes to do, the question of the hypothetical sources of *Acts*, it will be doubly acceptable.

The author, who was entrusted by Professor Von Soden with the collation of New Testament MSS. in English libraries, was impressed by the value of the minuscule in the Bodleian containing *Acts* and *Epistles* which Gregory designates 58 for *Acts*, but which Pott denotes by O. The text of the first twelve and the last six chapters belongs to the ordinary type. Chapters xiii.-xxii. are predominantly "Western" in the character of their readings. In collating the authorities used by Blass in the construction of his so-called  $\beta$ -text of *Acts*, Pott discovered that O belonged to the same general group as D, the Milan minuscule 137 (which he calls M), and (as he supposed) the revision of the Philoxenian Syriac version of the New Testament, by Thomas of Heraclea (Ph.). But in this group, O showed a much closer affinity with Ph M than with D. Accordingly he sets himself to trace, if possible, the history of the type of text represented in this smaller group. But Ph reveals an intimate relationship with D in a set of readings which O M do not share. Now



Thomas definitely states in the subscription to the Gospels that he made his revision with the help of two Greek MSS. Pott believes that these two MSS. contained divergent types of text, one of which is represented in *Acts* by O M Ph (= I), the other by D Ph (= II). This twofold revision he traces laboriously through the relevant chapters and comes to the conclusion that the peculiar readings of I are of high value, while those of II are only a corruption of I. The readings of I agree most frequently with those marked by an asterisk in the revision of Thomas. Those of II have the closest resemblance to his marginal variants. At this point he invokes the aid of literary criticism. He finds that most recent critics assume for *Acts* a Pauline source (= A): the remaining source (or sources) he designates B. Then he attempts to prove that the readings of I belong to the source A which he identifies with the We-source of Luke. His hypothesis is, to put it briefly, the following: Luke wrote, on the basis of his intimate acquaintance with the facts, his *Acta Pauli*. This is identical with the We-sections of our *Acts*. A redactor combined this document with other sources, and so there arose the book as we have it. But the *Acta Pauli* existed for some time separate from the larger work. Some copies of the latter were corrected from the former, probably on the margin. These corrected copies are the sources of the representatives of the  $\beta$ -text. The purest among them was the one MS. of Ph, the ancestor of O M. D and its followers show merely an inferior recension of those corrected copies.

These results are reached after a most elaborate examination of variants. And at first sight Pott's hypothesis seems very plausible. But the genealogies of types of text and groups of readings are, as a rule, so extraordinarily complicated and so difficult to explain by one or two simple processes of argument that the very completeness of the theory and the ease with which its positions are reached at once raise doubts as to its validity. The "Western" text is a notoriously thorny subject. There are probably no short cuts to the solutions of its problems. Now, to lay stress only on one

or two salient points, the author in attempting to discover those readings which Thomas is supposed to have introduced into the Philoxenian Syriac from his two Greek MSS., takes for granted with most earlier scholars that Thomas either inserted in the text with an asterisk (\*) or wrote on the margin all those readings of his Greek MSS. which did not exist in Ph, which he marked with an obelus (÷) those found in Ph but not in his Greek texts. This assumption necessarily forms the basis of the larger part of the investigation. But its correctness has been finally disproved since Pott's study appeared by Dr. P. Corssen in his masterly article, "Die Recension der Philoxeniana" (*Zeitschr. f. N. T. Wissensch.*, ii. 1, pp. 1-12).

There he shows convincingly that the asterisk like the obelus, marks those readings which did *not* occur in the Greek MSS., and were consequently part of the Syriac text. This also holds good for the marginal readings in *Acts*. These "Western" readings of the Philoxenian are therefore Syrian, but Corssen shows that they did not originally belong to the text but intruded at a later time. The fact that the asterisk-readings and those of the margin belong to the same class suggests that the former also stood at one time on the margin and gradually crept into the body of the text. The purpose of Thomas was to restore the original text of Philoxenus by the aid of his Greek MSS. His process was utterly different from that on which Pott builds up his hypothesis. But although the main investigation has proved fallacious, the author deserves the thanks of all students of the "Western" text for his careful collation of O and the evidence he has presented of its intimate relationship with M and Ph.

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This interesting essay, which forms one of the series of *Biblische Studien*, edited by the Roman Catholic scholar, Dr. Bardenhewer, attempts to prove that the events of Gal. ii. 1-10 occurred during Paul's second visit to Jerusalem, of which we have an account in Acts xi. 25, xii. 25. Thereafter follows his missionary journey to South Galatia (Acts

xiii. f.). Peter's visit to Antioch and Paul's censure of his action in withdrawing from fellowship with the heathen-Christians convince the Judaistic party of the antagonism between Paul's fundamental principles and their own. This arouses an unscrupulous agitation on the part of the Judaizers in those Churches which owed their origin to Paul, and notably in Galatia (South). To meet this attack upon his Gospel of liberty, the Apostle of the Gentiles writes his Epistle to the Galatians. The epistle had the desired effect, but the agitation spread far and wide. To have the whole question discussed and decided, Paul goes up to Jerusalem, and at the Apostolic Council has the satisfaction of finding his work approved, and the main difficulty removed for the present by means of the decree which the Council promulgated. "Thus there was irrevocably won for the heathen-Christians their *Magna Charta libertatis*" (p. 46).

The discussion is carried on with real ability and fairness. The only trace of ecclesiastical prejudice is the statement (p. 33, note 2) that Gal. ii. 14 is a powerful testimony on St. Paul's part to the primacy of St. Peter. We should suppose that this incident must rather rank among the arguments most fatal to such claims. Obviously much of the cogency of Weber's general argument stands or falls with the South-Galatian theory. If the epistle was written to the North-Galatian Churches, then it was written after the Apostolic Council had been held, and we are bound to conclude that the events narrated in Gal. ii. 1-10 are identical with those of Acts xv. although viewed from a different standpoint, as it is quite inconceivable that in a letter written to vindicate Paul's apostleship and the religious liberty of his heathen-Christian converts, an occurrence of such vital importance for the question at issue should be passed over in silence. Accordingly, to those who, like the reviewer, find it impossible (so *e.g.*, such authorities as Mommsen and Schürer) to believe that Paul could have addressed the Lycaonians or Pisidians as *ἀνόητοι Γαλάται*, the reasoning is vitiated from the very outset. Indeed, the discussion suffers throughout from the constant references made by the author to two earlier publi-

cations of his own, one maintaining the composition of "Galatians" *before* the Apostolic Council, the other "a proof of the pure South-Galatian theory". It is all very well to hear of "two proofs, each of which by itself is of decisive force," of "twelve arguments which yield high probability," of "six further items of demonstration" (p. 27), and the like, but it is irritating to be left in total ignorance of this important material.

Apart, however, from the validity of the South-Galatian theory, the argument, while often ingenious and suggestive, reveals various flaws and inconsistencies. One or two of these may be noted. It is almost superfluous to point out that *πάλιν* (Gal. ii. 1) need not imply that this was literally Paul's *second* visit to Jerusalem (p. 5). The Apostle would naturally confine himself to those visits which had an important bearing on the subject of his letter. On p. 9 we are told that for a number of years Paul's missionary labours were never disturbed by Jewish-Christians. Where is the evidence for so bold a statement? The "revelation" which prompted Paul to go up to Jerusalem is identified, most precariously, with the experience described in 2 Cor. xii. 2-4 (p. 16). On his second visit to Jerusalem (Acts xi. 25) the Apostle is represented as recounting his missionary labours before a Church assemblage (p. 17). This is pure hypothesis. On p. 19 Weber insists that there was no *discussion* of the difficulties which Paul laid before the Pillar-Apostles (Gal. ii. 1-10). Surely any sensitive reader can feel the throb of exciting memories in the language of these verses. To assert that the Judaizing Christians considered this occasion inappropriate for an attack on the missionaries of the Gentile Church (p. 20) is strangely to misconceive their habits and points of view. To note one point more, Weber holds that in Gal. ii. we have the beginnings of the strife about circumcision and a provisional settlement of the difficulty, in Acts xv. the closing stage of the conflict and a definite regulation of the controversy (p. 23). But the author himself admits that even the decree of Acts xv. was only provisional, inasmuch as it did not hold for all heathen-

Christians, and Paul never referred to it in writing to the Corinthians on some of the questions with which it dealt (p. 45).

Criticism bulks largely in this notice, but the discussion is the work of an acute and accomplished scholar.

H. A. A. KENNEDY.

## Die Bedeutung des Todes Jesu nach seinen eigenen Aussagen auf Grund der synoptischen Evangelien.

Von Lic. Dr. Georg Hollmann, Privatdozent der Theologie an der Universität Halle. Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1901. Pp. vii. + 160. Price 3s. 6d.

AMONGST the many important monographs which have appeared within recent years dealing with special aspects of Christ's teaching, it is remarkable how few have dealt with what, judged by its results, must be regarded as that teaching's central point, namely, the teaching of Jesus regarding His death. Dogmatic treatises there have been in abundance, in which Christ's words are treated in connexion with the whole doctrine of atonement, as subsequently developed by the Apostles and the Church: but, apart from the relative sections in the Biblical Theologies, there have been few attempts to trace from a strictly biblico-historical point of view what was the precise significance which Jesus Himself attached to His death.<sup>1</sup> The recently published treatise of Dr. Georg Hollmann is therefore specially welcome. And whatever may be the view held of some of the conclusions at which he arrives, there can be no doubt as to the thoroughness of his investigations, or the abundance of material which he provides for future workers in the same field. It may not be without interest then to pass in brief review his main positions, if only for the purpose of showing the nature of the questions that arise. Anything like a detailed criticism is within our limits impossible.

Before passing to his main inquiry, Hollmann discusses

<sup>1</sup> Mention may be made of two studies by French theologians, *La Pensée de Jésus sur sa Mort d'après les Évangiles Synoptiques*, par H. Babut (Alençon, 1897), and *Ce que Jésus a pensé de sa Mort*, par J. de Visme in his *Quelques Traits du Jésus de l'Histoire* (Montauban, 1899).

at considerable length three preliminary points. The first is, Is it possible to reconstruct scientifically the meaning Jesus attached to His death? or, more generally, Are we still in a position to establish historically the words and deeds of Jesus? It is sometimes argued that because Jesus Himself wrote nothing, and because for all we know regarding Him we are dependent on the evidence of others, that therefore we have no security that we can ever hope to reach His true meaning. But this, as Hollmann well points out, is a scepticism which would destroy almost all historical evidence. And if, in recalling the teaching of their Master, the evangelists have sometimes been in danger of interpreting, rather than of simply reporting, His words in the light of their own later experience, this only shows the need of care in investigating their records, and not of denying altogether the possibility of arriving at historical truth (p. 10).

The second preliminary inquiry is, Did Jesus recognise His sufferings and death beforehand as necessary? And to this question, if only in view of the great declaration of Cæsarea-Philippi (Mark viii. 27-33), it is impossible to give other than an affirmative answer. But the question still remains, How far the thought of His sufferings and death had been present to Jesus' own mind previous to this, even though He had made no direct mention of them to His disciples. And this leads Hollmann to the investigation of one or two of the most interesting and difficult of the synoptic words. (The Fourth Gospel, whose evidence is here peculiarly valuable, is, it will be observed, excluded from the whole discussion.) Thus, to confine ourselves to a single example, there is the well-known verse, "*But the days will come, when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them, and then will they fast in that day*" (Mark ii. 20), a verse which, according to its present position, occurring early in the Galilean ministry, is usually confidently appealed to by those who think that "the shadow of the cross" lay upon Jesus' mind from the first. And so far at least Hollmann is with them in admitting that "*taken away*" (ἀπαρθῆναι) in its present context can only refer to the sudden death of the bridegroom ("allein

man darf nicht verkennen, dass sicher ein plötzlicher Tod des *νυμφίος* gemeint ist," p. 17). But no sooner has he done so than he takes away the value of the concession by maintaining that in that case, if the word is a genuine word of Jesus, it must have been spoken at a much later period, as it is quite out of keeping with the generally bright and hopeful character of the early period of Jesus' ministry (p. 19 f.). But is there any justification for the stress laid by Hollmann and others on this last point? That the opening of the Galilean ministry was bright and encouraging as compared with the misunderstanding and opposition that marked its close may be freely granted. But there are abundant hints in our narratives that Jesus was aware from the first how little either the people or their rulers understood the real object of His mission, and it is only natural therefore that He should be led through the actual experience of life to realise very early how that life was to end. But on this we cannot dwell at present. It is a subject which can only be properly understood in connection with the whole Messianic consciousness of Jesus. And so far at least as the point before us is concerned, it is enough to notice that, whatever may have been the character of the presages previously present to Jesus' mind, from the time of Cæsarea-Philippi at any rate the thought of His death was constantly before Him. Henceforward He looked upon that death as "unavoidable" ("unvermeidlich," p. 31), a fact the more wonderful and significant in view of the prevailing Jewish conception of a glorious and triumphant Messiah (p. 33).

But, and this is our third question, while Jesus had thus come to regard His death as unavoidable, have we any evidence that He attached a special significance to it? Here again there can hardly be any doubt as to the answer. The very fact that His death involved a complete reversal of the whole idea of the Jewish Messiah must in itself have led Jesus to see in it an all-important factor in His own special mission. So clear indeed is this conclusion that, according to Hollmann, it can only be avoided by attacking the premises on which it rests. And in this case two possibilities suggest



themselves—either the idea of a suffering **Messiah** was not wholly new; or, Jesus did not recognise **Himself as Messiah** (p. 36).

Regarding the first of these possibilities it may not be possible to accept literally Hollmann's somewhat sweeping statement that "in the time of Jesus the suffering Messiah was a wholly unknown and even incomprehensible figure ("eine total unbekannte, ja unfassbare Figur")<sup>1</sup>. Such words as Simeon's (Luke ii. 34 f.) and John the Baptist's (John i. 29), though Hollmann does his best to deprive them of any real force (pp. 41-3), may still be cited as proof to the contrary. At the same time it must be allowed that these after all are but exceptional instances, and that the attitude alike of the disciples and the multitude towards Jesus' own predictions of His sufferings forms a decisive proof how strange the thought of such sufferings was to the ordinary expectations of the time.<sup>2</sup>

The second point, that Jesus did not recognise Himself to be the Messiah, though it has commended itself to a few advanced critics on the continent, and to Dr. Martineau in this country,<sup>3</sup> is rightly treated as too paradoxical to require detailed refutation.<sup>4</sup>

We are shut up then to the conclusion that Jesus, in recognising suffering and death as His lot, cannot have failed to ascribe a special meaning to them. And we are prepared

<sup>1</sup> P. 41; Hollmann quotes also (p. 48) with approval Dalman's more guarded statement: "Dass die Tradition vom Messiasleiden ins ganze genommen nur einem dünnen Faden gleicht, der durch das Gewebe der jüdischen Messianologie sich hindurchzieht, dass von einer offiziellen Anerkennung dieser Lehre zu keiner Zeit irgend welche Spur nachzuweisen ist" (*Dissertation*, p. 61).

<sup>2</sup> For the disciples, see Mark viii. 32, Matt. xvi. 22, Mark ix. 32, Luke ix. 45, xviii. 34, xxiv. 21: for the multitude, Mark xv. 32, John xii. 34.

<sup>3</sup> *Seat of Authority in Religion*, p. 331 f.

<sup>4</sup> Harnack's verdict may be compared: "Dass Jesus sich selbst als den Messias bezeichnet hat, ist von einigen Kritikern . . . in Abrede gestellt worden. Allein dieses Stück der evangelischen Ueberlieferung scheint mir auch die schärfste Prüfung auszuhalten" (*Lehrb. der Dogmengeschichte*, i., 57, 58, note).

therefore for the main point in the present inquiry, What was that meaning?

In proceeding to answer this question, Hollmann begins by trying to ascertain what influence, if any, the Old Testament writings, and especially Isaiah liii., had in determining Jesus' view of His death. The value of such an inquiry is at once apparent, for it is becoming increasingly realised how completely Jesus' whole mind was steeped in the Old Testament.<sup>1</sup> And it is therefore the more to be regretted that in no part of his work has Hollmann yielded so freely to the method at present so largely in vogue, of getting rid of all inconvenient words and passages on the simple plea of unauthentic. In this way the whole of the six words (Mark xiv. 21, 49, ix. 12, Luke xviii. 31, xxiv. 27, xxiv. 44-46), in which Jesus is represented as speaking *generally* of the fulfilment of the Scriptures in His sufferings and death are with varying degrees of certainty disposed of, and their origin ascribed to the consciousness of the Christian community (pp. 52-61). And though Hollmann does not deny the authenticity of the three words, in which Jesus brings a *definite* passage of the Old Testament into relation with His death (Mark xiv. 27, xv. 34, Luke xxii. 37), he fails to find in any of them any real light on the reason of Jesus' death. They simply emphasise the fact itself, and some of its more outward results.

There remains still the relation of Jesus to Isaiah liii., a relation which Hollmann again does his best to reduce to the barest possible limits. In view of Luke xxii. 37, a word which he has already admitted as authentic, he cannot deny that Jesus was acquainted with this chapter. But the very fact that only once is He represented as quoting from it is for Hollmann sufficient evidence that certainly not from this chapter can Jesus have learned to attach any atoning significance to His death, or He could not have failed to make more use of it. And to strengthen this conclusion he proceeds to criticise the various arguments which have been brought

<sup>1</sup> Compare Hühn, "Kurz, er lebt und webt im A. T." (*Die Messianischen Weissagungen*, Th. ii., p. 281).

forward to establish a large place for this chapter in Jesus' thoughts. That some of these arguments are strained and fanciful may be conceded: but, even apart from such explicit references as we shall have afterwards to refer to, it seems to us undeniable that the whole idea of the Servant of Jehovah bulked far more largely in Jesus' thoughts than Hollmann is disposed to allow. And, even if this were not the case, the *argumentum e silentio* is always a dangerous one, and there is certainly nothing in Jesus' attitude towards this prophecy that tells against the idea of an atoning efficacy in His death, if we can find such an efficacy explicitly taught elsewhere in His own words. Is this the case? In conformity with his previous positions, Hollmann thinks that it is not. And though we cannot agree with him, his discussion of the two critical passages—the *λύτρον* passage in Mark x. 45. Matt. xx. 28, and the section relating to the Last Supper—deserves careful attention.

With regard to the first of these, whose authenticity notwithstanding Baur's doubts (*N. T. Theologie*, p. 100) is wisely left unchallenged, Hollmann points out that the crucial point is the meaning to be attached to the word *λύτρον*. And here his discussion is specially fresh and interesting, for instead of seeking the meaning of the word, as so many since Ritschl have done, in the LXX, he proceeds rather to ask what must have been the original Aramaic word for which it stands. And this, with the aid of the Syriac translations, he is able to conclude with tolerable certainty must have been ܦܪܕܝܢ, a word closely related to the Hebrew stem ִפָּדַ, and which may therefore have the meaning either of "redemption," "ransom," or more generally of "loosing," "freeing," "releasing" (p. 109). The juxtaposition of ἀντὶ πολλῶν, which Hollmann admits must be taken in the strict sense of "instead of many" ("ἀντὶ sensu stricto zu fassen = anstatt," p. 110) may seem to point clearly in the direction of the former interpretation. But this conclusion Hollmann avoids by connecting ἀντὶ πολλῶν not with *λύτρον*, or even with the whole clause, but with *δοῦναι*, and thus arrives at the meaning, "The Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to

minister, and to give up His life for a freeing, instead of many being obliged to give up their lives" ("sein Leben hinzugeben zur Befreiung, anstatt dass viele ihr Leben hingeben müssten" p. 111), where by the "many" he understands not the members of the new covenant generally, but those whom Jesus by His death hoped to help into the kingdom. "Nur für bisher Ungläubige hat eine Befreiung Zweck" (p. 113). As to what this freeing is from, Jesus says nothing, and we are left therefore to the field of pure conjecture. But in keeping with the view he has taken of πολλοί, Hollmann thinks that this freeing may be looked on as the freeing of unbelieving men from their former pride, or, in other words, that Jesus saw in His death the means of working in men the repentance which other means had failed to secure. ("Im Tode vollende ich den Dienst meines Lebens, befreie viele aus den Banden, aus denen sie bisher nicht loskommen konnten und ermögliche so den Eintritt in das Gottesreich, in ewiges Leben," p. 119.) As to *how* Jesus' death worked this repentance, nothing is said (p. 123). All that we can legitimately gather is that Jesus, by giving up His bodily life to death, brought it about that many were freed from giving up their souls to destruction (p. 124).

It will at once be seen how much here turns round the meaning that Hollmann gives to πολλοί, and for it we can find no warrant. Surely, in accordance with the sense of the whole passage, it is not the many hitherto unrepentant that are here placed in contrast with the few already influenced through Jesus' words, but rather "the many," unable to save themselves, as distinguished from "the one," by whom that salvation is secured. And if so, is it possible to avoid an undoubted reference to the "many" of Isaiah liii. 11, 12? Nor in these circumstances is there any reason why λύτρον should not receive its more definite meaning, a meaning which we have seen Hollmann himself admits that it is capable of, of "ransom"<sup>1</sup> rather than the vague "freeing," so

<sup>1</sup> For illustrations from the pagan ritual of λύτρον in the sense of an offering of expiation, see Prof. W. M. Ramsay in *The Expository Times*, x., pp. 109, 158.

long as the figure is not pressed too far, or any attempt made to discover the exact amount of the ransom, or to whom it is paid. It is enough that Christ declares Himself as doing for sinful men what they were unable to do for themselves, and so securing for them by His death certain privileges which they would not otherwise be able to enjoy.

Nor is it possible, so it seems to us, to exclude this general "transactional" element in His death from our Lord's own teaching at the Last Supper, though Hollmann again does his best to bring the words into line with his previous interpretation of Mark x. 45. But how is this result secured? First of all by confining himself to Mark's account which he regards as the most original, and then by applying a somewhat drastic process of elimination even to it. Thus *λάβετε* has to go, as no part of the original text, but a later liturgical addition; and *τῆς διαθήκης* is equally unauthentic, and is to be traced to Pauline influences, for the thought of the covenant was wholly foreign to Jesus' teaching ("der Genetiv *τῆς διαθήκης* stammt aus dem paulinischen Vorstellungskreise. . . . Bei Jesus findet sich der Bundesgedanke überhaupt nicht," p. 147). Hollmann spares us however the striking clause in Mark xiv. 24, *τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν*, with the significant admission that "if it is granted that Jesus' thoughts at this time were full of His death, and further that in the words *σῶμα* and *αἷμα* in relation to the acts of breaking the bread and pouring out the wine He was referring to His death, it would be altogether unintelligible that, at this last meal in the trusted circle of His disciples, He should have referred only to the bare fact, and not also to its meaning" (pp. 149, 150). So say we all. And our complaint again against Dr. Hollmann is that by such violent critical methods, as we have just noticed—by excluding the light which the whole transaction receives, and which to those present it cannot fail to have had from the Jewish sacrificial system, and especially from the Passover feast and the covenant at Sinai—and by again limiting the reference of *ὑπὲρ πολλῶν* in an arbitrary way, instead of referring it back to its natural source in Isaiah liii. 11, 12—he fails to give to the death of Jesus that full meaning which

the passage as a whole naturally suggests. For if the death of Jesus is a *conditio sine qua non* of salvation, it is so, according to our writer, not because Jesus saw in it any atoning or vicarious merit, but only because it was a means of bringing men into that state of repentance to which Jesus Himself had previously pointed as the door of entrance into His Kingdom.

It is in this apparent bringing into line of the earlier and later teaching, which on this point seem to many irreconcilable,<sup>1</sup> that the main attraction of Hollmann's exposition will probably be found. But there are harmonies which can be purchased too dearly. And whether the true reconciliation is to be sought in a gradual progress or development in Jesus' own consciousness, and therefore in His teaching, regarding the means of salvation, or whether He simply announced these means as He found men able to bear them, we cannot but think that at least the elements of a sacrificial view of His death are to be found in Jesus' own words, and that His apostles were therefore only carrying out the hints which they had derived from their Master Himself when they gave that view a leading place in their writings.

G. MILLIGAN.

<sup>1</sup>“Es sind hier auf zwei Zeilen zwei Anschauungen zusammengerückt, die in Wirklichkeit sich fliehen wie Wasser und Feuer.” Schmiedel, *Die neuesten Ansichten*, p. 138.

## Atonement and Personality.

By R. C. Moberly, D.D., *Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology in the University of Oxford, Canon of Christ Church.*  
London: John Murray, 1901. Pp. xv. + 418. Price 14s.

CANON MOBERLY has given to the world a book which is far above the level even of the best theology. It can only be described as the most impressive English contribution to strictly dogmatic literature made during the last ten or twenty years. Its sweep and penetration are of the greater order. One eminent writer, indeed, has gone so far as to compare it, for comprehensiveness and unity of plan, to Butler's *Analogy*; and though, upon the whole, one cannot help believing that a few years hence the real difference between the two works will have been more than demonstrated by their relative influence upon human thought, yet the comparison is not out of place. The book is practically a system of theology, and its author writes in a style commensurate with the greatness of his task. Throughout his language is marked by a singular dignity and elevation of tone. It might be difficult, perhaps, to select any passages or pages which rise conspicuously above the general level in beauty or intensity, but neither are there pages unworthy of the context. There is no obtrusion of eloquent writing, yet the impression left by the whole is one of eloquence, high and massive and pure. No book upon theology has ever been in our hands which touched the note of adoration so habitually and with such natural truth. And yet let it be said that the style has its own disadvantages. Dr. Moberly does not write simply, and his expositions are sometimes less lucid than the subject admits of. His sentences are cumbered now and then with qualifications which the reader might safely

have been trusted to make for himself. The question, indeed, is apt to suggest itself whether the book would not have served its purpose better had it been shorter by about a third, and benefit been taken of the maxim that the half is sometimes more than the whole. Nevertheless, the very complexity and stringency of the writer's language is in its own way another evidence of his supreme carefulness, and his scrupulous anxiety that no relevant aspect of truth should be forgotten.

The volume, let it be said, is a handsome one, and the print well-nigh faultless. It is provided with a Table of Contents and an Index of unusual excellence. Nothing has been left undone that might be done to guide the reader of the author's meaning.

Let us first have before us an outline of the main argument. It begins, as is fit and right, with an examination of certain fundamental ideas. Three chapters are devoted to a successive analysis of punishment, penitence, and forgiveness. To view punishment as primarily retributive is a mistake; all punishment really begins as moral discipline, and only becomes vengeance in the last resort, in proportion as it has failed to moralise. The mere endurance of retribution has no atoning efficacy, but punishment proper, taken up into the soul of the sufferer as penitence, tends to diminish guilt. Penitence, again, is a real change of the self, not imposed from without, but the fruit of righteousness triumphing inwardly. Perfect penitence would be the complete re-identification of the self with righteousness, and this is for us impossible; had it been possible, it would have made our sinful past dead, and bestowed on us a new present and future. But though denied to us, it may be found, in all its ideal entirety, in one who is personally and really sinless. Nay, though sin would seem to have rendered penitence as such impossible to us, yet Christian experience is full of it, and when we seek for its cause or source, this can only be the indwelling Spirit of Christ, in Whom penitential holiness was perfected. Finally, forgiveness is much more than remission of penalty, though the incipient consciousness of redemption





may start there. Forgiveness is more than not punishing; when we strip away the optional or arbitrary features too often ascribed to it, it turns out to be precisely correlative to "forgiveableness". It is anticipatory, and only consummated finally with the consummation of holiness. Special emphasis is laid on the fact that these three ideas, familiar to us in our own experience only in an inchoate and defective form, point away beyond themselves to a realisation which would manifest their ultimate meaning in the fullest sense. As we know them, they are mere adumbrations of their own ideal.

Now the climax and consummation of what in us proves so imperfect is to be found in Christ. He is uniquely identified with God, and so one with the holiness which condemns sin; He is uniquely identified with man, and therefore capable of a penitence which, as perfect, is also perfectly atoning. But is this in any real sense relevant to *us*? Yes, for Christ's qualifications for Mediatorship—He being specifically God and inclusively man—fulfil all the conditions necessary for making one the Holy God and sinful man. In Him there is revealed utter dependence upon God, and therefore man's perfect life; in Him we see the consummation of the sinner's contrition in penal death. So far, however, we have dealt with objective and historical facts. How are the things which were wrought without to be realised within, how is the objective to be translated into the subjective? Mere contemplation of the work of Christ on Calvary, and even love to Him for its sake, are symptoms of something deeper than themselves. And this is the presence of the Holy Spirit in the Christian heart, identifying us, not figuratively, but really, with Christ, and so bringing our personality to its consummation. The presence and fact of the Spirit is the perpetual extension of the Incarnation; it is the all-comprehensive force which the Incarnation has set in motion. Pentecost is essential to make Calvary real in the heart of man.

Such, in brief and inadequate outline, is the book's principal line of argument, though it ought to be said emphatically that no synopsis can convey a worthy impression of the

wealth and suggestiveness of the thought which gathers round it. To appreciate these we must make ourselves familiar with Dr. Moberly's own pages.

Perhaps we shall do well to comment first of all upon those parts of the general discussion which are not only pre-eminently convincing and illuminative in themselves, but may be detached from Canon Moberly's specific theory of the atonement, and judged apart from their relation to it. Under this head would come his treatment of Trinitarian and Christological questions. It may safely be said that no one will be justified in writing upon these high themes hereafter without weighing carefully the contribution which the Canon has made to their elucidation. Take, for example, his wise and reasoned insistence upon the unity of God as a presupposition of all Trinitarian doctrine. God is not a generic term, but singular and absolute. "If the Father is God, and the Son God, they are both the same God wholly, unreservedly. . . . They are not both *generically* God, as though God could be an attribute or a predicate, but both *identically* God." Much popular thinking on these subjects has in it a Tritheistic strain, against which Unitarianism raises a justifiable protest. Or again take the discussion of Sabellianism, of which Dr. Moberly sums up a sufficient criticism in the sentence that "what is revealed within Divine Unity is not only a distinction of aspects or of names, but a real reciprocity of *mutual* relation. One 'aspect' cannot contemplate or be loved by another." Or best of all, take his wonderfully attractive and suggestive plea that the terms Father, Son, and Spirit primarily draw their meaning from, and denote, the manifestation of God in the Incarnation and all its results, rather than the Eternal relations themselves. The New Testament is absolutely dominated by the idea of the Incarnation, and when its writers think of God, it is with that great fact and disclosure that their minds are mainly occupied. When they speak of "God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ," the phrase is not a maimed Trinitarian formula. What is in their minds is not the eternal distinctions within the Godhead; they are

thinking of God as Eternal in Himself and God as Incarnate in the flesh. The Spirit is really implied though not named, for the grace and peace that came in the Person of the Incarnate God are *ours* through the Spirit. The pages (181-195) which deal with this subject are marked by singular insight and power, and will bear reading and reading again. The thought they expound conserves all the truth there is in the economical theory of the Trinity, and renders possible a far more natural reading of the New Testament. More familiar, but still forcible and timely, is Dr. Moberly's insistence throughout on the truth that the Spirit is essentially the Spirit *of the Incarnate*, and therefore only revealed as the power by which is perpetuated the Incarnate Lord's presence and work in the soul of man. If there is anything in this part of the work to which we demur, it is to the analogy which Canon Moberly tentatively brings forward as helping to illustrate for us the inner meaning of the Trinity, and especially the Divine reality of the Holy Spirit. He employs the thought of a man (1) in himself (2) in his bodily expression (3) in his effective operation. We cannot delay to say more than that this illustration seems to possess but few of the advantages claimed for it in contrast to older and more familiar images, and, in particular, that it lacks precisely that mutuality of relationship which Canon Moberly justly desiderates in Sabellianism.

The main track of the argument, however, is sufficiently indicated by the two words, Atonement and Personality. Their essential connection is the very nerve of Canon Moberly's theology, and it is significant that he takes them in the reverse order of that which philosophy might suggest. For him it is only through atonement that personality is revealed to us, and realised by us, in its truest and most ideal sense.

Canon Moberly's criticism of what is ordinarily and roughly known as the orthodox theory of atonement is in general scrupulously fair. He lays down the broad principle that "current expositions of the atonement have been, in their own setting, and for their own purpose, true, not false". But he strikes hard at all "transactional theories," even though

on p. 335 he has to concede that in the New Testament there are many descriptions of Christ's atoning act which regard it "as a transaction about us, but external to ourselves". There is no feature of his own view to which objection might more justly be taken in the purely religious interest than his contention that forgiveness is strictly correlative to forgiveableness, so that in the limiting case pardon would be automatic. This is either tautological or manifestly unscriptural. To say, as Dr. Moberly does, that God cannot pronounce those righteous who are not really righteous in themselves, is fatal to every conception of forgiveness as a present reality: we never can be right with God on such terms as these. Again, his notion of punishment and its moral efficacy seems defective not so much in what it affirms as in what it denies. Reflection and inquiry unite to assure us that the moral discipline in which he finds the very essence of punishment, ensues as a matter of fact only when the person punished realises and confesses its retributive justice. Let him come to suspect the objective righteousness of the penalty he has to bear as the inevitable reaction of holiness against sin, and the root of all subjective moralisation is cut. Without regarding Hegel as in any sense the supreme court of appeal, we may at least say that his conception of punishment as the restoration of right *quod* the negation of its negation does more justice to the truth of the case. Perhaps it is one consequence of Dr. Moberly's conclusions on this point that he has so little to say about two correlative series of ideas of which scripture makes much—on the one hand, "the wrath of God," "condemnation," etc., and on the other, such terms as "sacrifice" and "propitiation". These ideas are not entirely absent from his pages, but they exercise no appreciable influence on his argument. And yet these are elements in the religion of the Old Testament without which Christianity would have been but a ghost of itself; it was not for nothing, either, that St. Paul told the Romans that God had set forth Christ Jesus to be a propitiation through faith in His blood to shew His righteousness.

The theory before us may be said, broadly and briefly, to assert that the penitence consummated by Christ upon the Cross, at the cost of a gradual and voluntary dissolution of Himself in death, was the absolute destruction of sin. We must connect this with the conclusion previously arrived at that penitence has *per se* an atoning quality, and the paradoxical statement that only the perfectly sinless can be perfectly penitent. One is immediately reminded of McLeod Campbell and the discussions of sixty years ago. The idea of Christ's vicarious penitence is doubtless suggestive of a great truth, but it may be questioned whether the precise words have yet been found to give that truth expression. Can *penitence* be separated out in this abstract way from what we know as consciousness of sin, and predicated of Christ thus unreservedly? Penitence always involves experimentally a personal sense of sin's degrading taint, the conviction that *I* have been stained and weakened by transgression, and unless we mean to pay ourselves with words we can hardly set down this latter element to the imperfect character of our penitence; it lies too near its heart for that. The divine sorrow for sin that was in Christ's soul, the shame and pain with which He took upon Him our iniquities by no external declaration of a Hebrew priest but by a realising and inclusive sympathy which was the subjective side of a real substitution—*penitence* is hardly the word for this. It is equally too much and too little. We cannot forget, either, that the scripture proof for such an application of the idea to Christ is ominously meagre. In some sentences quoted on p. 398, the truth at which Dr. Moberly is aiming has been put by McLeod Campbell with what seems a wiser caution and precision—the question always being reserved whether the meaning of the atonement is thereby exhausted.

But how is this supreme and perfectly atoning penitence to be made in its saving efficacy a vital possession of the human soul? By the Holy Spirit realising Christ within us and transforming our nature into Christ's, so that ultimately our atonement might be said to be Christ in us, or ourselves

realised in Christ. The great truth is here set in relief, that whatever the objective atonement consisted in, it must be brought home to us, we must be made partakers in it, by the Holy Spirit. Perhaps Canon Moberly overdrives the idea that the indwelling Spirit ultimately constitutes our true personality. It is characteristic of his mind to use the word "identification" in its strict sense when he might more advisedly employ the terms "union" and "incorporation". What his *words* affirm, indeed, regarding Christ's relation to the believer is not so much identity as absorption, and we are tempted to turn against himself his own criticism of the Sabellian theory, and plead that he destroys the necessary mutuality. (There is likewise a tendency to argue as if personality belonged to none but Christians, though any such view if pursued to its logical issues would make short work of moral responsibility in the natural man.) It is one thing to say that elements of personality, such as freedom, reason, and love, reach their climax and perfect fruition only in the Spirit, and another to say that they absolutely merge in His life; and though Canon Moberly is not justly to be charged with Pantheism, at least we may urge that he is singularly defenceless against pantheistic attack. If we are forbidden to distinguish the soul from the indwelling Spirit, may we distinguish the Spirit from the soul? And if not, does not the Spirit come perilously near being viewed as but a name for the general Christian consciousness? Unity is always the unity of a living and interdependent multiplicity, but Dr. Moberly's language, perhaps more than his thought, has the appearance of wiping out the difference without which the oneness would be a blank and barren identity.

But after all the grand truth to which this book furnishes new support and illustration of the most thankworthy kind is that union to Christ is the fact in the light of which alone the atonement can be understood. This comes out most strikingly and most succinctly in the chapter entitled "Recapitulation," especially pp. 282-286. "For the reality of our own relation to the atonement, which is its consummation in respect to each one of us, everything unreservedly turns

upon the reality of our identification, in spirit, with the Spirit of Jesus Christ." Here we come upon the core of the whole matter, for the hope and joy of the Gospel call derives from the fact that it is a call to men to become one, in mind and heart and will, with the Person who has through death dealt with God on behalf of our sins, and now lives to realise all righteousness within us by His Spirit. All the emphasis which Dr. Moberly brings to bear upon this point, therefore, is sincerely welcome. And yet, might he not have gone further, led by the inherent tendencies of his own thought to a view of justification which should truly reproduce the elation and assurance which ring through the words of Rom. viii. 1? It is difficult to get over the fact that if we take our author's words anywise strictly, even forgiveness is never perfectly bestowed in this life. It is gradual, provisional, anticipative, asymptotic. "The old 'I,' brought at first by Divine grace within the region of forgiveness, am therein more and more progressively changed, till my forgiveness is consummated in infinite love." There are heights and depths, surely, in the Bible conception of full pardon and free grace which this line is too short to fathom. Anxiety about considerations of morality and character at this point is really misplaced and self-defeating. Only when lifted up to the status of justification in the richest sense of that word, does the sinner become possessed of the prospects, the motives, and the actualising energy which lead to the acquirement of real goodness. And though it sounds like sheer presumption to say it, might not a more thorough-going application of the idea of union with Christ lead Canon Moberly to think more kindly and more justly even of a "transactional" theory of the atonement? If Christ were simply alongside of us as one more man, then merely to point out the injustice of the case would be a short and easy refutation of the view that the doom of our sin was by Him encountered, gathered in upon Himself, and there exhausted. But Christ is not other than His people in this sense, He is one with them; and if the union can sustain the weight of vicarious penitence—which is, on the whole,

a modern idea—much more can it bear the strain of vicarious suffering, the thought of which runs like a crimson thread through all religion and life.

There is a final chapter, more practical in tone, which contains much noble and fearless Christian writing. It deals with some of those features of our present imperfection which seem to give the lie to a theory of atonement so ideal and exalted as that which has been set forth. We have a description of conventional Christianity as incisive as it is true; and we have some wise paragraphs upon Mysticism which satisfy the mind as nearly as anything on this nebulous subject is ever likely to do. There are a few closing pages, upon the great subject of the book, charged with a passion and well-nigh a sublimity in which Canon Moberly seems to be carried beyond the limits of his specific theory. An appendix contains a long supplementary chapter headed "the Atonement in History". It extends to eighty closely printed pages and discusses the doctrine of Scripture, of some eminent Fathers, and of certain modern writers such as Dale, Jowett, and McLeod Campbell. The omission of the Reformers is a serious one. We should be inclined to estimate Dr. Moberly's debt to McLeod Campbell as somewhat larger than he himself appears to think it. The two stand in one line of succession, and though we find in the earlier writer a deeper simplicity, no one has caught his spirit so truly as the author of this book. Like his predecessor, he possesses a singular power of working in a specifically Christian atmosphere, and of holding the mind unflinchingly to the believing and spiritual attitude. And if at times we are conscious that some of his leading conclusions are too modern to be possessed of the truth that belongs to every age, the stimulating virtue of his writing will be felt all the more keenly by those who hold "that difficulties which are themselves the creation of intellect must be intellectually disposed of". "Atonement and Personality" is the work of a great thinker and a profoundly spiritual mind, in whom the Church of England possesses one not unworthy of her noblest theological traditions.

H. R. MACKINTOSH.



### **Das sogenannte Volksbuch von Hiob,**

*und der Ursprung von Hiob. Cap. I. II. XLII. 7-17. Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach der Integrität des Buches Hiob. Von Dr. Karl Kautzsch. Tübingen, Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig : J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck); London : Williams & Norgate, 1900. Pp. 88. Price 2s. 6d. net.*

### **Untersuchungen zum Buch Amos.**

*Von Dr. theol. et phil. Max Löhr, a. o. Professor der Theologie in Breslau. Giessen : J. Ricker'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung (Alfred Töpelmann). London : Williams & Norgate, 1901. Pp. 67. Price 2s. 6d.*

### **Zusammensetzung und Herkunft der Bileam-Perikope,**

*in Numb. xxii.-xxiv. Von Lic. Theol. A. Freiherr v. Gall, Dr. Phil. London : Williams & Norgate, 1900. Pp. 47. Price 1s. 6d.*

DR. KARL KAUTZSCH'S "So-called Folktale of Job," dedicated to his "father and teacher," is mainly an examination of the theory which Professor Budde put forth in his volume on Job in the *Handkommentar* (1896). Budde supposes that the Prologue and Epilogue of Job are the beginning and end of an ancient, pre-exilic *Volksbuch*, which contained a solution of the problem of evil and suffering distasteful to a post-exilic thinker, who therefore discarded the central portion of the tale, substituting a series of dialogues to controvert the old and outworn doctrine, and the speeches of Elihu to present the new and true solution of the problem. Professor Duhm in his volume of the *Kurzer Handkommentar* (1897) accepted Budde's theory of the folktale as almost self-evident, though he disliked the attempt to rehabilitate the speeches of Elihu. Professor Davidson subjected Budde's hypothesis to a very searching criticism in the *CRITICAL REVIEW* (Oct. 1897); and Dr. Kautzsch writes this book for the same purpose. He

believes that the Prologue and Epilogue are integral parts of the Book. He shows that the vocabulary of both points to a post-exilic date, such words as תְּמָה, תִּפְלָה, קִיָּל having no parallels in pre-exilic writings; that there are no linguistic reasons for supposing that the prose and poetic portions of Job are by different hands; that the so-called *Volksbuch* has none of the qualities of a genuine folktale; that its doctrine of heaven, Satan, and the sons of God cannot be so ancient as Budde and Duhm assume; and that there are no real discrepancies between the ideas of the Prologue and Epilogue and those of the poem.

In reference to the purpose of the author of *Job* Kautzsch opposes Budde at every point. He contends that the standpoint of the poem is not anthropocentric but theocentric; that the problem is the righteousness of God, not the purification of Job from latent or "slumbering" sin; that the author had in view a theodicy, not a doctrine of purgation through suffering. "Has the reader," he asks, "a right to forge a weapon against the sufferer out of his own speeches? On the contrary, does not the unprejudiced reader always unconsciously take his part?" Not the speeches of Elihu, but those of Jahve form the climax of the Book. The purpose of the latter is "to withdraw Job's interest, which had been exclusively fixed upon God's attitude to himself, from his own weal and woe, and to direct it to the infinitely greater thoughts and interests of God, and His rule of the whole of boundless nature. Man's individualism is to rise to the contemplation of the universe, the riddle of which he can scarcely conceive, much less solve, and before which he must simply stand in silent wonder." Of course this is strictly speaking a *non liquet*. The problem, "Is God righteous?" is unsolved. But Kautzsch contends that it is much better to leave the sufferer in silent resignation before God than to offer him Elihu's sugar-bread. As a whole this able criticism confirms our idea that Budde's very original exposition of the Book of Job is a brilliant *tour de force*. It will be seen that Kautzsch himself questions the authenticity of the Elihu speeches. "Elihu was the first of many readers of Job who

either missed the author's real meaning, or else were offended at it, and therefore dragged in their own ideas." Dr. Kautzsch speaks of Elihu's "horrid pedantry," and has not a good word for him. But suppose that the great dramatist wished to introduce among old heads a fresh thinker, rude and crude and young, yet withal a wonderful creature of God, has he not succeeded to admiration? No one who has ever seen Blake's picture of Elihu holding his auditors spellbound as he points to the stars and talks of God, his Maker, who giveth songs in the night, will be willing to regard the son of Barachel as a mere intruder.

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Professor Löhr of Breslau thinks that "attention to strophics may be called a burning question for Old Testament criticism, especially for the Book of the Twelve Prophets". For the task of interpretation he believes that "the strophic arrangement and rhythm afford valuable aids which exegetes have hitherto unfortunately despised". Experimenting upon *Amos*, he will "attempt to reconstruct the various parts of the Book in their original form". This book has already met with drastic treatment on account of the diversity of its contents. In the *Encyclopædia Biblica* Canon Cheyne marks about twenty passages, some of considerable length, as insertions. Professor Löhr's method of strophic analysis, however, enables him to get far ahead of Dr. Cheyne. The strophic movement of *Amos* i. 3-ii. 16 has always been apparent. After the prophet's literary beginning, Cheyne says that "he forgets his art in his grief at the manifold offences of Israel". Löhr, on the other hand, believes that the Book, as it came from the prophet's own hands, must have been strophical from beginning to end. It was not the prophet's art, but the tinkering of redactors, or the carelessness of scribes, that was at fault; and Löhr's task is to restore the Book to its "correct" strophical form. His methods are three in number. He deletes a great many passages as inserted by later hands; he transposes a considerable number of verses which have somehow got out of order; and he inserts asterisks where words or lines have gone amissing.

We must not judge an original attempt of this kind too severely, but it must be confessed that the procedure seems in many instances arbitrary. When Professor Löhr remarks that one verse after another, otherwise unimpeachable, is to be deleted because it happens to be "strophically superfluous," he is begging the question at issue; and his trick of transposing verses will hardly commend itself to common-sense. It is probable that the prophet thought rhythm a less important matter than reason. As an instance of the kind of results attained we may take the treatment of the divine name "the God of Hosts," which occurs nine times in our present *Amos*. In the original *Amos* it is said to have been otherwise. Canon Cheyne admits that "once, at any rate, the prophet uses the striking title," v. 27 being "admittedly a genuine passage". Professor Löhr, however, deletes "the God of Hosts" in every instance. For why, it does not fit into his strophics. Moreover, it is not found in Hosea (xii. 5 being, for some reason, called an insertion). Thus it is conclusively proved to be of post-exilic coinage. Dr. Cheyne must look to his laurels.

More satisfactory than this strophical hypothesis is Professor Löhr's chapter on "the theological contents of the Book of Amos". Here he is glad to find himself agreeing with Giesebrecht's *Historicity of the Sinai-covenant*. He believes that "the relation of Israel to Jahve, even in the popular mind, was no natural relation, but one based on history. The people's faith in God had its roots, not in the cultus, but in the consciousness of election. This was the ground for the prophet's inference that Jahve might dissolve the covenant and destroy the people." Here, too, Professor Löhr differs from Canon Cheyne, who believes that "the connection between Jahve and Israel had a non-moral natural basis". It remains possible that Löhr may be right in his theology and wrong in his strophics, and Cheyne *vice versa*.

While the broad lines of Hexateuch criticism are now clear enough, a good deal of detail-work has still to be done here and there. Dr. Freiherr v. Gall of Mainz, in a monograph on the story of Balaam (Num. xxii.-xxiv.) carries the

analysis of sources much further than any previous scholar. The ordinary view has been that this whole section, with the exception of the last five verses, is ancient, J and E being skilfully combined into one narrative. But it has long been a disputed point whether xxiii.-xxiv. belongs to J or to E. Wellhausen confesses his doubts and difficulties, and Driver thinks it is "wisest to leave the question undetermined". Freiherr v. Gall now says that "the old dispute can be settled". It turns out, however, that he does not loose the knot; he cuts it. Divide the Balaam story into two parts, say that the one part is pre-exilic and the other post-exilic, and the dispute is at an end. In the original story Balaam blessed Israel only once. "To this story other hands added two further blessings. And to these three blessings of Israel still later authors appended prophecies regarding other nations."

This leads to quite a new reading of the prophet's words. The hatred of Moab (xxiv. 18) is referred to the dark days of the exile; Ashur (xxiv. 22) is not Assyria but Syria, the reference being to the wars of the Seleucidæ at the close of the third century; and the ships which come from the coasts of Cyprus to afflict Syria (xxiv. 24) are a Roman fleet. This brings us down to the year B.C. 64, when Pompey made Syria a Roman province. Balaam's last words, "And he also shall come to destruction," are mysterious. Who is "he"? Is it Assyria, Syria, or Rome that is to be destroyed? Freiherr v. Gall says Rome. The prophecies thus "partly come down to the days of Jesus"; which means, of course, in Freiherr v. Gall's view, that the latest addition to them was not made till close upon the Christian Era.

These conclusions, critical and exegetical, will not be accepted without good cause shown. Mr. Addis, who expresses the latest English view of the matter, believes that "the kernel of the poem may go back to the early days of the kingdom, even, it may be, to those of Solomon," and he adduces some good reasons for holding that the very last lines of the prophecy "are not to be regarded as post-exilic".

JAMES STRACHAN.

## **A New History of the Book of Common Prayer, on the Basis of the Former Work.**

*By Francis Procter, M.A., revised and rewritten by Walter Howard Frere, M.A., Priest of the Community of the Resurrection. London: Macmillan & Co., 1901. Crown 8vo, pp. xviii. + 699. Price 12s. 6d.*

MR. FRERE is both learned and accurate; he knows the sources from which the English Prayer-book was derived, and he has studied the various phases of its evolution. There is not much that is new in his book, and a more complete account of the ceremonial implied in or allowed by the rubrics of the Prayer-book would have made his work more useful than it is. But he has availed himself of the liturgical research of the last half century, and has produced an account of the Book of Common Prayer which will remain a standard authority on the subject. Unfortunately, however, his ecclesiastical sympathies have led him into various excursions from his proper field, and have betrayed him into the use of expressions quite unworthy of the dignity of the professed historian. "The profane recklessness of John Knox" (p. 83) is the kind of language that Andrew Marvell characterised as "vulgar spite". And again "this history does not require any account of those years of hypocrisy and violence, during which the voice of the Church of England was silenced, and Presbyterianism, after trying to bring a spiritual despotism into every parish and household, was in its turn obliged to yield to Independency" (p. 156). We venture to suggest that "this history" did not require any such offensive description of systems opposed to Mr. Frere's own views, or an equally offensive quotation which follows. If Mr. Frere knows any history (and it is quite clear that he does) he knows that "hypocrisy" and "impiety" were not convertible terms with "Presbytery". Mr. Frere also knows quite well

that it is a one-sided statement to represent the Presbyterians, after the Restoration, as men whom the Anglican clergy tried in vain to reconcile (p. 165), for he admits, on page 189, that "the Bishops, conscious of their own power and of the captiousness of the opposition, felt that they were not called upon by any plea of tender consciences to adopt alterations of which they did not recognise the clear necessity".

We have more sympathy with Mr. Frere in his closing philippic, the temptation to which is much more evident. He belongs to a party in the Church of England the name of which has become a byword for lawlessness and disregard of authority. While we are far from believing the ritualistic party entirely free from this reproach, it is also quite clear that ignorance of history among their opponents has led to a reckless multiplication of charges of this kind. Mr. Frere is right in insisting on "the comprehensiveness of the Prayer-book," and he is right in hoping that "a generous temper such as this will not be abused". His own party has, we think, consistently abused it for many years; but his opponents have frequently been unable to distinguish between using and abusing. Nor has the fault been entirely on one side, and Mr. Frere is justified in pointing out that those who have shouted most loudly for "nothing but the Prayer-book" have said little or nothing about "the whole Prayer-book". He puts his case far too strongly when he says: "The Puritan party, from the days of Elizabeth to the present time, has never honestly accepted the Prayer-book; its members have been too much of Churchmen to leave the Church, but too little of Churchmen to value its principles; they have thus remained in a false position, attempting to subvert the system to which they nominally conformed". The other side would, of course, retort something about a beam and a mote. We have nothing to say about the controversy beyond this—that both sides will find in Mr. Frere's scholarly book many considerations that should help to clear up a great deal of misapprehension. Mr. Frere's facts are often better than his inferences.

ROBERT S. RAIT.

## Notices.

We receive from Prof. Emil Egli, of Zurich, a further instalment of the *Analecta Reformatoria*.<sup>1</sup> It is one of great interest, dealing with the biographies of Bibliander, Ceporin and Johannes Bullinger. The first issue of this important undertaking was devoted to documents bearing on Zwingli and his time. This one is concerned with less commanding figures, but with men who occupy nevertheless a considerable place in the story of a great epoch, and who are worth knowing as fully and distinctly as possible. By much the largest part of the volume is occupied with Bibliander. His antecedents, his active life in its two great divisions, and his later years, are brought before our view with an admirable wealth and patience of research. Perhaps the most interesting sections are those that explain his attitude to Luther, his position on the doctrine of election, his ideas on the subject of missions, and his connexions with England. Some fifteen pages are given to Ceporin's life and writings, and a smaller number to Bullinger and his Bible. The volume altogether is one of great value. All interested in the story of the Reformation will be sincerely grateful to Professor Egli for this scholarly contribution. It is a real addition to the historian's material. We owe much to Professor Egli for what he has done here for Theodor Buchmann, Jakob Wiesendanger, and this elder brother of the more famous Heinrich Bullinger. Nor is it only for the mass of carefully sifted particulars which he has gathered together in this book that we owe him cordial thanks. The estimates which he gives us of the men, especially in the case of Bibliander, are also excellent

<sup>1</sup> *Analecta Reformatoria*, II. Biographien: Bibliander, Ceporin, Johannes Bullinger. Mit drei Tafeln. Zurich: Zürcher und Furrer, 1901. 8vo, pp. iv. + 172. Price M.5.60.



specimens of the biographer's or historian's work. We wish large success to this important enterprise.

M. H. Omont publishes an account of an ancient Greek manuscript of Matthew's gospel recently added to the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.<sup>1</sup> It belongs to the rare order of purple parchment uncials. So far, therefore, it is akin to Codex Purpureus, Codex Rossanensis, Codex Beratinus, Codex purpureus Petropolitanus. Like Codex Rossanensis also it is ornamented with pictures of gospel scenes. There are five such miniatures, representing Herodias and the beheading of the Baptist, the two miracles of the feeding of the multitudes, the miracle of the blind men of Jericho, and that of the withering of the fig-tree. It was acquired, apparently in a somewhat accidental fashion, by a certain Jean de la Taille, Captain of Artillery, in December, 1899, on his way back from a journey in the Caucasus. It belonged to an old woman connected with the Greek community at Sinope. When the captain got to his own land he sold the Codex to a bookseller in Orleans, and from him it passed to the Bibliothèque Nationale. Some forty-three leaves have been recovered; containing the text of chapters vii., xi., xiii.-xxiv. of Matthew, but with some blanks. The portion regained amounts, therefore, to nearly one-third of the whole. The first gospel appears to have covered 144 folios, and if the MS. contained originally all the four gospels, as is probable, it must have consisted of 490 or 500 folios. It has certain diacritic marks, but neither accents nor breathings. It has but one column on the page. The style of writing is like that of N. Among uncials it is singular in being written in gold letters all through. The only approach to this among uncial MSS. is in the case of N<sup>a</sup>, which is only a fragment,

<sup>1</sup> *Notice sur un très ancien manuscrit Grec de L'Évangile de Saint Matthieu, en onciales d'or sur parchemin pourpre et orné de miniatures, conservé à la Bibliothèque Nationale* (No. 1286 du Supplément Grec). Par M. H. Omont. Tiré des Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres Bibliothèques, Tome xxxvi. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, Librairie C. Klincksieck; London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. 4to, pp. 81. Price Fr.4.

a couple of leaves. It does not appear, however, that N<sup>a</sup> is a portion of this new Codex. The text is like that of Codex Rossanensis, and it may perhaps be a recension of it. Its general features and its affinities point to the sixth century as its probable date, perhaps to the last years of Justinian.

M. Omont's edition gives not only a transcription of the text with reproductions of the miniatures, but a representation also in ordinary type. It indicates further at the foot of the pages the variants of Σ and N. The differences between the new manuscript and Σ, and again between it and N, are neither very numerous nor very striking. It has unique readings, though these are not of very serious moment, in a few passages, including xiii. 35, xv. 30, xviii. 5, xxii. 4. It is designated Codex Chrysopurpureus Sinopensis.

Professor Moulton, of Chicago, publishes *A Short Introduction to the Literature of the Bible*.<sup>1</sup> It is a useful and welcome successor to his previous book on *The Literary Study of the Bible*. That work has been very well received, as it deserved to be. This one should have a still larger circle of readers. It differs from the former in being addressed to the general reader rather than to the professional student, avoiding all technicalities, and looking at the Scriptures from the literary side. After some good observations on the literary study of the Bible as distinct from theology and criticism, Professor Moulton deals with his subject in two parts, *viz.*, "Biblical History and Story" and "Biblical Poetry and Prose". Under these heads he gives lucid and attractive expositions of the history of the people of Israel as presented by themselves in the sacred writings, of the history of the New Testament Church as presented by itself, of the *genesis* and contents of Old Testament and New Testament Wisdom, of the lyric poetry of the Bible, and of prophecy as seen in the Old Testament and in the New respectively. The object of the book is to give an impetus to the reading of the Scriptures. It is well fitted to do this. It takes advantage of all that

<sup>1</sup> By Richard G. Moulton, M.A., Professor of Literature in English in the University of Chicago, etc. London: Isbister & Co., 1901. Small cr. 8vo, pp. vi. + 374. Price 3s. 6d.

has been accomplished by recent criticism and interpretation, and, dispensing with all that might be either unintelligible or of remote interest to the unlearned reader, it lays itself out to make the Bible tell its own story in a way at once to attract and to enlighten. It is admirably written and carries out a very happy idea with much success.

An addition is made to our numerous commentaries on the First Gospel by Dr. F. N. Peloubet, of Auburndale, Massachusetts. It is described as *The Teachers' Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew*.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Peloubet, the author of *Select Notes on the International Lessons*, has had large experience in the preparation of literature for the Sunday School, and his object in this volume is to exhibit the life and ministry of our Lord in the light of the best scholarship, but in terms so clear, simple and suggestive as to be adapted to the needs of "teachers, leaders of prayer meetings, pastors, heads of families, and Christian workers of all denominations". With this in view he makes judicious use of literature, history, geography and scientific exegesis so far as they throw light upon the narrative for the general reader, while he introduces also practical applications, suggestive hints, etc. The text followed is the combined Authorised and Revised, with the references prepared for the latter version. Maps, illustrations, chronological tables, and similar helps are liberally provided. The questions of authorship, characteristics, etc., are dealt with briefly—much too scrappily indeed. An analysis of the gospel is given which is of real use. The notes are tolerably full, and, generally speaking, they are informing and to the point. The style is clear and business-like—often, indeed, it is refreshingly forcible—and of a work-a-day quality. The book on the whole answers its purpose well. It is not a slovenly or hasty compilation. Teachers of Sunday Schools and Bible Classes will get help from it and will be able to turn it to a good use.

We have received the nineteenth volume of the *Analecta*

<sup>1</sup> New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch; London: Henry Frowde. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 380.

*Bollandiana*,<sup>1</sup> and the first two parts of the twentieth volume. They are edited by members of the Society of Jesus, C. de Smedt, J. de Backer, F. van Orthroy, J. van den Gheyn, H. Delehay, and A. Poncelet. The student of Hagiography will find what will interest him in the carefully prepared quarterly issues in which the *Analecta* appear. These parts deal among other things with the legend of Saint Alexis, the *Acta Graeca* of Dometius the Martyr, the legend of St. Francis of Assisi known as the *Legenda trium Sociorum*, the miracles of S. Saturnin, bishop of Toulouse, the Carmina de Quintino, the Acts of S. Thomas the Apostle, etc. They also give ample lists of recent additions to hagiographical literature.

Mr. Cuthbert Lennox's *Henry Drummond*<sup>2</sup> is described as a "biographical sketch". It is by the hand of one who was brought into connexion with Henry Drummond through the students' movement in the University of Edinburgh. Its aim is to give the outstanding facts of his life and more particularly to record the story of his work for and with University students. It is a matter of course that it should go over again much of the ground traversed in Prof. George Adam Smith's book. But it claims to be in a large measure independent, and to give much original matter obtained from "recollections, letters, and other biographical matter, kindly put at the writer's disposal by a number of private individuals who had the privilege of intimate friendship with Professor Drummond". It is the work of one who found Drummond's friendship an inspiration, and who can write appreciatively and well. The volume will have a place of its own, and will be welcome to many readers.

The Headmaster of Westminster publishes a series of sermons "preached in the Abbey to Westminster boys". The volume takes its title from the first of these discourses, *The Key of Knowledge*.<sup>3</sup> They are sermons of moderate length,

<sup>1</sup> Tomus xix., Bruxelles, 1900, 8vo, pp. 479 and Supplement + 160. Tomus xx., fasc. 1 and 2, 1901, pp. 240 and 256.

<sup>2</sup> London: Andrew Melrose. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 244. Price 2s. 6d. net.

<sup>3</sup> By William G. Rutherford. London: Macmillan & Co., 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 272. Price 6s.

admirable in style, and profitable to read. They contain much useful matter vigorously expressed. They are fertile in ideas, generally helpful and good, though occasionally rather strained or doubtful. At times the thought seems beyond the average audience. It is a compliment to the Westminster boys that matter of this high order is offered them. Among the most striking sermons are those on *The Inscrutability of Character*, *The Schooling of the Will*, *The Edifying of Life, Ideals, Enthusiasm*. But wherever one opens the volume he finds strong and reverent thinking, practical sense, telling and sometimes pungent statements.

Professor Carl Clemen, of the University of Halle-Wittenberg, publishes a considerable treatise on the dogma of the *Descent to Hades*.<sup>1</sup> He has a busy pen. This volume shows a wide extent of reading, and speaks to the vast industry of the author. His object is to reassert the importance of the Article in the Creeds on Christ's Descent, and to set forth anew its doctrinal meaning and significance. He expects great things of it and would have a larger place assigned to it in preaching than has of late been allowed it. He finds in it indeed the solution of some serious theological problems, especially eschatological problems. He deals at some length with the history of the question—the place given to the dogma in the symbols of Spain, Gaul and Germany, the symbol of Rufinus, the formularies of Sirmium, Nicæa and Constantinople; its origin, whether in the East or in the West; and the large and intricate question regarding the Apostles' Creed and the introduction of this article into it. The second Chapter is devoted to an inquiry into the meaning of the Article. In this inquiry Professor Clemen starts with 1 Peter iii. 19 ff., iv. 6, and reviews the multitudinous interpretations which have been given of those dark paragraphs. He takes up also the other passages which have been thought to be relevant to the question—Matt. xii. 40; Luke xxiii. 43; Acts ii. 24, 27, 31; Rom. x. 6 ff.; Eph. iv. 9 ff. For the Petrine

<sup>1</sup> "Niedergefahren zu den Toten." Ein Beitrag zur Würdigung des Apostolikums. Giessen: Ricker; London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. 8vo, pp. viii. + 240. Price 5s. net.

passages he asserts what he calls the "historical sense"—a designation of doubtful legitimacy if given to the interpretation that finds the Descent in the passage in 1 Peter iii., and one indeed which begs the question at issue. For the question is—Which is the historical interpretation: that which starts with the unambiguous historical reference to Noah and his generation, or the other? That the interpretation of that passage and the other Petrine paragraph, however, has difficulties not yet explained is admitted, and Professor Clemen must be allowed to present the case which he advocates in a very favourable light. We cannot say the same of his handling of the other passages referred to. In none of them indeed does it seem to us to be possible, without a *tour de force*, to find anything bearing on Christ's Descent to Hades that can be of the least value for the dogmatic use which Professor Clemen has in view. None of these passages, if they bear at all upon the question, take us beyond the simple statement that Christ died and passed like other men for a time into the world of the departed.

In the third chapter the doctrinal value which is claimed for the Article is explained and vindicated. It is taken to declare an active ministry, a real preaching of Christ in Hades, and reason is shown why, if such were not taught in Scripture, the theologian should have to presuppose it. We cannot agree with Professor Clemen's exegesis in some important parts, nor can we recognise the vast importance which he affirms for the dogma of the Descent. We do not see that, even if taken to mean a ministry of the departed Christ to the departed in Hades, it will solve the grave eschatological questions which he thinks it solves. The real difficulties of these will remain very much what they were. But we have read the book with interest and profit. Its learning is unmistakable. Its spirit is admirable. Its reviews of opinion are generally reliable and useful. The sketch which is given of the history of the Article is perhaps the best part of the volume.

The eighth number of *Studia Sinaitica* is to hand. Under

the title of *Apocrypha Arabica*,<sup>1</sup> it gives four pieces, the "Book of Rolls," the "Story of Aphikia," Cyprian and Justa" in Arabic, and "Cyprian and Justa" in Greek. These writings are edited and translated by Dr. Margaret Dunlop Gibson, of Cambridge, and it needs scarce be said that the editorial work is done with the utmost care. The story that gets the name of the "Book of the Rolls," is given from an Arabic MS. in the Convent of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai, first photographed by Mrs. Gibson in 1893. It is the same subject as was published in 1888 both in Syriac and in Arabic by Professor Bezold of Munich. The second work is an apocryphal tale, which is pronounced to be "an anachronism" in its very plan. The story of Cyprian and Justa is taken in its Arabic form from a paper Codex of the twelfth century, and in its Greek form from one of Gardthausen's MSS. belonging to the tenth or eleventh century. These writings are all very late and very strange. Their only value lies in their curious interest, and, to some extent, in the influence which they appear to have exercised.

The second part of Preuschen's *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums* for the year is particularly rich in matter. It opens with an important paper by Theodor Mommsen on "Die Rechtsverhältnisse des Apostels Paulus". It affirms the existence in the earlier times of the Empire of two forms of final *Kaisergericht*, one probably known as *Provocatio* and another as *Appellatio*, and it recognises the former in the account which the book of Acts gives of Paul's appearance before Porcius Festus. H. Holtzmann writes on 2 Thessalonians, criticising the recent views of Bornemann, Zahn, Jülicher and others. Professor C. Clemen deals with the number of the beast in Apoc. xiii. 18; M. Steffen with the relation of Spirit and Faith in Paul's writings; W. Soltau with the problem of the Fourth Gospel; and S. A. Fries with what Paul means by *Arabia* in Gal. i. 17.

<sup>1</sup> London: C. J. Clay & Sons, 1901. 4to, pp. xxxi. + 156. Price 10s. net.

The editor of the valuable set of historical monographs known as the *Heroes of the Reformation* series, Professor Samuel Macauley Jackson, of the New York University, is himself the writer of the volume on *Zwingli*.<sup>1</sup> He gets some assistance from Professor Martin Vincent, of Johns Hopkins University, and Professor Frank Foster, of the University of California. The former contributes a historical survey of Switzerland before the Reformation; the latter gives a chapter on Zwingli's theology. The book as a whole is an able, scholarly and attractive performance. It will take a high place in the useful and admirable series to which it belongs. Professor Jackson's mind was directed to Zwingli when he was a student in Princeton. He has devoted years of reading and reflection to his subject, and has gone to the sources. He has made judicious use of the Reformer's letters, Bullinger's History, the Acts of the Councils of various cities, especially those of Zurich, and other documents. In this respect the work has been brought so well up to date as to make use of the first part of Professor Egli's *Analecta Reformatoria*, and the important series of *Zwingliana* which we owe to the industry and research of the same enthusiastic student. The best biographies have also been carefully studied—those by Christoffel, Moerikofer, and Staehelin, as well as the original *Life* by Myconius. Zwingli's own writings of course are the basis of all. Contributory publications, such as August Baur's treatise on the Reformer's theology, have been likewise diligently consulted. The result is a book that secures our confidence and carries us with it. We are taken pleasantly and persuasively through the story of Zwingli's childhood and youth, his life at Glarus and Einsiedeln, his work in Zurich in its various stages, the first Cappel war and the Marburg Colloquy, the strenuousness of the later years, and the tragic close. The inner course of the Reformation movement is ably dealt with as well as its external incidents. The narration is made brighter and better by the numerous illustrations.

<sup>1</sup> *Huldreich Zwingli, the Reformer of German Switzerland, 1484-1531*. New York: Putnam's Sons, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. + 519. Price 6s.



As to the estimate formed of Zwingli and his career, Professor Jackson takes more modest ground than some others. He has, perhaps, even too keen an eye to the Reformer's defects. He thinks of him as more of a politician than he should have been in the latter part of his life. He is hard, perhaps unduly hard, on his treatment of the Baptists. On the other hand, he recognises his generous nature, his lovable character, his passionate patriotism, his liberality of mind, and the modern element in his theology. He speaks of him as the one of the four great Reformers—Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, and himself—who would have to do least to adapt himself to our modern ways of thought, if they were to reappear to-day. And while not claiming for him a place in the front rank of the very greatest men or affirming him to be the equal of Luther and Calvin, he does justice to his importance and to the memorable work he did in leading the movement for Reform in German Switzerland.

We regret that the author has not himself dealt with the interesting subject of Zwingli's theology. The defect is so far supplied by the special chapter contributed by Professor Foster. In it the broad lines of Zwingli's doctrines of God and of man are given, together with their underlying philosophical ideas. The least satisfactory portion of this chapter is that on the Sacraments, the question of the real purport of Zwingli's view of the Lord's Supper in particular being too slightly handled. Much remains to be done yet as regards both the theology and the career of the Reformer. Professor Jackson's book does something to remove the reproach under which theological literature has long lain of neglecting Zwingli in favour of the other leading Reformers.

We take this opportunity of calling the attention of our readers to the projected edition of Zwingli's works, intended to form part of the *Corpus Reformatorum* series, and to be published by Messrs. Schwetschke und Sohn of Berlin. It is to give the works complete, and to be furnished with critical notes. We regret to hear that the necessary number of subscribers has not been secured, and that, unless at least eighty names are added to the list, it may be found

impossible to proceed with the enterprise. The number of English subscribers is miserably small. It is to be hoped that others may see their way to support so important an undertaking.

Meyer's commentary on *Second Corinthians*<sup>1</sup> appears in its eighth edition. The sixth and seventh editions, which were published in 1883 and 1890 respectively, were issued under the editorial care of Professor Heinrici of Leipzig. This edition is by the same hand, and is a careful revision of former issues. Professor Heinrici keeps by the standpoint from which he worked over the eighth edition of the Commentary on First Corinthians. He retains his old ideas of the historical circumstances. He differs from many in his views of the sources, the events intervening between the first Epistle and the second, and other points. He gives much attention to the theology of St. Paul and the relation in which this letter stands to it. He delivers some telling criticisms of the attempts made to explain the Apostle's spiritual history by the analogies of ancient enthusiasm. He has also much to the purpose to say of the objections urged against the genuineness of the Epistle. Questions of textual criticism are more worthily handled in this commentary than in some others of the series. In these matters Professor Heinrici follows in most points Tischendorf's eighth edition. He is also in general agreement with Nestle, to whom he expresses his obligations. There is an important Appendix of some twenty-two pages, dealing with the question of the Hellenism of St. Paul. To a large extent it is an answer to statements and criticisms made with considerable self-confidence by E. Norden in his *Antike Kunstprosa*. In opposition to these Professor Heinrici reaffirms his conclusions that, if Paul is looked at in the

<sup>1</sup> *Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament*, begründet von Heinr. Aug. Wilh. Meyer. VI. Abtheilung. 8. Auflage. Der Zweite Brief an die Korinther, neu bearbeitet von Dr. C. F. Georg Heinrici, K. Pr. Consistorialrath, o. Prof. d. Theol. an d. Univ. Leipzig. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. 8vo, pp. viii. + 463. Price 6s. 3d.

historical connexion in which he stands, he is seen to be a Jewish Hellenist, whose inward life bears the clear and certain stamp of the Old Testament and Christian experience. Professor Heinrici's work is of a high order.

In the same series we have also a new issue of the *Commentary on Mark and Luke*<sup>1</sup> as edited by Professor Bernhard Weiss. There is little change in the exposition of Mark. Reference is made, however, to new commentaries and new editions of old ones which have appeared of late. The readings of Codex D and its allies are also carefully noted and discussed. The case is quite different with the commentary on Luke's gospel. It is worked up afresh, and is, in the judgment of Professor Weiss, an entirely new book. The previous edition departed widely from the original Meyer. Here the critical side has a larger place assigned it than was the case with the original work of Meyer, or with any previous edition of that work. Much attention is given to the relations of the Synoptical Gospels, the agreements of Mark with Matthew and Luke, the points in which the second Gospel differs from the first and third, the question whether what is distinctive in Mark is due in any degree to the operation of literary motives or to special sources, etc. These things are discussed in detail in this edition. Professor Weiss claims indeed that they receive a more exhaustive treatment in this volume than in any other commentary. They are certainly handled with great ability and thoroughness. There are indications, too, that further study has led Professor Weiss to revise some of his own views. This edition puts us in possession, in a very serviceable form, not only of the writer's own maturest opinions but of the best that has been written on these Gospels. The New Testament scholar will consult

<sup>1</sup> *Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament*, begründet von Heinr. Aug. Wilh. Meyer. 1. Abtheilung. 2. Hälfte. 9. Auflage. Die Evangelien des Markus und Lukas. Von der 6. Auflage an neu bearbeitet von Dr. Bernhard Weiss, Wirkl. Oberconsistorialrath u. o. Professor an d. Universität Berlin. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; London: Williams & Norgate, 1901. 8vo, pp. iv. + 694. Price M.8.

it constantly, and will find it a great help to the scientific study of these writings.

The Rev. C. M. Roberts, B.D., Rector of Aldridge, Staffordshire, publishes a *Treatise on the History of Confession until it developed into Auricular Confession*, A.D. 1215.<sup>1</sup> It is a seasonable work, and is written with careful regard to accuracy of statement. The author's hope is that his brethren in the English Church, clerical and lay, may by it "gain a more sure and correct knowledge of the doctrine of confession, as to the occasion of its practice during the first twelve centuries and to the lack of any necessity during that period of revealing to a priest all the evil thoughts and lesser sins of which a member of the society of Christians may have been guilty". Mr. Roberts' style is not particularly good at times, but he gives a plain story which limits itself mostly to the statement of facts and tells sufficiently its own tale. The management of penitents, he shows, was in the hands of the bishop for the first 250 years, and, after a period during which it was committed to penitentiary priests, it reverted to the bishops. By the beginning of the seventh century both public confession and public penance seem, as he puts the case, to have almost died out, while "the general Form of Confession was established as the rule". By the ninth century "private confession and its natural accompaniment private penance became somewhat common". At the end of the 1000th year Ælfric declared confession to man to be necessary in order to the remission of sins. Even towards the middle of the twelfth century, however, it appears that learned men disputed over the question whether it was sufficient to confess to God only or was necessary to confess to a priest also. In the fourth Lateran Council, convened by Innocent III. in 1215, auricular confession was established as an absolute Rule of the Church.

The third issue of the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for the year contains, as usual, excellent summaries and reviews of recent additions made to apologetical, exegetical,

<sup>1</sup> London: C. J. Clay. 8vo, pp. viii. + 124. Price 3s. 6d.

historical and systematic theology. Among other books the *Encyclopædia Biblica* is ably dealt with by Professor B. B. Warfield, and its critical principles are subjected to incisive examination. The Rev. Louis Burton Crane furnishes careful notices of Hawkins's *Horæ Synopticae* and Veit's *Die Synoptischen Parallelen*. Dr. Edward T. Bromfield contributes an informing paper on "The Growth of Presbyterian Sabbath-School Policy". The Rev. J. Ritchie Smith writes well on "Jesus' Witness to Himself in the Fourth Gospel". And not to mention others, there is an article of an unusual kind on "Calvin's Literary Work," by M. Ferdinand Brunetière. It is a translation of a paper which appeared in the *Revue des deux Mondes* of date 15th Oct., 1900, and it gives an estimate of the great Reformer which differs much from that with which the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* is in sympathy. M. Brunetière says much that is just with regard to Calvin's literary qualities, the decision, and the lucidity of the thought, his perfect mastery of his style, a style which is that of a man of action, who "knows always what he wants to say, and always says it". He speaks of the *Institutes* as "in all its qualities one of the great books of French prose, and the first, in point of time, of which we can say that the proportions, the arrangement and the construction are monumental". He praises the language of the *Institutes*, unadorned and even severe, yet not bald, rather noble in its severity, majestic in its tension, possessed, also, of an oratorical rhythm and brightened by the gift of "familiar and picturesque comparison". His verdict is that in the French language we have "no better models of that vivacity in reasoning, or rather in argumentation, or of that precision and of that propriety in the use of terms, or of that succinct and telling brevity; we have no more that art of following the thought, and explaining all or paraphrasing it, without losing the point of view. Calvin's paraphrase of the decalogue is one of the finest things in the French language." On the other hand M. Brunetière is of opinion that the morality of Calvin, while "not more severe than any other" was "arbitrary, inquisitorial, and tyrannical in its applica-

tion as in its spirit". France, he says, did not want to be curbed. "Her facile genius, the genius of Clement Marot, could not accommodate itself to that discipline; her social genius, that of Marguerite of Valois, could not resign itself to that insupportable tyranny of manners and of consciences; her literary genius, finally, that which was incarnate in Rabelais, could not take part in the anathema hurled by the author of the *Excuse to the Nicodemites* at letters and art". So M. Brunetière is for the old Humanism and indulgent Romanism rather than for the Reformation, so far as France is concerned. He classes himself with those who "do not see clearly what France would have gained" by her conversion to Protestantism, and who do not regret that she did not submit to the spirit of Geneva. He does not believe it "necessary, in order to do justice to Calvin, to sacrifice to him three hundred and fifty years of history." The fourth issue for 1901 contains a good paper on "English Theistic Thought at the Close of the Century" by Professor Benjamin L. Hobson; an elaborate and informing article by Professor Warfield on "The Printing of the Westminster Confession"; an estimate of "James Martineau," by Professor Frank Foster, etc.

The *Homiletic Review* for August contains much good matter, both in its larger articles and in the useful summaries and series of notes which it gives on social, pastoral and exegetical topics. The Hon. John Eaton writes on "The Mormon Menace," and Dr. C. M. Cobern, of Denver, on "Early Intercourse between the Hebrews and other Ancient Peoples". Dr. Cobern refers to the statement made by Duhm in 1896 that, as it is one thing to show that writing was practised in the time of Moses and another thing to prove that there was a reading public, it is not probable that Moses committed any of his laws to writing. The force is taken from this statement, Dr. Cobern holds, by what we know now of the extent to which writing prevailed among the Egyptians and the Babylonians, the peoples with whom Israel had the most intimate connexion. Dr. Bernhard Pick, of Denver, takes up the subject of "The Originality of

Christ's Teaching," and deals in this issue specially with the "Alleged Teachers of Jesus"—the Essenes, Hillel, etc. In the September issue he writes on "The Claims of the Alleged Teachers of Jesus Tested".

In the *Biblical World* for July, Dr. W. R. Harper, in his series of "Constructive Studies in the Priestly Element in the Old Testament," deals with the "Laws and Usages concerning the place of worship," collecting the various passages which bear on the subject in the different periods of Israel's history, giving some valuable suggestions, and adding a full statement of literature to be consulted. In the September issue he takes up the question of "The Laws and Usages concerning Feasts". Professor Lucien Gautier, of Geneva, contributes to the former issue an interesting note on "The Wells of Beersheba," explaining how the case stood when he visited the place in 1899, and commenting on the later reports by Madame Sargenton-Galichon and Professor Robinson, to the effect that there are "at least" seven wells there now—with the possibility that others may yet be found. He confesses that, if it were made out that there were seven, and only seven wells, he should "not be able to share Professor Robinson's conviction that the name of the place has its origin in the presence of seven wells". "Well of seven," he points out, is not equal to "seven wells".

Among the papers which appear in the issue of the *Methodist Review* for July-August, we may refer to one on the question "Is Man Immortal? The Answer of Science," in which Dr. C. E. Locke, of Buffalo, briefly reviews the position as it is put by men like Le Conte, Fiske, Romanes and others. There are good papers also by Professor G. A. Coe on "Methods of Studying Religion," Professor G. S. Innis on "The Intellect—its function in religion," and others.

In the June issue of *The Bible Student* Professor Jacobus, of Hartford, Conn., writes on "The Relation of the Book of Acts to the Third Gospel". This he takes to be simply "the relation of supplementation by which the troublesome queries raised by the first book were fully satisfied by the story of the second". That is to say, in view of the fact that

the third Gospel set forth Jesus as of the Jews in historical origin and environment, Theophilus had to be assured that "the Gentile expansion of Christianity was but the natural development of the religion which Jesus had established in Palestine". Dr. G. T. Purves gives a brief study of the Revelation of St. John, and the Rev. S. T. Lowrie, of Philadelphia, discusses the "Place of Hebrews in the Complex of Revelation". Its function, he thinks, is to remove a great obstacle to the glory of the Son and the saving of souls (which are "the ulterior and higher end") by manifesting the truth concerning the "former revelation of the word spoken by angels".

The first part of the Twentieth volume of the *Journal of Biblical Literature* opens with a paper by William Benjamin Smith, of the Tulane University, on the "Address and Destination of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans". The writer does not complete his inquiry in the present number, but holds that so far at least the testimony "lies heavily against the Roman address;" that such an address indeed is seen under the circumstances, supposed to be a "sheer impossibility;" but that, on the other hand, it is "entirely natural, entirely self-explaining as a gradual deposit of the collective Christian consciousness, compacting itself generation after generation in watchwords and slogans attrite from the friction of centuries". Here indeed is a conclusion as wonderful in the terms in which it is expressed as it is in itself. Baldensperger's theory of the Fourth Gospel is examined by Professor Rishell, of Boston, who finds much that is fanciful in Baldensperger's exegesis. He thinks that with the critical apparatus employed by Baldensperger in order to prove that the Fourth Gospel was written to combat the party of John the Baptizer, the Synoptical Gospels, the Epistle to the Romans, the Epistle to the Hebrews and perhaps others of the New Testament books could be equally well shown to have been composed with the same object in view. Professor Kelso, of Allegheny, Pa., writes in defence of the antiquity and specifically Israelitish character of the Divine title אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהֵינוּ. There are also other papers of interest, e.g.,



one by Professor Mitchell, of Boston, on "The Theology of Jeremiah," and one by W. H. Cobb with the awkward title "On integrating the Book of Isaiah," in which there are some good things on the critical tradition, the place of Isaiah in the world of thought, etc.

The *American Journal of Theology* for July opens with a paper by Professor T. K. Cheyne, which has for its subject the "Ethanites and Jerahmeelites". It deals with the critical problems, and suggests various emendations in the text of the relevant passages. Professor Wenley, of Michigan, writes on the "British Idealistic Movement in the Nineteenth Century," giving a good account of Dr. Hutchison Stirling, Professor Ferrier, Principal Caird, Dr. Edward Caird, T. H. Green and others, and concluding with an expression of opinion that one of the tasks which confront the twentieth century, is to meet "the need for sharply outlined statements of first principles". The number also includes other papers which it repays one to read—one by the late Professor Northrup, of Chicago, on "The Fatherhood of God"; another by Dr. J. P. Smith of the same University on the "Day of Yahweh"; a critical note by the Rev. John Macpherson on "The Gospels as a Source for the Life of Christ," etc. In the October number attention will be attracted to a paper by Professor A. H. Sayce on "The Antiquity of Civilised Man," and one by Walter M. Patton on "Blood-Revenge in Arabia and Israel".

Mr. J. M. Schulhof writes on *The Law of Forgiveness as Presented in the New Testament*.<sup>1</sup> It is an independent study of New Testament teaching, especially Our Lord's own teaching, on this subject. Certain portions of the Old Testament are also taken into consideration as throwing light on the New Testament doctrine. It is a patient and scholarly inquiry, based on Westcott and Hort's text of the New Testament. It begins with a detailed examination of the use of the fundamental terms *ἄφεσις*, *ἀφιέναι*. It points out how rare are the occurrences of the noun *ἄφεσις* in

<sup>1</sup> Cambridge: Heffer & Sons, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. + 159. Price 3s. 6d.

any but Hellenistic literature; and how the verb ἀφιέναι "had at the Christian era among Greek-speaking Jews and others conversant with the LXX version of the Hebrew Scriptures a far fuller meaning than it, or the rare cognate substantive ἄφεσις, had possessed in Greek of the fourth century B.C., or could have possessed apart from Hebrew influence". The various applications of the terms in the New Testament are next followed out, as they appear in the Baptist's mission, in our Lord's own words and deeds, and in the teaching of John, Peter, Paul, James, and the Epistle to the Hebrews. This is all done with great care. The result reached is that "forgiveness" "as normally used in the New Testament, signifies a complex fact, a specific release, deliverance or disburdening, which, at the same time, in order to realisation, requires, and, viewed as a Divine gift, is always accompanied by a present and retrospective cleansing". Its object matter is described as "debts," "transgressions," "sins". Its consequences are given as justification in the sight of God, joy in the heart of him who forgives and in the heart of him who is forgiven, an "inheritance among the sanctified," and, in the case of human forgiveness, a restoration of brotherhood and brotherly feeling. The second portion of the volume deals with the law of retribution and the unforgiven state. Here it is affirmed that "there is nothing in the New Testament to ascertain for us unambiguously whether repentance, to be effective, must be in time or may yet be possible beyond time". Further conclusions are also drawn. On the one hand it is held that "ultra-Calvinism" (a term which, however, is left undefined) "has no support in the eschatological teaching of the Lord, whatever may be imagined to be deducible from the imagined teaching of St. Paul". On the other hand it is affirmed that "positive, or dogmatic, universalism receives no countenance from the teaching of Christ;—whatever may be supposed to be deducible from the supposed teaching of St. Paul;" and that "the larger hope" remains "a speculation not necessarily impossible, because not demonstrably false, but certainly more full of inherent perplexities than almost any other".

We have pleasure also in noticing a new and revised edition of Professor W. Clark's *Witnesses to Christ*<sup>1</sup>—a popular statement of Christian defence, pointedly and vividly written, dealing in a fair, reasonable and persuasive way with the great forms of unbelief, the mutual relations of civilisation and Christianity, culture and religion, the resurrection of Christ, the unity of Christian doctrine, and similar subjects; a very good book by Dr. E. Chr. Achelis, of Marburg, and Dr. Eugen Sachse, of Bonn, on the old treatises of Andreas Hyperius<sup>2</sup> on Homiletics and Catechetics—translated into German and furnished with an interesting Introduction on the life of Hyperius, the nature of his work in general, and the special value of his conception of the preacher's function and the preparation for its proper discharge; the second edition of a very useful volume by Th. Vogel, giving in chronological order a series of extracts from Goethe in illustration of his attitude to religion generally and to the religious and ecclesiastical questions of his time;<sup>3</sup> an interesting sketch of *Johanan Ben Zakkai*,<sup>4</sup> a contemporary of the Apostles, by Professor Schlatter, of Tübingen, together with a paper by Professor Lütgert on the topic of *Geschichtlicher Sinn und Kirchlichkeit in ihrem Zusammenhang* which contains some good points; an able and instructive discussion of the question of *Christian Perfection*,<sup>5</sup> by Professor Cremer, of Greifswald, together with

<sup>1</sup> *Witnesses to Christ: a Contribution to Christian Apologetics.* By William Clark, M.A., LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S.C., Professor of Philosophy in Trinity University, Toronto. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvii. + 300. Price 4s.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Homiletik und die Katechetik des Andreas Hyperius.* Berlin: Reuther und Reichard; London: Williams & Norgate, 1901. 8vo, pp. iv. + 214. Price 3s.

<sup>3</sup> *Goethe's Selbstzeugnisse über seine Stellung zur Religion und zu religiös-kirchlichen Fragen.* Leipzig: Teubner. Cr. 8vo, pp. 242.

<sup>4</sup> (Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie, III. 4.) Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 122. Price 2s. net.

<sup>5</sup> *Ueber die christliche Vollkommenheit; Das Recht des Bekenntnisses zur Auferstehung des Fleisches.* (Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie, III. 2.) Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; London: Williams & Norgate. Cr. 8vo, pp. 107. Price M.1.80.

a vindication of the right of the article on the "Resurrection of the Flesh," by Karl Bornhäuser; a pamphlet, well written and giving much interesting information, on *The Story of the (Osmanli) Turkish Version*,<sup>1</sup> with a brief account of related versions, by the Rev. A. A. Cooper, M.A.; a short treatise by Professor Lütgert, of Greifswald, on the *Johannine Christology*<sup>2</sup>—a lucid and scholarly summary of John's teaching on Christ as the Son of God, His heavenly origin, His human nature, His love, His gifts to the world, and the Logos-doctrine; with some suggestive remarks on the consciousness of Jesus, His sinlessness, His subjection to temptation, His relation as the Logos to God and to the world, etc.; a contribution to Apologetics by E. Gustav Steude, dealing in a fresh and forcible way with the question of *The Truth of Christianity*,<sup>3</sup> finding arguments for it in the three great provinces of miracle in the natural world, miracle in the spiritual world, miracle in history, and supplementing these by a statement of indirect proof; two instalments of G. H. Lamers's *Zedekunde*,<sup>4</sup> a somewhat important contribution to Dutch philosophy, written in a clear and popular style, and giving an effective exposition of some points in phenomenology and psychology; a study of the *Chief Problems of the Life of Jesus*,<sup>5</sup> by Professor Fritz Barth of Bern, a historical inquiry, not remarkable in any way for novelty, but

<sup>1</sup> London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1901. 8vo, pp. 64. Price 6d.

<sup>2</sup> *Die johanneische Christologie*. (Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie, III. 1.) Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; London: Williams & Norgate. Cr. 8vo, pp. 139. Price M.2.

<sup>3</sup> *Der Beweis für die Wahrheit des Christentums*. (Beiträge zur Förderung Christlicher Theologie, III. 5.) Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 148. Price 2s. 6d. net.

<sup>4</sup> "Tweede Stuk. Eerste Deel—eerste Afdeeling; De Phaenomenologie van het Zedelijke Leven." Groningen: Wolters, 1900. 8vo, pp. 348.

"Eerste Deel—Tweede Afdeeling. Derde Stuk. De Psychologie van het Zedelijke Leven." Groningen: Wolters, 8vo, pp. 430.

<sup>5</sup> *Die Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesus*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 280. Price 4s. net.

conducted with fairness, and insight, and sobriety, into the questions relating to the sources for a Life of Christ, His proclamation of the Kingdom of God, His use of the Old Testament, His miracles, His announcement of His return, His death and resurrection, and His testimony to Himself; *Die Notabelnversammlung von 1787*,<sup>1</sup> an admirable historical monograph by Dr. Adalbert Wahl, giving a careful account of Calonne's projects of reform and his overthrow, the proceedings of the Assembly of Notables and its results—a contribution to an answer to the question whether the evils from which the French people suffered might not have been remedied without the catastrophe of the Revolution; an acute paper by Professor Adolf Deissmann of Heidelberg on *Theology and Church*,<sup>2</sup> in which much insistence is laid, among other things, upon the lesson to be gathered from the history of ancient and mediæval times that theology and Church have both been to Christianity at once a protection and a danger; a similar paper by Pastor Sulze of Dresden, on the question—*Wie ist der Kampf um die Bedeutung der Person und des Wirkens Jesu zu beendigen?*<sup>3</sup>—the answer to which is found in the clear distinction between God and His Kingdom and between Christ and the Church; a scholarly study of *Hermas*<sup>4</sup> by Professor Daniel Völter of Amsterdam, who identifies the woman who appears in the Vision with the Sibyl, and takes the Clement who is named in the first two sections, and with him the famous Clement of Rome, to be a Jewish proselyte, regarding the first two Visions at the same time as of older date than the third and fourth, and concluding that the Shepherd of Hermes is in the main a Jewish work, or, more precisely, a section of Proselyte-literature of a character, strictly

<sup>1</sup> Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr, 1899. 8vo, pp. 101. Price M.2 50.

<sup>2</sup> Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1901. 8vo, pp. 22. Price 9d.

<sup>3</sup> Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1901. 8vo, pp. 56. Price 1s.

<sup>4</sup> *Die Visionen des Hermas, die Sibylle und Clemens von Rom. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur.* Berlin: Schwetschke und Sohn; London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. 8vo, pp. 54. Price 2s. net.

speaking, intermediate between Jewish literature proper and Christian literature; a most welcome addition to our knowledge of the curious pseudepigraphical literature, the *Apocalypse of Elias*,<sup>1</sup> an admirable edition of a hitherto unknown book, which we owe to Georg Steindorf, of Leipzig, giving the Coptic text, a translation, a glossary, admirable notes on difficulties in text and interpretation, a full account of the manuscripts, and in short providing us with everything required for an intelligent understanding of the writing; a new and revised edition of *The History of Herod*,<sup>2</sup> by John Vickers, described in the sub-title as "another look at a man emerging from twenty centuries of calumny," a book containing much interesting matter and setting Herod forth not indeed as a pattern ruler, but as something different from the traditional idea of him, a man chargeable with grave defects and errors (the case of Mariamne's execution is slightly handled), but possessed also of strong and commendable qualities, very much like those of the common English character; a careful and informing study of Tertullian's *Doctrine of God and the Logos*,<sup>3</sup> by Dr. Johannes Stier; *Les Maladies du Sentiment religieux*,<sup>4</sup> dedicated to Th. Ribot, forming one of the volumes of the *Bibliothèque de philosophie contemporaine*, a philosophic study by Professor E. Murisier of Neuchâtel, clearly and carefully written and containing much that deserves consideration on ecstasy, fanaticism, and the complex phenomena of aberrant religious feeling.

<sup>1</sup> *Die Apokalypse des Elias. Eine unbekannte Apokalypse und Bruchstücke der Sophonias-Apokalypse.* Mit einer Doppeltafel in Lichtdruck. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1899. 8vo, pp. vi. + 190. Price M.6.50.

<sup>2</sup> London: Williams & Norgate, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. 393. Price 6s.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Gottes- und Logos-Lehre Tertullians.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; London: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. 103. Price M.2.40.

<sup>4</sup> Paris: Alcan, 1901. 12mo, pp. 174. Price Fr.2.50.

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*Note.*—With reference to a statement made in the review of Dr. Schwarzkopff's *Beweis für das Dasein Gottes* in the issue for September, Professor Mackintosh desires to explain that he is now informed that "all the four parts" of the work on the *Revelation of God in Jesus Christ*, to which reference was made, have appeared, along with "a fifth part" which "appeared in 1897".

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